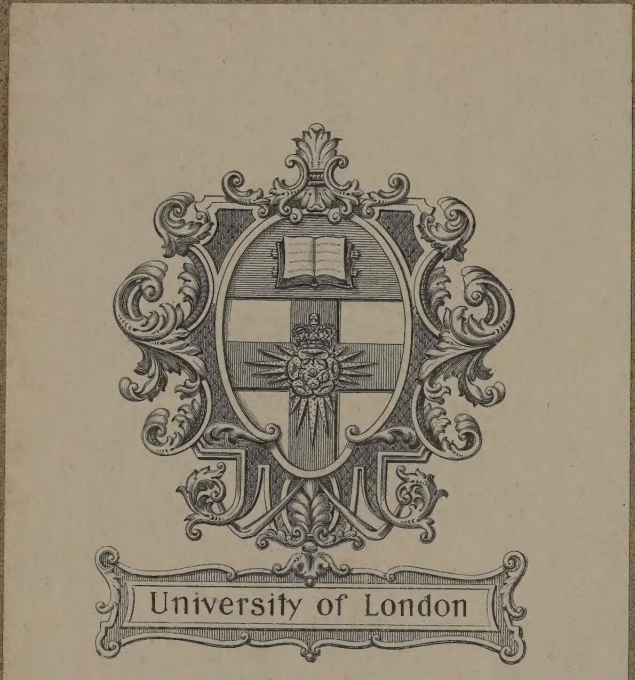
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ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

SIXTY-THREE VOLUMES.

—*(15.)*—

EAST INDIA—(*continued*).

Session

31 *January* 1893—5 *March* 1894.

VOL. LXIV.

1893-94.

ACCOUNTS AND PAPERS:

1893-94.

SIXTY-THREE VOLUMES.—CONTENTS OF THE

FIFTEENTH VOLUME.

N.B.—*THE* Figures *at the* beginning of the line, *correspond with the* N° *at the foot of each* Paper; *and the* Figures *at the* end of the line, *refer to the* MS. Paging *of the Volumes arranged for The House of Commons.*

EAST INDIA—*continued.*

Cantonment Act:

[c. 7148.] Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to inquire into the Rules, Regulations, and Practice in the Indian Cantonments and elsewhere in India with regard to Prostitution and to the treatment of Venereal Disease, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices. p. 1

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REPORT

OF

THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

TO INQUIRE INTO

THE RULES, REGULATIONS, AND PRACTICE

IN THE

INDIAN CANTONMENTS

AND

ELSEWHERE IN INDIA,

WITH REGARD TO

PROSTITUTION

AND TO

THE TREATMENT OF VENEREAL DISEASE;

TOGETHER WITH

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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1893.

[C.—7148.] *Price* 4*s.* 5*d.*

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To the EARL OF KIMBERLEY, K.G., *Secretary of State for India.*

My Lord,

In compliance with your Lordship's instructions of the 7th of April last, we beg leave to submit a Report signed by three Members of the Departmental Committee.

A minority Report is also submitted.

We are, My Lord,

Your obedient servants,

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

D. M. STEWART.

J. B. PEILE.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.

Note of Explanation of References in this Report to the various Documents and Papers comprised in the Appendix hereto.

"**Min.**" **means** Minutes of Evidence taken before this Committee. The numerals following refer to the Numbers of questions and answers.

"**Rep. S.C.**" **means** the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the paragraph or lines thereof as stated.

"**Ev.S.C.**" **means** the Statement and Notes forming the Appendix to the Report of the Special Commission. The numerals following refer to the lines thereof.

"**M.R.**" **means** the Military Reports, &c., constituting Enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in Despatch No. 148 of 1893.

"**Suppl. M.R.**" **means** further Military Reports received with the same Despatch.

Other references are sufficiently explained in loco.

REPORT

OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE RULES, REGULATIONS, AND PRACTICE IN THE INDIAN CANTONMENTS, AND ELSEWHERE IN INDIA, WITH REGARD TO PROSTITUTES AND THE TREATMENT OF VENEREAL DISEASES, IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN AND REPORT HOW FAR THEY ACCORD WITH THE RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF THE 5TH JUNE 1888, VIZ.:—

"That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the "compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating Prostitution in "India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises or permits such "measures ought to be repealed."

1. The Committee was appointed on the 7th April 1893 by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to inquire into the Rules, Regulations and practice in the Indian Cantonments, and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888 above quoted.

2. The Committee so appointed consisted of Mr. George W. E. Russell, M.P., Under Secretary of State for India (Chairman); the Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.; General Sir Donald M. Stewart, Bart., G.C.B.; Sir James B. Peile, K.C.S.I.; and Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P., with Major-General O. R. Newmarch, C.S.I., as Secretary.

3. The Committee has held twelve sittings, and has examined seven witnesses, official and non-official. The sittings comprised two groups, viz., five days between the 11th April and 21st April 1893 (both inclusive), when the evidence of the non-official witnesses tendered was taken; and five other days between the 4th August and the 15th August 1893 (both inclusive), when the official witnesses were examined, and a large quantity of documentary evidence sent from India was considered. The interim between the two groups of sittings (practically about eleven weeks) was occupied in the transmission of the printed minutes of the first-mentioned evidence to India, the collection there of evidence, by a Special Commission appointed for that purpose and by means of Official Reports, and the journey to this country of two of the Commissioners so appointed. The Committee have not taken any evidence as to the practices, in respect of the matters in question, in any Indian Cantonments other than those hereinafter specifically mentioned; nor have they made any investigations as to such practices elsewhere in India. The principal reason for this limitation in the execution of their commission is the want of time for more extensive researches, arising from the urgent desire on all sides that the Committee should complete their inquiries, and present their Report, before the conclusion of the present sitting of Parliament.

4. The non-official witnesses examined by us in the first instance were: (1) Mrs. Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew, (2) Dr. Kate Bushnell, two American ladies associated in Christian Mission work and who were delegated by the "British Committee for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice in India and throughout the British Dominions," in the beginning of the year 1892, to visit Military Cantonments in India for the express purpose of making inquiries upon the subject matter in question; (3) Mr. John Hyslop-Bell, J.P., of Darlington (England), a journalist, who also on behalf of the British Committee, in December 1892, visited two of the same Cantonments, and two other Cantonments.

5. The official witnesses who have given testimony before us are: (4) General Lord Roberts, V.C., late Commander-in-Chief in India, who having recently returned to this country had been voluntarily interviewed upon the subject of this investigation by certain journalists. Accounts of these interviews were published, and therefore his Lordship was invited to attend the Committee for the purpose of affording to them directly a statement of his information and views upon the matters in question. At the commencement of his examination our Chairman asked Lord Roberts whether we could take his answers to the interviewer of the "Christian Commonwealth" as being his evidence, or whether he did not wish to commit himself to them, and Lord Roberts answered that he did not wish to

be so committed, and that he had prefaced his remarks to his interviewer by saying that he preferred to wait for the Report of the Government of India; (5) Lieut.-General E. F. Chapman, C.B., now Director of Military Intelligence at the War Office, and late Quartermaster-General in India, who held that office during a portion of the command of Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief, and who vacated it on the 22nd February 1889; (6) Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, I.C.S.; and (7) Surgeon-Colonel J. Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab, the two Commissioners before referred to.

6. As all the evidence, both oral and documentary, taken and received by us has to be considered in regard to the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, it seems expedient at the outset to determine the meaning and intention of that Resolution, and especially its interpretation by the Government of India, and the officials, both military and civil, charged with the duty of carrying that Resolution into effect. On this point, therefore, we are glad to record the ready avowal of General Lord Roberts as to his concurrence in the view that the intention of the House of Commons was that the system formerly established as to the recognition and regulation of prostitution, for the benefit of British soldiers in India, should be entirely abolished, and not merely modified; and his assertion that the determination of the Government of India, as well as of himself, with respect to that Resolution, was from the outset to carry it into effect implicitly, in spirit as well as in letter.

Min. 1903-1915.

Demi-official letter, 10th March 1892, quoted in Despatch, No. 148 of 1893.

7. It may consequently be useful to indicate briefly, in passing, the principal features of that pre-existing system, which it was the undoubted intention of the House of Commons to abolish and not merely to modify. Principal features of that system were the following, viz.:—

Min. 1813-1854.

(1.) The provision in the regimental bazars, or other appointed places within the Cantonments, of dwellings (Chaklas) for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers distinctively from native men: the registration of such women by the Cantonment Magistrate; and the issue of tickets to the registered women.

(2.) The inspection or examination at prescribed periods or times, at the Lock Hospital, and with penalties for non-attendance, of those registered women, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were individually healthy or diseased; in the former case they were allowed to return to the practice of prostitution at the Chaklas; in the latter they were detained in hospital for treatment.

(3.) The provision within each Cantonment of a Lock Hospital for (*a*) the periodical examination of the registered women, and (*b*) the treatment therein of such as proved on inspection to be diseased.

(4.) The application of compulsion by fine and imprisonment under the Rules, as well as the general power of expulsion which appears to be vested in the Cantonment Magistrate.

8. The cardinal point of that pre-existing system was, therefore, the periodical examination of the registered women; the other features being accessory and incidental to that purpose; and the whole system being devised and administered with the main object of ensuring, if possible, that all the women to whom British soldiers in each Cantonment were known to resort should be "fit" or "healthy," in a specific sense, at the time of consorting; and in order to prevent immediate contagion and the consequent spread of venereal disease. The antecedent steps of registration, and formal licensing (by tickets), the application of compulsion, and the subsequent treatment of unfit or diseased women, were subordinate to that main object.

9. That pre-existing system was sanctioned by, and administered under, certain Acts and Statutory Rules scheduled to the then existing Cantonment Acts, and numerous Official Orders and Regulations, which may be said to have culminated in a Circular Memorandum issued from the Army Head Quarters at Simla, bearing date 17th June 1886, in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, and with the signature (by order) of Major-General Chapman, as Quartermaster-General in India. That circular, and certain recommendations therein contained, became, in the following year (July 1887) the subject of questions in the House of Lords, and of action by the India Office; and subsequently formed an important element in the discussion in the House of Commons on 5th June 1888, upon the Resolution above quoted, which was then moved by Mr. McLaren, M.P., and passed *nem. con.*

Min. 1838.

Min. 1887 *et seq.*

App. II. telegram to Viceroy, 9th July 1888.

10. That Circular Memorandum was expressly condemned by the India Office as being "perfectly inconsistent" with a subsequent Report from the Quartermaster-General, dated 2nd August 1887, and "absolutely indefensible," and strict inquiry was ordered; but of any such inquiry there is no evidence, and Lord Roberts, while admitting before us his official responsibility for all orders issued in his name, as Commander-in-Chief for the time being, was not clear as to having actually seen the draft circular, some parts of which he strongly reprobated. We deemed it therefore right and proper, in order to ascertain who was really accountable in the matter, to examine Lieut.-General Chapman, who is now in England, as to the circumstances under which that Circular Memorandum was prepared and issued. There appeared to us to be a discrepancy between his evidence and that of Lord Roberts which we were unable to reconcile.

App. II. telegram to Viceroy, 8th May, 1888. Min. 1888. Min. 1895. Min. 2291-4. Min. 1876-77. Min. 2305-236[2]

11. In consequence of that condemnation of the Circular Memorandum of 17th June 1886, by the Secretary of State, and before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, the Government of India had prohibited the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, and their accompanying troops to camp or on the march, and directed the cancelment of all circulars relating to that subject; and immediately upon receipt of the despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State conveying that Resolution, the Government of India informed the Commander-in-Chief and all the Local Governments and Heads of Departments, that it was the intention of the Government of India to consider the Rules framed under the Cantonment Acts then existing, and that "pending "the issue of revised Rules, the existing Rules should, in view of the Resolution of the "House of Commons, be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of "women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution."

App. II. Despatch, 15th Oct. 1888, par. 2. Despatch, 11th July, 1893, par. 5 App.

12. Accordingly, in Despatch No. 193, dated 15th October 1888, the Indian Government reported that "The Indian Contagious Diseases Act and Acts or portions of "Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes "within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps, or on the line of "march has been forbidden; also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; "while, pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill "(whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other "contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration "of women and granting of licenses to practise prostitution have been put a stop to, and "the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary "institutions."

13. In October, 1889, the new measure, viz., "The Cantonments Act, 1889," was passed, and on the 21st day of December, the following draft Rules (which had been settled, after considerable correspondence, between the Secretary of State and Government of India) were published "for the information of persons likely to be affected "thereby," with an intimation that they would be "taken into consideration on the "expiry of three months."

App. II. Despatches and telegrams, 14th June, 1889, to 9th July, 1890.

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the Cantonment as the Cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the Cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the Cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the Cantonment authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the Cantonment Fund such subsistence allowance not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure as the Cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the Cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or re-enters the Cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

14. The publication of the draft Rules immediately aroused the attention of various newspapers and religious organisations, both in India and Great Britain, and divers public protests against the proposed Rules were expressed. Amongst others, the Rev. Allen Rees, Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference Social Purity Committee, wrote to Lord Salisbury and Lord Cross (then Secretary of State for India) on behalf of that body, complaining of the absence of recognition in the new Act of the Resolution of the House of Commons, to which Lord Cross's Private Secretary replied to the effect that the Government of India had received distinct instructions upon the subject, to which his Lordship was confident they would conform.

15. On the 14th February, 1890, Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., addressed to Lord Cross a letter upon the subject, which was in the following terms, viz.:—

February 14*th*, 1890.

Dear Lord Cross,

We have had the advantage of receiving from the Rev. Allen Rees a copy of your Private Secretary's letter to him of January 8th on the subject of the Acts and Regulations regarding Contagious Diseases in Cantonments in India.

We note with great satisfaction your statement that the Government of India are fully aware of the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and that they have received from yourself, as Secretary of State in Council, distinct instructions to the effect that these Resolutions must be recognised as governing their conduct in dealing with the matter; and that you are confident that the Government of India will conform to your instructions.

Your Lordship adds that it would not be right, in the absence of any distinct proof to the contrary, to receive deputations on the subject, as such action might be interpreted as implying that you had reason to feel doubtful as to the good faith of the Government of India.

Permit us, my Lord, without in the least meaning or desiring to impugn the good faith of the Government of India, to point out in what respects the action of that Government has already, as it seems to us, failed to conform itself to your instructions and to the Resolutions of the House.

The Resolution of the House of Commons, of June 5th, 1888, ran thus:—

> "Any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient; and the legislation which enjoins, authorises and permits such measures ought to be repealed."

In accordance with this Resolution, the Cantonments Acts were repealed, and the Cantonment Act Regulations were understood to be suspended.

But a new Cantonments Act was thereupon brought in and passed, which was followed by draft regulations, published in the "Gazette of India" of December 21st, 1889, to be taken into consideration at the expiration of three months from that date.

We observe that, by Section 26, Sub-section 21, of the new Act:—

> "The Governor-General in Council may make rules, consistent with this Act, for the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and for the appointment and regulation of Hospitals and other places within or without a Cantonment for the reception and treatment of persons suffering from any disease."

But we do not see any words in the Act limiting or deciding the method of the exercise of this power; and we submit, therefore, that the power which this section confers upon the Governor-General in Council is sufficient to enable him to frame Regulations, implying the compulsory examination of women and the licensing and regulating of prostitution in India in direct disregard of the Resolution of the House of Commons which declares that all such legislation ought to be repealed.

Your Lordship will also observe the bearing of the proviso in Section 2, Sub-section 2, of the Act, to the effect that all regulations, &c., published under the repealed Act shall be deemed to have been made under the repealing Act of 1889. So that it would appear that the old Regulations which have been condemned, and which have been understood to have been suspended, are set up again, as if they had been published under this Act.

Turning to the new Regulations in the "Gazette" of December 21st, we note (Section 4) that if the Medical Officer of a Hospital certifies in writing to the Commanding Officer that any person is *supposed by him* to be suffering from a contagious disorder, and any such person either refuses to go to the Hospital, or, having gone to the Hospital, leaves it before such Medical Officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may order such person's removal from the Cantonment, and prohibit their return without the written permission of the Medical Officer; disobedience to the order entailing fine or imprisonment at the discretion of the Magistrate, limiting the fine to 50 rupees, and the imprisonment to eight days for each breach.

It seems to us that under this Regulation a prostitute "supposed" to be diseased may be induced to enter the Hospital under the threat of expulsion from the Cantonment, and that, being once within its walls, she may be kept prisoner there for an indefinite time and submitted to personal examination under the same compulsions.

Whilst, if she only leaves after the Medical Officer has pronounced her free from disease, she may leave to resume her vocation within the Cantonment upon the certificate of health and with the licence of the authorities.

We submit to your Lordship that, if our interpretation of the new proposed Regulations is correct, they may be used to set up again a system of compulsory examination of prostitutes, and to regulate and licence, within the Cantonment, the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination; and to certify and licence those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

Placing, as we do, the fullest reliance on your Lordship's determination to enforce the Resolution of the House of Commons, we venture to request that your Lordship will be good enough to consider the arguments and views which we have thought it our duty to bring to your notice in this communication.

We are, &c.,
J. Stansfeld.
James Stuart.

16. The Secretary of State (Lord Cross) on the 6th March 1890, replied to the foregoing letter of Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Stewart by a letter in the following terms, viz.:—

M. 2301.

India Office,
Whitehall, S.W.
6th March 1890.

Gentlemen,

I am desired by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, on the subject of the new Cantonment Act passed by the Government of India, and the draft rules published under sections 26 and 27 of that Act.

With regard to your complaint that there are no words in the Act limiting or directing the method of the exercise of the power given by the Act of making rules, it is right in the judgment of the Secretary of State that no such words should be embodied in the text of the Act. The effect of such words would have been to make the validity of every order issued under the Act a matter of controversy, dependent on the various interpretations of which its language might be held to admit. The Secretary of State prefers to rely upon the consideration that the Viceroy, for whose acts the Secretary of State is responsible, will not use the power in the manner you suggest as possible.

Sub-section (2) of section 2, to which you call attention, merely keeps alive, until alteration under the powers given by the Act, the existing Rules and Orders, &c. Of these there is a large number—very many of them having no relation whatever to the subject of contagious diseases; and but for the provisions referred to they would have no foundation to stand upon, inasmuch as the Act repeals the authorities on which they rested. A saving clause of this sort is inserted, almost as a matter of course, in every amending and repealing Act such as is this Cantonment law. But as to the particular Rules condemned by the House of Commons the Secretary of State was informed by the Government of India, in answer to an express inquiry in November last, that they were not and would not be continued in operation, and that new Rules, approved by the Secretary of State, would be brought into force as soon as possible after the Act came into operation.

With regard to your anticipation of the use which may be made of the new Regulations, the Secretary of State feels sure that you would consider that it is impossible for the Government to confer special privileges and exemptions upon persons who are suffering from the particular contagious disease to which your letter relates. The Rules treat all persons alike who are suffering from infectious or contagious disorders of whatever kind, and subject them to such restraint only of their individual liberty as is essential for the general health of the Cantonment.

With regard to the suggestion in your letter that a system of compulsory examination may be again set up, and that certificates of health will be given, or licenses to prostitutes to resume their vocation, the Secretary of State can see nothing in the Rules to lend any colour to such an insinuation, and he is unwilling to attribute to the Government of India an intention to evade, or to allow any of its officers to evade, the explicit instructions which he has issued, unless some solid ground can be afforded for such an accusation.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
John E. Gorst.

On the 2nd June 1890, the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State for India protesting against the new Cantonments Act, and pointing out that the Indian Government had disregarded the Resolution of Parliament and Lord Cross's own instructions in despatch of May 17th 1888.

Notwithstanding these various protests these Rules were finally ratified on the 4th July 1890, and came into force accordingly in all Cantonments in India, and were subsequently republished in the following form:—

"Government General Order, No. 617, Judicial.

"In continuance of the notification of the Government of India in the Military "Department, No. 1,066, dated the 20th December 1889, the Governor-General in "Council has been pleased to make the following Rules under Section 26, clause (21), "and Section 27, sub-sections (2) and (4) of the Cantonments Act, 1889, and to direct "that they be put in force in all Cantonments in British India."

App. II. Despatch No. 134, dated 6th Sept. 1892.

17. In the latter part of the year 1891 a memorial was received by Her Majesty's Viceroy of India from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, together with numerous other memorials from various Kirk Sessions connected with that body, protesting against the practices still continuing under the new Rules in respect of venereal diseases. The Commander-in-Chief was thereupon requested by letter, dated 21st October 1891, from the Government of India, to cause careful enquiry to be made "whether the "military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and "the Rules approved by the Secretary of State; and whether there is reason to believe "that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the Rules (Nos. 4 and 5 "being quoted therein) is resorted to." On the 24th March 1892, the Quartermaster-General replied, enclosing various reports from commanding officers in different Cantonments to the general effect that there was no compulsion beyond what is authorised by Rules 4 and 5; and concluding with the expression that the Commander-in-Chief "desires to strongly repudiate what he considers to be most unfounded "allegations." Beyond formal acknowledgment of the memorials no replies were sent to the memorialists.

Id., p. 9 (No. 4123 D).

Id., p. 28–9.

Despatch No. 11, 18th Jan. 1893.

18. We understand that in February and March 1893, Mr. Stansfeld and other Members of Parliament made further representations to the Secretary of State, to the effect that they were in possession of trustworthy information that in certain Cantonments in India the Resolution of the House of Commons had been practically disregarded; and urging an immediate enquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons into the matter; and they subsequently, upon requisition, submitted a "State-"ment of Facts" as to the administration of the Cantonment Act and Rules since 1889, in respect of venereal diseases, within ten Military Cantonments, in the year 1892. This document (which is printed *in extenso* in the Appendix hereto) presented a summary of the principal facts stated to have been ascertained, in the following terms:—

App. II.

"1. That within each Cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the "sanction of the military authorities:

"(*A.*) For the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use "exclusively of British soldiers;

"(*B.*) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by "European or Native medical officers;

"(*C.*) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the "orders of the examining officers;

"(D.) With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrests, "fines, or imprisonment; or of expulsion from the Cantonment.

"2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts, and the Regu-"lations made thereunder, are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an "established system of licensed prostitution, and the compulsory examination of "registered prostitutes, within the limits of the Cantonments."

19. After some negotiations and correspondence with the Government, in which the Government expressed a preference for a Departmental Committee over a Select Committee of the House of Commons, such Departmental Committee was appointed, as before-mentioned, and the evidence of the two American ladies and Mr. Bell was taken. The minutes thereof were subsequently transmitted to India as aforesaid, together with the Statement of Facts already referred to. The ten Cantonments referred to in the Statement, and as to which the evidence (principally that of the ladies) was given, were the following: Lucknow, Meerut, Mean Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritsar, Umballa, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares.

App. III. No. 2439. D, enclosure to Despatch No. 148 of 1893.

20. By a Resolution of the Military Department of the Government of India, dated 2nd June 1893, a Special Commission was appointed "to inquire into the correctness of "the allegations in the statement and in the evidence recorded in the accompanying

"minutes." The Commission was to consist of Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn (both before named as witnesses), and a native gentleman, Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan. These three Commissioners were directed to proceed to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow (three of the ten Cantonments above-mentioned), "to inquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement (before-mentioned) and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether, in their opinion, any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and of the Regulations published under that Act in G.G.O. No. 617, of the 4th July, 1890." The Commission was further empowered to call witnesses, and the Cantonment authorities were enjoined to give the Commissioners the fullest assistance, &c.

21. Upon comparing the terms of the Secretary of State's reference to this Committee with the language of the instructions to the Special Commission (in India), and before considering their Report, and the evidence on which it is based, it is apparent that the two references are not identical, for while the duty of the Special Commission has been limited to report whether the alleged practices are true, and if true whether they infringe the Rules of 1890, the duty of this Committee is to inquire and report how far the existing Rules themselves, as well as all practices (whether in accordance with those Rules, or being infringements thereof) accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons. In these circumstances, we consider the best course of proceeding is to determine in the first place what are the principal facts established by all the evidence on both sides, now before us, and to reserve that question for subsequent consideration. Accordingly, we proceed to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the Resolution of the House of Commons, in the three Cantonments, viz., Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, visited by the Special Commission, as proved by the evidence collected by them, as well as by the testimony of the non-official witnesses.

THE THREE CANTONMENTS VISITED BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

Chaklas.

22. **At Umballa** (or Ambala) there is now one general chakla used by British soldiers—it is in the Sadr bazar.* Before 1888 (which, to signify the date of the Resolution of the House of Commons, may for the purpose of this part of the report be conveniently adopted in general) there were three regimental chaklas for the use of British troops, artillery, cavalry, and infantry. In 1888 these regimental chaklas were closed by order, and all the prostitutes were directed to reside in the Sadr bazar. Between 1890 and 1893 these regimental chaklas were practically re-established, but in May 1893, when official inquiry was impending, they were again closed. Min. 362–70. Min. 2620. Min. 2621–8. Min. 2629–2638. S. C. Rep. par. 34. Min. 3585–6.

While the regimental bazars existed, the women practically belonged to particular regiments. Min. 2666–7.

In 1892 there were also two other chaklas in tents located near the camps of two Highland regiments. Min. 249–361. Min. 2670–76.

There is no separate register of prostitutes now kept by the Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general register of cantonment residents and therein described as "prostitutes," in the same way as lawful traders are respectively designated by their various trades and occupations. Min. 2646–2655.

The rooms in the Sadr bazar chakla are numbered distinctively (with large numerals) in English character, in addition to the general Cantonment Number of the house. Originally this was intended to enable a soldier to identify a woman otherwise than by name, and so far as those rooms are still occupied by prostitutes it would still serve the same purpose. Min. 2656–2665.

The chaklas resorted to by British soldiers are included in the general inspection of the military police who patrol the bazar, but they receive this particular supervision that if the police find any native men in these quarters they turn them out; a fact which not only implies extraordinary vigilance, but may perhaps justify the women in stating that they are under guard. Ev. S. C. lines 565–593–600. Min. 2680–82.

There is a uniform minimum rate of pay in all these chaklas, ranging from four annas for a private, to one rupee for a sergeant. Min. 354. Min. 532–39. Min. 2683.

* Sadr (or Sadar or Sudder) bazar—the principal or general bazar in the Cantonment.

Ev. S. S. 1561. It appears to be a customary rate long established, and is said indeed to be co-eval with British rule.

Min. 2684–5. If the soldier evades payment he is reported, and compelled to pay, either by the sergeant, or if necessary, some superior officer; in the same way in fact as for goods bought.

Min. 511–512. Min. 3439–40. Apparently there was (in 1892) a Mahaldarni* in each of the Highland regimental chaklas, who was paid by the women; and it is conclusively proved that there was also a Mahaldarni in the Cavalry bazar chakla (18th Hussars), up to 2nd August 1892.

Min. 634. Min. 2686. Ev. S. C. lines 805–12. Ev. S. C. 3381. The former practice of the women accompanying regiments to camp, or on the march, appears to have been continued in this Cantonment up to 1892, at least.

Ev. S. C. lines 2095–2118. Min. 2714–7. 23. At **Meerut** in 1888, the regimental chaklas theretofore existing were closed, and the women sent into the Sadr bazar chakla and the adjoining Lal Kurti (Red coat, *i.e.*, Infantry) bazar chakla.

Min. 2718. This created a demand for accommodation which was met by a new chakla being built in the Sadr bazar as a private speculation by a prostitute (Hira) on Government land granted for the purpose.

Min. 2720. Ev. S. C. 1235–43. Ev. S. C. lines 1236, 1515–23. In 1889 three regimental chaklas were re-opened. The Report of the Lock Hospital for that year has the following entry :—" In July 1889, with the sanction of the officers commanding corps, the old regimental chaklas were re-opened, and that a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and if found diseased to remain in hospital for treatment. . . . . The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the three regimental bazars, viz.. Cavalry, 10; Infantry, 10; Artillery, 14."

As copies of the Reports of the Hospitals are forwarded for the information of Superior Authorities, we are unable to see how this could have escaped the notice of those Authorities.

Min. 232–6. S. C. Report par. 33. These three chaklas seem to have been open in February 1892, although the Special Commissioners were informed they were closed in April 1891. But in any case the

3409–10. regimental classification of the women was kept up in the register of examinations until April 1893.

Min. 256–63. Min. 2732–3. Another chakla in tents at the camp of the West Kent Regiment existed in February 1892, and subsequently, but it is not clear up to what date.

Ev. S. C. lines 962–72. No separate register of prostitutes is now kept by Cantonment Magistrates.

Ev. S. C. lines 2723–28. Natives are prohibited and practically prevented from consorting with the women in chaklas frequented by British soldiers.

Min. 538. Min. 2740. Min. 2750. The same customary rate of pay obtains here as at Umballa and elsewhere, and which the men were compelled, if necessary, to pay.

Min. 269–70. Min. 2755–8. The Mahaldarni at the Sadr bazar was formerly a regimental Mahaldarni (for 10 years), and possesses official certificates. She is now paid by a proportion of the women's earnings.

Min. 2758. Her duties are, however, the same as before 1888.

Min. 621–3. Min. 2759–61. Min. 3424–27. In March 1892, women accompanied the West Kent Regiment from this Cantonment to Chakrata.

Min. 170. Min. 2761–65. 24. **At Lucknow.**—In 1888 three regimental chaklas formerly existing were closed, and all the registered women were directed to reside in the Sadr bazar.

Min. 184–205. Since 1888 the Sadr bazar chakla is the only one; it is a large building with accommodation for a great number of women.

Min. 2765–7. The rooms are numbered separately for distinction, as in Umballa.

Ev. S. C. 2366–9. Natives if found with women frequented by British soldiers are turned out.

Min. 538. Min. 2772. Min. 3309. The women have the uniform scale of pay as elsewhere.

Up to July 1888 there had been four Mahaldarnis at this Cantonment, paid from Cantonment funds.

Ev. S. C. 1856. Ev. S. C. 1865–6. One of these was continued as dhai at the Sadr bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be second matron to the Lock Hospital, and paid 10 rupees per

Ev. S. C. 2306. Ev. S. C. 2500. Ev. S. C. 2491. month from the Cantonment funds, but she continued to live at the chakla, look after the women, and take them for inspection.

Min. 605–10. It is stated (and not contradicted) that regiments coming to this Cantonment " brought their women with them."

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* Mahaldarni—a forewoman of prostitutes, a procuress, or keeper of a brothel, sometimes erroneously called a "Dhai." (*See* foot-note page 14.)

PERIODICAL EXAMINATION.

25. **At Umballa.**—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were discontinued after 1888, until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital in July 1890, when weekly examinations were begun of those prostitutes who were living in regimental chaklas—" and " there can be little doubt that . . . . . attendance at examination was made " a condition of permission to reside within those [regimental] limits." Report S. C., par 74.

Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to the departure of two Highland regiments in March 1892, and as to all the other regiments there up to 2nd August 1892. Min. 641 and 2782–90. Min. 3428–35.

Since the last recorded periodical examination (2nd August 1992) a certain number or group or prostitutes appear to have been occasionally examined upon a report that they or some of them were diseased. The officials state that these examinations were voluntary. Min. 2792–3.

And upon two occasions a number or group of women came (from the Sadr bazar) and requested examination for the purpose of disproving the " taunts " of other women that they (the applicants) were diseased. Min. 2814–5.

26. **At Meerut.**—The weekly inspections at this Cantonment were likewise discontinued after 1888 until the re-opening of the Lock Hospital here, 25th June 1889, and the contemporaneous re-opening of the regimental chaklas in which the women were " invited to reside . . . . . on the understanding that they would attend weekly at " the Lock Hospital for examination, and if diseased, should remain in the hospital until " cured." Report S. C. par. 33. Ev. S. C. 1235.

Those weekly examinations were maintained regularly up to May 1893; they appear to have been expressly continued after August 1892, by the direction of the Cantonment Magistrate, and to have been finally discontinued in May 1893, on the opinion expressed by the Commanding Officer that he thought they " had better be " stopped." Min. 641. Min. 2816. Min. 2836–9. Ev. S. C. 1466.

27. **At Lucknow.**—The periodical examination at this Cantonment was not discontinued in 1888, but was continued regularly until March 1892, with one alteration in February 1891, by making it a semi-weekly inspection instead of weekly as before. Min. 641. Min. 2843. Ev. S. C. 2189.

Regular attendance at those examinations, at least by new comers, appears to have been secured by the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate in stipulating that each woman should be examined before granting her permission to reside in the Cantonment. He did not explain to her that the examination was to be periodical. The Cantonment Magistrate says:—" In March 1892 . . . . notice was given to the women that " they were free to attend examination or not as they pleased, and the attendance " gradually decreased until it almost ceased." Rep. S. C. lines 1747–50. 1940–45. Ev. S. C. lines 1897–8. Ev. S. C. lines 1878–80.

In the ensuing summer he specially ordered ten women (who were indicated by soldiers) to leave the Cantonment or submit to examination. Since then up to May 1893, the weekly examinations appear to have been resumed, and it is said that the attendance has been absolutely voluntary. It is stated that the Cantonment Magistrate " ceased latterly " to send any women for examination on her application for permission to reside in Cantonments. *Id.*, 1880–86. Ev. S. C. 1899.

LOCK HOSPITALS.

28. **At Umballa.**—The old Lock Hospital is now used as a branch (section II.) of the General Cantonment Hospital. Min. 1312–1353. Min. 3090.

It is situated at some distance from the main building, and is used exclusely for women of a specific class, viz., prostitutes, whether their diseases be venereal or otherwise. It was formerly and is still publicly known as the Lock Hospital. The women attend here for periodical examination. Min. 3092–5. Ev. S. C. 356–9.

An " attendance register " of all the women periodically examined, and classified according to the six regiments mentioned therein was kept at the hospital, where Dr. Bushnell saw it; subsequently it was produced before the Committee. Such register shows the result of each examination under the general heading " State " and particular entries, *e.g.*, " Fit," " M." (menses), and " Hospital." Min. 1325, 3098, 3428.

The final dates of examination were in 1892, with two in 1891, when particular regiments left. Min. 3428–35.

The book is fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note. Ev. S. C. lines 3190–3230.

The women indicated by "M." do not appear to have been detained in hospital during the period of menstruation.

In addition to that general register two Mahaldarnis kept separate and similar registers; one was seen by Dr. Bushnell, but has not been produced. The other (18th Hussars) has been produced before the Committee, and found to accord with the general register, and to be in the same handwriting, with the like entries and initials.

Min. 3440-43. Min. 3451-53. Min. 3449-50.

Other Mahaldarnis in other regimental chaklas kept similar books, and apparently all such books were kept for the information of commanding officers.

Rep. S. C. 1089

The register of women attending for periodical examination shows that over a period of the last six months of the stay of each regiment down to the final date of examination (except the two regiments which left in 1891), the percentages of results were as follows: 75·5 per cent. of the women attending were "fit" (healthy), 10·9 per cent. were diseased, 13·6 per cent. had "menses."

Min. 3454.

The correspondence book produced corroborated Dr. Kate Bushnell's evidence as to its contents.

Min. 1331-3.

29. **At Meerut.**—The "contagious branch" of the Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital. The main building is not yet built. In this branch the "in-patients" are women only; there is no male ward. In 1892 all cases, viz., 172, except six (or seven) were venereal, and the patients prostitutes.

Min. 1147-1217 Min. 3105-7. *Id.*, 3108. *Id.*, 3109. *Id.*, 3416-17.

The examination is conducted by the dhai* in the presence of the doctor, who makes a further examination if signs of disease are present.

Id., 3408-14.

The hospital records comprised a list (or register) of prostitutes attending periodical examination, classified according to regiments, including also Sadr bazar women; the final date of examination of all being 24th April 1893. They showed results of each examination as follows:—83·3 per cent. of women attending were "healthy," 4·7 per cent. of women attending were diseased, 12.0 per cent. of women attending had "menses."

It does not appear whether the last-mentioned cases were detained in hospital or not. There were other records in books, &c., as to the contents of which evidence was given and fully described in Dr. Cleghorn's note, and which confirms Dr. Bushnell's original evidence in that respect.

Ev. S. C. 3320, *et seq.*

30. **At Lucknow.**—The contagious branch of the General Cantonment Hospital is the old Lock Hospital—it is 200 yards away from the main building. For about 20 months (1891-2) it was used as a general hospital. The in-patients were always venereal cases, and only prostitutes admitted.

Min. 1182-99. Min. 1063-1146. Min. 3113-9. Min. 3116-21.

Lists of prostitutes examined were formerly kept, but afterwards destroyed, and no information as to results of the examinations is now forthcoming.

Ev. S. C. 2185. Ev. S. C. 2288.

Women when menstruating were not examined, but were allowed to remain in the hospital during the period.

Ev. S. C. 2255.

THE PERIODICAL EXAMINATION AT THE THREE CANTONMENTS CONSIDERED.

31. We have now briefly reviewed all the salient facts as to the practice in the three Cantonments named, as proved by the evidence both non-official and official. We consider the latter not only confirms the former in all essential particulars, but also explains and supplements it to a remarkable extent. But of the facts so proved, one practice stands out in a peculiarly prominent manner, *i.e*, the periodical examination. It is now clearly demonstrated that this practice was carried on in the three particular Cantonments reported on by the Special Commission, viz., Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa during greater or lesser periods, extending betwen 1888 and 1893.

Ev. S. C. 2796.

This examination was indeed identical both in purpose and method with that which prevailed before 1888, but differed from it as respects the nature and amount of compulsion, a point more fully discussed in the next paragraph.

It appears therefore expedient at this point to consider this identity in the light of the Report of the Special Commission before passing to the consideration of other Cantonments as to which the evidence is less complete.

We infer from the language of the Report (par. 73) the opinion that the only examination expressly sanctioned by the Rules of 1890, is the occasional examination of persons "supposed" to be diseased, and that view was supported by Mr. Ibbetson's testimony, and in such opinion we concur.

Min. 2928.

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* Dhai—a woman, usually an old prostitute, employed in the Lock Hospital to look after the prostitutes; sometimes called a matron, but in no way corresponding to that title as used in England; sometimes employed as a Mahaldarni, and sometimes erroneously called so. (See foot-note, page 12.)

We likewise agree in the opinion expressed in par. 87 (line 1,965) that "the 'supposition' of the Rules must be based upon reasonable grounds," *i.e.*, it must not be merely imaginative.

It is not pretended that the regular periodical examination of all the prostitutes whose names were recorded in the hospital lists or registers was an examination founded on any actual supposition that all or even the majority of those women, or any particular woman, were or was diseased. And any such supposition, even if suggested, would be obviously unreasonable, for the result shows that the average number of women found to be diseased out of the total number who came up for examination was at one of the three places (*i.e.*, Merut), under 5 per cent., and at another (Umballa), under 11 per cent.

We are precluded from making any comparison of results at the third place (Lucknow), in consequence of the system which prevailed there of destroying the temporary records made at the hospital.

For the reasons above stated, therefore, we are led to the inevitable conclusion that the practice of periodical examination within those three Cantonments, as proved, was not sanctioned by the existing Act and Rules; and was therefore illegal.

32. We now approach the consideration of the crucial question whether the periodical examination was "voluntary" or "compulsory" at the three Cantonments in question.

As to (1) **Meerut,** it is admitted by the Report of the Special Commission upon the facts stated that "to say the least, the system approached dangerously near to com- "pulsion," and, in our opinion, it amounted to compulsion. Rep. S. C. par. 76 and 87.

At (2) **Umballa,** the attendance at examination was made the condition of permission to reside in Regimental bazars. To this case we apply the words cited above that the system approached "dangerously near to compulsion."

As to the other women (Sadr bazar), the fact that some of them desired to utilise the Government institution and its officers for the purpose of disproving the "taunts" of other women imputing disease to the applicants, does not appear to us to justify the maintenance of the practice of examination even as a purely voluntary system.

Finally as to (3) **Lucknow,** the facts stated in the report and evidence taken by the Special Commission as to the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate there, appear to us to show that, if not devised for the purpose of securing attendance at the periodical examinations, it had the effect of inducing the new comers at least to attend.

Older residents would be already habituated to the former compulsory system.

But the best evidence that the women did in fact consider their periodical attendance compulsory is, we think, furnished by the significant fact that when, in March 1892, the Cantonment Magistrate for the first time explained to the women that they were free to attend or not as they pleased, the attendance gradually decreased until it almost ceased. After that, it appears to us that any discussion as to whether the examination up to that time (at Lucknow) had been voluntary or compulsory is merely academic. Ev. S. C. 1878–80.

33. The question as to whether a given obligation is voluntary or compulsory is, we consider, different according as to whether the obligation existed between persons equal in education, position and other circumstances, or between persons of whom the obligee stands in superior conditions to those of the obligor.

In the former case a specific obligation might be merely voluntary, which in the latter case would be practically compulsory.

This principle is applied in paragraph 83 of the report of the Special Commission with admirable lucidity to the two sets of persons concerned as parties in the present question, and we cannot conclude our observations on this topic more appropriately than by adopting and quoting their observations *in extenso*.

"The fact is, that the question whether any particular action can be said to be "voluntary, presents two entirely different aspects according as it is looked at from the "point of view of the official or from that of the woman. The action of the officer may "be merely persuasive, and entirely free from any tinge of compulsion. But for "countless generations the *marzi hákim*, or pleasure of the governor, and the *hukm* "*hákim*, or order of the governor, have been equivalent terms in India. The idea "that the local representatives of Government do not always possess authority "to compel people to do all that they may wish them to do, and that there is a law "which limits their power, is, at any rate as regards executive matters, an entirely novel "conception, which may be said to have had its birth (in the Punjab at least) within Rep. S. C. 1873.

" the last 15 years, which is still filtering slowly down through the masses of the people " and which is even now fully apprehended by but few There is still a strong tendency " to receive the expression of his wish by one in authority as equivalent to a command. " Add to this the extraordinary tenacity with which observances, once established, " survive in India ; and it becomes impossible to say how far a given result is due to the " personal influence of an official, how far to his position of authority, and how far to a " mere continuation of a traditional observance."

34. To sum up therefore our conclusions as to the practice of periodical examination in these three particular Cantonments, Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, we are of opinion that such practice of periodical examination, accompanied by methods of securing attendance which so far as they were effective were practically compulsory, justifies the allegations of the non-official witnesses in that respect.

The consideration of the other facts proved as to matters incidental or subsidiary to that system of examination will be more conveniently considered in connection with correlative facts as to other Cantonments to which we now proceed.

THE SEVEN OTHER CANTONMENTS NOT VISITED BY THE SPECIAL COMMISSION

35. The evidence as to these consists of (1) the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell ; (2) the reports from general officers commanding in the several districts mentioned and constituting the enclosures Nos. 4 to 12 in the Military Despatch, No. 148 of 1893 (which are hereinafter referred to generally as the Military Reports, the references being more briefly denoted by the letters M.R., with the numbers of the lines indicated).

The fact that no official witness was called before us to give personal testimony as to any of these Cantonments, in the same manner as the three Cantonments before-mentioned, visited by the Special Commission, obliges us to deal with the materials before us in a different manner than with the evidence relating to those three Cantonments, viz., by stating in the first place the effect of the case set forth in the evidence of the non-official witnesses, and in the next place the effect of the official reports made in reply thereto.

It is, however, necessary for us to state that the *précis*, or summary forwarded with the Military Reports of the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission, is in our opinion, inexact and misleading.

It will be convenient to deal with this evidence in the order followed originally as to the Cantonments in question by the non-official witnesses, viz. : Mean Meer (Lahore), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritsar, Bareilly, Sitapur, Benares. And the practices at each of these places may also be conveniently dealt with under the three general heads hereinbefore adopted, viz. : (1.) The chaklas, &c. ; (2.) The periodical examination ; (3.) The Hospitals.

Min. 266-279.

36 **Mean Meer.** (1) **The Chaklas.**—The principal allegations in the testimony of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell were (in short) that in February, 1892, they visited this Cantonment and there saw three chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar ; (2) Regimental bazar (infantry) ; (3) Regimental bazar (artillery), and that the women paid rent.

M. R. 940-951. M. R. 3100-10.

The reports admit that prostitutes were allowed to reside in the two regimental bazar chaklas, infantry and artillery, which were used exclusively for British soldiers, and in the

M. R. 3130.

Sadr bazar, which chakla was open to natives, and that the women paid rent, but not to Government.

Min. 424-433.

It was also alleged that the women were "registered," and a ticket (license) issued

M. R. 952-9. *Id.* 900-5.

to one of them was produced, with a record of examinations endorsed. These facts are admitted absolutely. The tickets are stated to have been re-issued between March 1890, and May 1892, and then discontinued. But it was subsequently proved by the

Min. 3498. Lin. 421-430.

production of the book of forms seen in the hospital by Mrs. Andrew that further requisitions for 19 tickets were made by the Hospital Surgeon on the 15th June 1892.

Id. 3491-8. M. R. Suppl. 95.

The Royal Artillery officers stated that no tickets for women in the Regimental bazars had been issued by them, but it appears from the book that 20 such tickets had been issued

Min. 3500.

by the Staff Surgeon between February 1891 and June 1892.

Min. 486-95.

It was also alleged that the women were under Mahaldarnis, one of whom said she

M.R. 3120.

was paid by Government. The Military Reports deny that any Mahaldarni was paid by Government, but admit that her "duties practically continue the same" (as before 1888).

Suppl. M.R. p. 42, line 169.

It was at first admitted that the women accompanied some troops on the march to this Cantonment, but this was subsequently denied.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the regimental prostitutes were subjected to a compulsory periodical examination bi-monthly by British Medical Officers, assisted by native assistant and dhai. It is admitted that "registered women "were required to present themselves for examination bi-monthly (meaning fortnightly)— "the examinations were not limited to women consorting with British soldiers only. "The examination was made by a British Medical Officer. Each Medical Officer had, it "appears, his own way of conducting the examination. Sometimes they were made in "the presence of the Native Medical Officer, Mahaldarni or dhai, and sometimes only "in the presence of the Mahaldarni." Min. 641. M.R. 3141-6:

It is also admitted that "if a woman failed to present herself for examination the "Medical Officer reported the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who probably "fined her for non-attendance, and ordered her to attend or leave the Cantonment." M.R. 3156-9.

And also that "a woman who had left the Cantonment could not practise "prostitution in it again until she had been examined." M.R. 3159.

With respect to the alleged "compulsory" character of the examination, it is also stated, as to the re-established periodical examinations, that they "were so far voluntary "that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examinations she was told she "*must* either be examined or leave the station." *Id.*, 996.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—No specific allegation was made as to the use of this particular hospital; but it is admitted (June 1893) that "the hospital for the "treatment of contagious diseases was formerly exclusively used under the name of the "Voluntary Venereal Hospital and Contagious Diseases Ward for the treatment of "venereal diseases contracted by regimental prostitutes." That appears to have been the case, at least up to May 1892 (the non-official witnesses visited it in February 1892). M.R. 3162-5. M.R. 3170.

37. **Rawal Pindi.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged by the non-official witnesses that there were in February 1892 four chaklas (1) at the Sadr bazar (as to which there is no question), and three others in the new Cantonment near the regimental bazars for (1) Highlanders, (2) Artillery and (3) Rifles. Min. 282-3.

As to the regimental chaklas, it is admitted that the tenants of the several chaklas "other than those in the Sadr, are in the habit of speaking of themselves as belonging to "such and such a regiment." It is also admitted that two of these chaklas were in the Church lines—which were part and parcel of the bazar—and that they were undistinguishable from other houses. The third regimental chakla was near the Royal Artillery bazar, and consisted of huts in the deserted grass cutters lines. The huts were at first denied, but afterwards admitted to be within the regimental limits and were "allocated by "authority for the use of prostitutes," but were turned out in April 1893. M.R. 2900. M.R. 1951-63—1163-5. M.R 2910. M.R. 3365. M.R. 3432.

Women wishing to reside in the Cantonment for the purpose of prostitution made application by petition "evidently under the impression that the old Lock Hospital Rules "were still in force." Notwithstanding explanations to the contrary, the number of such applications steadily increased, viz., in 1889, one; in 1890, two; in 1891, five; in 1892, six; in 1893, up to June, five. Note to Tabular Statement—M.R. p. lxxvi.

It was alleged that there was in each of the regimental chaklas a head woman (Mahaldarni) one of whom (the Highlanders) showed certificates of service up to November 1891. She also said that she received 15 rupees per month "from the "Government." The others said they were paid by the women. Min. 496-501. *Id.* 920-39.

It is admitted that there are Mahaldarnis, and that the description of the certificates is correct, but denied that any such woman is paid out of Cantonment funds. M.R. 2938-50. M.R. 2958.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.** It was alleged that the women were examined weekly on Fridays, which is admitted. Min. 641. Min. 1263. M.R. 1666.

In the Hospital Letter Book appears a copy letter dated 4th March, 1891, addressed to the commanding officer of each of five different regiments in the following terms:— M.R. 2077-83.

[Surgeon] "Has the honour to request he will be good enough to make arrange-"ments for the inspection of the prostitutes living in the bazar under his command at "the Cantonment Hospital on every Friday at 9 a.m., established for the purpose."

The enquiries instituted respecting this letter produced no satisfactory results. M.R. 2034-2120

It is asserted by the Military Authorities that the periodical examination is voluntary, and that no compulsion is used beyond the powers conferred by the Rules of 1890, and apparently the Cantonment Magistrate thinks that even the examination of a woman reported to be diseased and dealt with accordingly under the Rules (with penalties for M.R. 2985-90. M.R. 1880-92.

disobedience, of expulsion, or fine, or imprisonment) is a voluntary examination. It was admitted, however, that a woman simply absent from examination was required to go up for examination; they then always attended, or absconded; sometimes they were brought by the police.

M.R. 3602-9.

M.R. 1835.

It is also admitted that some of the women came (to examination) with the Mahaldarnis—that each Mahaldarni brought a list, on which were the names of the women; it was returned with the doctor's remarks. The lists generally referred to the women who consorted with European soldiers.

M.R. 1840.

Id., 1709.

M.R. 3556-60.

It is admitted by the Hospital Assistant that a list was kept there of all the prostitutes who came to be examined from the Sadr bazar, and that the Mahaldarnis brought lists of regimental women, which were returned to them; one of the lists was from the British infantry, the other one from the artillery. About 25 to 35 used to come (which confirms Dr. Bushnell's evidence), but he could not say whether they came voluntarily. The Mahaldarni at the Artillery bazar said if the women did not go they would be fined, and that she saw that they all went.

Min. 1268.

Min. 741.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The fact that the books and records seen by Dr. Bushnell at this hospital and requisitioned have not been produced before the Committee precludes any comparison of evidence on this subject.

Min. 3525.

Dr. Bushnell's evidence as to the records for 1891, showing that none but venereal cases were treated there, consequently stands uncontradicted.

Min. 1247-54.

The statement in the Summary of the Military Reports, that "no woman was compulsorily detained" in hospital, is confirmed by some witnesses but conflicts with the evidence of the Hospital Assistant that the Medical Officer ordered their detention till cured; "the compound door was locked, and there was a chowdikar (watchman) at the "gate."

M.R. Summary p. 2 (foot).

M.R. 3618.

39. **Peshawar.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged on the part of the non-official witnesses that on their visit (February 1892), they found that all the registered women had been turned out of the Regimental bazaar and congregated in the Sadr bazar, and that the houses inhabited by those women bore two numbers, the larger ones in English numerals, which signified the registered numbers of the women. There were said to be over 50 registered women. It is admitted that the women live in the Sadr bazar as described, and that the second set of numbers exists on some of the houses, but it is stated to have "no meaning in 1892." It is also admitted that a list was commenced in 1890, but stated that no register was kept or tickets issued since April, 1891. The women here said they accompanied regiments on the march. It is admitted women may follow regiments, but asserted there is no proof that they have accompanied them.

Min. 301-11.

Min. 316-32.

M.R. 2177.

Id., 2262.

Id. 2183.

Id., 2270.

Id. 2317.

Min. 633.

M.R. 2280.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the women came up for periodical examination on two days in each week. Monday for the (original) Sadr bazar women, Tuesday for the women formerly in the Regimental bazar. This is practically admitted, and is confirmed by the hospital register (see *post*). It was alleged that the native doctor said that women would not come to the examination unless compelled. That official is reported to deny the statement attributed to him. The women themselves said they were compelled to attend the examinations.

Min. 1278-9.

M.R. 2259.

Min. 743.

M.R. 2291 and 2305.

Min. 744-6.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The non-official witnesses alleged that at the Lock Hospital they saw the registration list of women periodically examined. It contained 56 names.

Min. 333-44.

Min. 1281.

The hospital register of attendance at the periodical examination, now produced, shows that the periodical examinations were regularly maintained on Monday and Tuesday of each week, down to 29th February, 1892.

Min. 3515-3517.

It was alleged that only one patient was seen in the hospital, a prostitute of the Sadr bazar.

Min. 1276-7.

That the native doctor said the hospital was for venereal cases of women only—and that the report showed none but venereal cases, except one case of small-pox, which was sent away. Also that the report seen showed that there were about 200 cases treated in the year 1891—no cases of secondary syphilis.

Min. 1286.

Min. 1292.

Min. 1297-8.

The hospital books now produced confirmed these statements.

Min. 3523-4.

N.B.—The official information afforded as to this Cantonment in general is manifestly incomplete in some material particulars.

M.R. 2159, 2227, 2273, and 2316.

39. **Amritsar.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged that here there was one chakla frequented by British soldiers, with only five women and a Mahaldarni. This is not denied.

Min. 293-8.

M.R. 858-62.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the periodical examination here was "bi-monthly." Min. 641.

This is admitted. The examination is asserted by the officials to be entirely voluntary. M.R. 865.

But the women said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the Cantonment. Min. 747-8.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged that on the visit of the non-official witnesses there were no patients. Min. 1302-11.

This is admitted. The books were not seen. M.R. 876.

40. **Bareilly.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—The principal allegation of the non-official witnesses was that they saw here (March 1892) one chakla (Sadr bazar), with about 25 women; other women had left with regiments. It is admitted that the majority of the houses (in this chakla) belong to the Matron of the Cantonment Hospital. Her name is given as Mrs. Barrett, and she appears to be in some way associated with the clerk to the Cantonment Magistrate, a person named Hyland, and she is also known as Mrs. Hyland. Min. 371-6. M.R. 571-3. M.R. 716-20. Min. 1379. Min. 3553-6.

The women said that only Europeans were allowed to visit them. This is denied, but it is said that no doubt the bawdy-house keeper "tried to reserve her women for "British soldiers, but she had no official assistance in so doing." M.R. 710. M.R. 596.

The Mahaldarni there said she was paid by Government. This is denied. Min. 513. M.R. 775-80.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that this took place weekly. This is not denied, and it is admitted that the medical officer prescribed the times of examination. Min. 639. M.R. 593.

The women said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the Cantonment. Min. 753

The officials say there was absolutely no compulsion, but it was "noticed that a "woman accompanied the others to examination." M.R. 595.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—The non-official witnesses testified that they saw various official books, &c. here which were afterwards produced before the Committee. Min. 1354-79.

In the visiting book the last entry of the medical officer holding the "voluntary "inspection" was 14th January 1893, when 22 women were examined, none diseased. Min. 3532-6.

The admission book of patients showed the treatment of several non-venereal cases Min. 1362. Min. 3538.

With respect to this Cantonment Major General Graham, commanding the Rohilkhand District, in his Report, states: "It would be a great boon to Cantonments if "Cantonment Hospitals (Lock Hospitals) were closed and Government charitable "dispensaries founded in their place. The Cantonment Hospital is a great burden on "the Cantonment Fund, while, owing to its previous history, it is not well received by "the classes whom it might be desirable to help." M.R. 826-9.

41. **Sitapur.** (1.) **The Chaklas.**—The non-official witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was (5th March 1892) one chakla in the Sadr bazar. Min. 389-96.

This is admitted.

The women there said they paid no rent; "the house belongs to the Government." M.R. 4594.

It is admitted that this chakla was on the given date "Government property," and that the women were in occupation, paying no rent. Min. 396. M.R. 4616-20.

It is stated the house was afterwards sold, in May 1892. M.R. 4614.

(2). **The Periodical Examination.**—It was alleged that the examination here was weekly. Min. 641.

It is admitted that periodical examinations were regularly held up to 12th July 1892. The women in the chakla here said that the examinations were voluntary, but that if they did not go they would be expelled from the Cantonment. It is admitted that "some of the women say the inspections were voluntary, others that they were "compulsory." M.R. 4577-4705-29. Min. 754. M.R. 4571.

(3.) **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged that the only in patients treated here were venereal diseases of the women at the chakla. Min. 1395-1400.

The Annual Report for 1891 there seen showed only venereal cases.

This Report has not been produced before the Committee.

M.R. 4818. M.R. 4830. M.R. 4628-4640.

But it is admitted that only venereal cases were treated in 1892 in the hospital, and all these were prostitutes. It is also admitted that a list or register of women attending periodical examinations up to 12th July 1892 was kept in the hospital, but it has not been produced.

Min. 397-400.

42. **Benares.** (1.) **The Chaklas, &c.**—It was alleged that in March 1892 there was only one chakla at this place, and that the women who lived there paid no rent.

M.R. 105. M.R. 127. M.R. 210.

It is admitted that during the first quarter of the year 1892 native women did occupy the chakla, and no denial is given as to the statement concerning the rent.

Min. 402. M.R. 125.

The women said they were restricted to British soldiers, and no official denial of this is given.

Min. 517-22.

The Mahaldarni said she acted also as "Dhai" at the Lock Hospital, and was paid 10 rupees per month.

M.R. 207.

The woman herself admits that she used the two titles, but says she "never did the "two works."

M.R. 245-50.

The payment is admitted as correct.

M.R. 175.

It is admitted that a register of the women was kept in the Cantonment Office up to 23rd October 1890.

Min. 641.

(2.) **The Periodical Examination.**—The examinations were alleged to take place weekly.

M.R. 260.

It is admitted that periodical examinations were made, but it is suggested (although not affirmed) that the women ceased to attend before March 1892.

Min. 755.

The women said they would have to leave the Cantonment if they did not attend the examination.

M.R. 260.

It is officially stated that the examinations were of a "purely voluntary kind," but that the women regarded them as being in effect compulsory is not denied.

Min. 1422.

(3). **The Lock Hospital.**—It was alleged there were no patients in the hospital on 12th March 1892, which is not denied.

Min. 1425-7.

A registration list of women attending examination was alleged to have been then seen, recording the names of 16 women. This has not been produced before the Committee, and the statement is not contradicted.

Min. 1428.

An admission book of indoor cases was also seen, and is now produced; it shows the cases were all venereal cases and all women.

Min. 3528-9.

It shows also that the women were here for "menses," 25 cases out of 34 in-patients, from 1st January to 12th March 1892.

M.R. 156-160.

It is officially stated that women in that condition "voluntarily remained in hospital," during which period they received the Government allowance for in-patients.

MEAN MEER SPECIALLY CONSIDERED.

43. We have now recapitulated the principal allegations and admissions as to the practice in respect of prostitutes in the seven Cantonments not visited by the Special Commission.

But before considering the facts which pertain in general to those several places, it seems expedient to notice in particular the exceptional circumstances at Mean Meer, which remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments.

It appears from the Reports from the officers commanding in that Cantonment and district already referred to that the old system, with all its essential features of registration, licensing (by tickets), and compulsory periodical examination, was not only in full operation there at the time of the visit (February 1892) of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, but that such practices had been deliberately revived in that Cantonment in March 1890, after a temporary cessation, dating apparently from 1888. Yet the official statements before us do not enable us to decide even that fact satisfactorily, for although the Report of the Officer Commanding states that the "registration of prostitutes was "stopped in *August* 1888," the Report of the Medical Officer of the Lock Hospital there, dated 1st February 1889, shows that the average number of prostitutes on the register in *October* 1888 was 54. Moreover, if the statement in the first-mentioned Report is intended to imply that periodical examination also ceased at the same time as registration (which in the absence of any statement seems a fair inference), that also is inconsistent with the Medical Officer's Report, which explicitly states that "inspections "for the examinations of all registered prostitutes were held regularly every week, but since the 10th *December* 1888 no examination has been made."

M.R. 991.

Lock Hospital Reports (Punjab) for year 1888, Mean Meer, p. 4.

In addition to this there is the fact that in November 1891 the General Officer Commanding the Lahore district, in which this Cantonment is comprised, reported to the Quartermaster General that he "had made most careful enquiries . . . . ." and was "fully satisfied that the Military Authorities are keeping strictly within the Act and "Rules."

However, the admitted fact of the revival of the old system in March 1890 in attributed to some "extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonmens "Magistrate." This misconception arose on receipt of Quartermaster General's No. 283B., dated 28th June 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment at Mean Meer Lock Hospital, to which we shall afterwards advert. M.R. 898. M.R. 994. Suppl. M.R. 180.

With regard to the fact, however, we are informed by the Commanding Officer that "it was brought to my notice, in May 1892, that tickets were being issued to prostitutes "at Mean Meer;" on which we have only to remark that at that very time one of those tickets was in the possession of the lady witnesses, instead of the woman to whom it had been issued.

Taken altogether, the circumstances as to this Cantonment disclosed by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, which was verified in the most essential particulars by their production of the ticket, as well as by the Official Reports, appear to us to have required special investigation, even in preference to any of the other Cantonments; and we therefore regret that it did not form the subject of exhaustive inquiry by Mr. Ibbetson and his coadjutors, in order that the whole truth about the matter might have been at once ascertained. As it is, we are still left very much in the dark, for even the late Commander in Chief was unable to explain the facts, and could only express his regret for the practices proven. Min. 2007-2028.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

44. Reverting now to general topics we will consider, in the next place, **the periodical examination in the seven Cantonment** not visited by the Special Commission. Upon this subject, likewise, as in the case of the three Cantonments to which the Report of that Commission is restricted, the effect of the official evidence as represented by the numerous Reports of the Military Authorities and others as to the practices in those other Cantonments, is upon the whole to demonstrate the correctness on all essential points of the testimony of the non-official witnesses, and more particularly as to the maintenance in all these Cantonments of the practice of periodical examination. It is therefore manifest that, in all the ten Cantonments which have been the subject of enquiry, that practice has been maintained with more or less continuity at different places from 1888 down to the present time.

45. **As to the Periodical Examination in general.**—The practice so maintained in all the ten Cantonments mentioned has, both in purpose and performance, been the the same since 1888 as before that time. The examination of the women resorted to by British soldiers was, as we have seen, the cardinal point of the former system; it is still, to adopt the description of the present Commander-in-Chief, "the keystone of the whole "preventive system." That examination for the purpose intended must, in practice, take place at such prescribed times as may be convenient—*i.e.*, it must be periodical; and to be effective, regular attendance must be ensured; which implies that in cases of reluctance or abstinence the attendance must be enforced, with the ultimate alternative of expulsion from the Cantonment. In practice this is exactly how the system of periodical examination has, we find, been worked. App. III. Genl. White's Min. 1/7/93, par 10. *Id.*, par. 12.

Our conclusion as to the practice of periodical examinations so proved, therefore, is that a system of periodical examination, which in effect was a compulsory system, was maintained after 1888 in the several Indian Cantonments mentioned, and that such practice was contrary to the meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

46. **As to Registration and Licensing of Prostitutes.**—The practice of periodical examination is also proved to have been associated, in all the Cantonments as to which the evidence is complete, with two other important practices, viz.:—

(1.) The entry in the general register, kept by the Cantonment Magistrate, of the description of "prostitutes" of numerous women living in assigned quarters within the Cantonments, in the same way as other inhabitants carrying on lawful business in allocated positions are described by their occupations.

(2.) The keeping at the Lock Hospitals where the periodical examination takes place of a "register" or "list" of women attending the examination, in which the names and places of residence of such women are entered, and the results of each examination recorded.

In some cases also the Mahaldarnis associated with women designated after particular regiments possess similar registers or lists, with identical entries authenticated by the initials of the examining surgeon.

Upon these facts it appears to us that even although the former practice of formal "registration" and "licensing" (by tickets) may have been discontinued since 1888, in all the given Cantonments, except Mean Meer, yet that all materials for effective registration nevertheless still exist; inasmuch as a comparison of the hospital lists and books in the possession of Mahaldarnis with the general register would show which prostitutes were not attending the periodical examination, and which of those who were so attending were attributed to different regiments

We regret, therefore, to find that even in the modified circumstances we have referred to, there is in effect a system of registration which, whilst it recognises prostitution in general as an occupation permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further afford to the prostitutes who attend the periodical examinations a special recognition by the authorities, which is unique both in its character and its object.

It appears to us inevitable that such recognition should be regarded at least by the women themselves as distinctive, and that they should cling to that opinion, notwithstanding repeated official efforts to constrain them to think differently.

With respect to the soldiers concerned, it appears to us to be an idle contention that the Government in no way recognise prostitution, in face of the fact that the system of periodical examination, with all its incidental circumstances, was expressly maintained for the benefit of those men engaged in its military service.

Besides, there remains the significant fact that the large majority (at Meerut over 83 per cent) of the women examined were found "fit" or "healthy" (in a specific sense), and passed forth from the examination room with perfect liberty to resume their usual occupation.

It is true that since 1888 (except at Mean Meer) they have not been individually furnished with any written proof of examination ; but the exact time of such examination must be known to those concerned, and under such circumstances the liberty of the woman herself after examination is the best evidence of "fitness" for the purpose intended by herself and her customers.

Moreover, wherever the Mahaldarnis' lists exist there is an actual certificate by the constituted authority that each particular woman then at liberty is "fit" or "healthy" in the specific sense implied. And the fact that the certificate in this case is possessed by the Mahaldarni instead of by the woman, as formerly, places the latter more completely in the power of her keeper.

Upon all these facts therefore our conclusion is, that the actual practice constitutes in effect a system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes which is not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

47. **The Lock Hospitals in general.**—The general allegation of the non-official witnesses as to these hospitals, was that although they are now officially called "Sections" or "Wards" of General Cantonment Hospitals, in which all diseases and disorders are treated, and although such general Cantonment Hospitals are officially spoken of as if the old Lock Hospitals had been absolutely abolished, yet that in fact the original Lock Hospitals actually remained as separate buildings with a staff, and that they were used almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes for two principal purposes: (*a*) the periodical examination, and (*b*) the cure of those women found on examination to be diseased. It was also alleged that no infectious diseases are treated in those particular hospitals ; that as a rule no patients other than prostitutes are admitted ; and that the non-venereal cases treated in them are only few and occasional.

Min. 1063-1436, 3407-3542. Ev. S. C. 3185-3446.

All these allegations have been substantially proved by the testimony of the non-official witnesses, the production of the hospital records seen by them on their several visits, and the evidence of Dr. Cleghorn (the present Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab) on behalf of the Government of India. The voluntary information afforded to us by the last-named witness describes very plainly the whole system, in reply to questions 3122-6 : "With regard to those Cantonment "general Hospitals, they have been drawn up on the same plans as military hospitals. In

Min.

"a military hospital there is a station hospital, and Sections 1 and 2. They wanted to "assimilate, I suppose, these special hospitals in Cantonments to these military "hospitals, and they built the Cantonment General Hospital with a general hospital, "and then special sections 1 and 2 (1) for contagious diseases and cholera and small-pox, "and (2) for venereal cases. But it was the same thing. So long as these periodical "examinations were continued, there must be a hospital for venereal diseases, and they "considered that these examinations were entirely voluntary, and they continued the old "system of having a separate venereal hospital, and called it section No. 2; but it was "the old Lock Hospital undoubtedly, in every way." "They are the old Lock Hospitals "for prostitutes, and no other change has taken place, except that they have been made a "section of the Cantonment General Hospital." "They are separate buildings." "Always used as Lock Hospitals." "And practically for the same purpose now."

We accept these statements as conclusive upon this point.

48. In view of all the facts before noticed, which appear to us to demonstrate a general failure to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons, and the avowed determination of the Government of India and the late Commander in Chief to give the fullest effect to that Resolution, in spirit as well as in letter, we think it advisable briefly to review the means employed for the intended purpose, which consisted of two principal agencies, viz.:—

(1.) Official Rules and Regulations, both civil and military.

(2.) The Statutory Rules of 1890.

49. **As to the Official Rules and Regulations.**—We have already reported (*see* paragraph 11 hereof) the steps taken by the Government of India consequent upon the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and more particularly their declared intention to consider the Rules under the then existing Acts; and their direction that, "pending the issue of revised rules, the existing Rules should be so worked that there "should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no "granting of licenses to practise prostitution."

From time to time numberless other communications of various kinds, comprising Government General Orders, regimental Orders, reports, and letters, both official and demi-official, "confidential," and "strictly confidential," were issued and sent to various administrative officers, both civil and military. One of these was a demi-official letter, dated 10th March 1892, part of which is quoted in Despatch No. 148 of 1893, paragraph 11, and in which the following illustrative application of the principle laid down was stated: "If, . . . even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes "were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for "examination on pain of being turned out of Cantonments, the intention of the "Government of India and of the Supreme Military Authorities, to carry out loyally the "Resolution of the House of Commons, would be defeated." Whilst in the next paragraph the Government of India requests the Commander in Chief to instruct General Officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention and the Resolution of the House of Commons of June the 5th 1888. App. III.

Assuming, for the moment, that all these directions, orders, &c., were sufficient in themselves to carry out the intention of the House of Commons Resolution, it seems manifest, in the first place, that effective measures should have been instituted to ascertain that the directions and orders were implicitly obeyed, and careful inquiries should have been instituted to see what changes in practice, and more particularly with regard to the periodical examinations, had been made in each Cantonment, and whether such changes were in themselves adequate to fulfil the intention.

But it does not appear that systematic measures or inquiries of the kind were instituted.

Had they been, it must, we think, have been discovered that in some of the ten Cantonments mentioned (*e.g.*, Mean Meer, Umballa, Meerut), regimental chaklas had been re-opened; that at one of these (*i.e.*, Mean Meer) even formal registration and licensing (by tickets) had been re-established; that in all of these stations the periodical examination had been either unceasingly continued or speedily resumed; that at Umballa women attended periodical examinations under pain of being turned out of the Regimental bazars; that at Meerut they attended examinations under pain of being turned out of the Cantonments, and that at Lucknow it appears to have been to some extent considered by the women as compulsory; and that, in short, the old system as represented

substantially by the periodical examination was still in active operation. With regard to this question of compulsion the statement of the Indian Government in the document above quoted, paragraph 12 is, "That there was no compulsion beyond that authorised in "Rules 4 and 5, G.G.O. 617, of 1890, relating to the exclusion from Cantonments of "persons suffering from infectious or contagious disease who refused to go to hospital, or "having gone to hospital left it before they were pronounced free from the disorder."

In some cases, indeed, it appears incidentally from the documentary evidence before us, that the Orders, &c., themselves failed to receive more than initial attention. For instance, at Umballa, the documents being marked "strictly confidential," after being read, were locked up in a "confidential box," and were not conveyed to the officers commanding two Highland regiments which subsequently arrived at Umballa.

Ev. S. C. 3613.

At another Cantonment (Rawal Pindi) the Orders, instead of being locked up in a special box, were "filed," and escaped the attention of the officer commanding the Artillery at the station.

M.R. 3270–90.

In numerous other cases the Orders, &c., were said to have been misinterpreted, of which result the most striking example, in all respects, is that of Mean Meer, where, upon the receipt, in January 1890, from the Quartermaster General, of an authority for an increase in the staff of the Lock Hospital "from some extraordinary misconception of "orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate, ... women were registered, "tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspection made" for more than two years afterwards, before the practice was discontinued as before mentioned.

M.R. 993.

M.R. 898–900.

The explanation of the Cantonment Magistrate is too significant to be overlooked: "The construction placed upon the Quartermaster-General's letter was that sanction "having been obtained for the establishment of a first-class Lock Hospital, it would of "course be worked on the former lines." And he points out that when such sanction was given "no caution or warning whatever was given to be careful that the Rules as to "registration, &c., must be implicitly adhered to."

Suppl. M.R. 153–6.

Suppl. M.R. 158–160,

We think the point of this latter observation is indeed quite as applicable to other cases of disregard or misinterpretation of Rules and Orders, and more particularly the Rules of 1890, which we now proceed to consider specifically.

50. **The Statutory Rules of 1890.**—These Rules were projected in 1888, with a specific object, as declared by the Government of India, viz., "whereby venereal "diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious "diseases."

Despatch No. 193, of 1888, dated 15th Oct.

Now, as venereal disease is the only contagious disease for which any periodical examination ever has been made, it is manifest at the outset that there was no intention by means of those Rules to legalise the periodical examination, whether "voluntary" or "compulsory."

But there is nothing in the Rules, either in their original draft, or in their final form having statutory effect, or in the Act which gave them such effect, to prohibit such examination, or to preclude any interpretation that they were intended to be worked in connection with the practice of such examination.

In themselves those Rules were compatible either with the old system of compulsory examination, or the intended new system of voluntary examination.

Min. 2704–6.

They are, as Mr. Ibbetson admitted, merely "subsidiary legislation"; they "merely "authorise certain courses of action, and *do not prohibit any*." There is nothing in them which prohibits any system. Accordingly, the practices proved to be existing in different Cantonments, in respect of the chaklas, as already reported, do not in themselves infringe the Rules of the Act, although such practices may be in contravention of Government or Military Orders, &c.

Min. 2920–26.

Min. 2927–8.

The same is true as to the periodical examination. The Rules authorise a certain form of examination on certain occasions and in specific circumstances; they do not authorise any periodical form of examination whatever, but they do not forbid it. It is the same with regard to the use of the Lock Hospital. "They simply prescribe that "hospitals shall be maintained for the treatment of those disorders, and go no further."

Min. 2930–1.

It appears to us manifest, therefore, that having regard to the express terms in which those Rules were first mentioned in the official Orders, *i.e.*, that pending the issue of the new Rules, the existing Rules were to be so worked that registration, licensing and compulsory periodical examination were to cease, it was needful, in order to prevent misinterpretation and error, that one of two courses should have been followed. Either the publication of those Rules should have been accompanied by a republication of all such Orders, &c., both civil and military, as would have prevented the resuscitation of

Despatch 148 of 1893, par. 5.

the former system, and reversion to the former practice, in connection with the administration of the new Rules, or (which appears to be the better plan), the Act and Rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the Resolution of the House of Commons, both in letter and spirit.

The result of our inquiries as to the working of the new Rules, clearly is that those Rules have in fact been worked in the manner in which, in Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart's letter, quoted in paragraph 15 hereof, it was suggested that they might possibly be worked, and that they have in effect been used, if not to set up, at least to assist in maintaining, a system of periodical examination of prostitutes, which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit.

It appears to us that the only effective method of preventing those systematic practices which have thus been maintained in co-operation with those Rules, is by means of express legislation.

CONCLUSIONS.

51. To sum up our conclusions, therefore, as to matters of fact, we find :—

(1.) That in all the ten Cantonments mentioned in the evidence, a system of periodical examination at the Lock Hospitals of women consorted with principally (if not exclusively) by British soldiers under conditions in effect compulsory was maintained during various periods extending altogether from 1888 to 1893.

(2.) That those women, in common with other known prostitutes, were permitted to live in certain assigned quarters in the Cantonments, but that distinctively from other prostitutes, the names and residences of the women attending the periodical examinations were entered in special registers or lists kept at the Lock Hospitals, and in some cases also in other books in the possession of the Mahaldarnis superintending the women, and in which registers or books respectively was recorded the "state" (in a specific sense) of those women individually on each examination.

(3.) That all the women found on examination to be free from disease, and who formed the large majority of the women so examined, were set free to resume their occupation.

(4.) That the Special Hospitals provided in each Cantonment for Contagious Diseases (now constituting sections of Cantonment General Hospitals, but formerly and still called Lock Hospitals) were used almost exclusively for the purpose of the periodical examination and of the treatment of the women then found diseased.

(5.) That the numerous official Orders and Regulations, speaking generally, failed to effect the intended abolition of the old system of regulated and licensed prostitution.

(6.) That the Rules of 1890 (under the Cantonment Act, 1889) were worked in connection with the continuous system of periodical examination and the practices incidental thereto carried on since 1888.

(7.) That this system and the incidental practices above described did not, and the Statutory Rules, so far as they authorise or permit the same, do not accord with the accepted meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

THE ALLEGED INACCURACIES IN LADY WITNESSES' EVIDENCE.

52. In some of the Official Reports charges are incidentally made of perversions of truth and of some intention on the part of the non-official witnesses to mislead. Though Mr. Ibbetson, on reflection, elected to restrict these charges of inaccuracy to matters of hearsay, that is, statements to the witnesses made by natives, he nevertheless persevered in the demonstration of those alleged minor errors. Min. 2902

After hearing the allegations, however, we did not think them of sufficient importance to require any further explanation.

NOTE FROM GENERAL LORD ROBERTS.

Min. 1704–18.

53. It behoves us to add that Lord Roberts, upon his examination before us, seemed inclined to participate in the views expressed in the Special Commission's Report, criticizing some parts of the evidence of the non-official witnesses; but subsequently he transmitted to us the following note upon the subject, with a request that it should be appended to our Report:—

Dunbar, Scotland, 11 August 1893.

Having read the report of Mr. Ibbetson's Committee, in regard to the working of the rules dealing with the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in Cantonments in India, and also the reports of the officers commanding the seven stations which the Committee did not visit, I frankly admit that the statements of the two American missionary ladies, who made a tour through Upper India in the cold weather of 1891–92, for the purposes of inquiry into the matter, are in the main correct.

I hoped and believed that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had been everywhere obeyed. In some stations the rules have been strictly enforced, but in others it now turns out this has not been completely the case.

I deeply regret this, and I feel that an apology is due from me to the ladies concerned. This apology I offer unreservedly.

In doing so, I would remark that I think it would have been better if the missionary ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India. We could have assisted them to carry out the work on which they were engaged; omissions and shortcomings would have been remedied at the time: a great deal of unpleasantness would have been avoided; the ladies themselves would have found their task considerably lightened; and there would have been less chance of their drawing wrong deductions from some of the circumstances which came under their notice, as in sundry instances they would seem from Mr. Ibbetson's Committee Report to have done. This was owing, no doubt, to a want of knowledge of the language, and of the habits and customs of the people of India.

ROBERTS.

54. We, the undersigned, submit the foregoing as our Report.

GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL, *Chairman.*

JAMES STANSFELD.

HENRY J. WILSON.

August 31st, 1893.

SEPARATE REPORT BY GENERAL SIR *D. M. Stewart* AND SIR *J. B. Peile.*

1. As we are unable to agree in the conclusions of our colleagues on the evidence before the Committee, we beg leave to submit a Separate Report.

9. For the sake of brevity, we shall not repeat the prefatory narrative of events, for which we can refer, if needful, to the Report of the majority.

3. The instruction to this Committee was, "To inquire into the Rules, Regulations, "and practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere, with regard to prostitutes, and to "the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord "with the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June 1888." The Resolution enunciated that the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits

(1) The compulsory examination of women,

(2) The licensing and regulation of prostitution,

in India, ought to be repealed.

4. The first, and on the face of it the only, requirement of this Resolution was the repeal of certain legislation. We find that the laws indicated, viz., the Cantonments Acts and the Contagious Diseases Acts in force at the date of the Resolution, were repealed before the end of 1888. It was, however, of course implied that any Cantonments Act substituted for those repealed should not enjoin, authorise, or permit (that is, as we understand it, legalize) compulsory examination, or the licensing and regulation of prostitution. The Acts repealed gave to the Government power to make rules for "inspecting and controlling brothels and preventing the spread of venereal disease." The rules so made directed that a register of public prostitutes should be prepared and kept in the office of the cantonment magistrate; that a woman wishing to practice prostitution was required to apply to have her name entered on the register; that no woman not so registered was allowed to practice prostitution; that on registration the woman had to assent to certain regulations, which were explained to her; that every registered prostitute had to pay a monthly subscription to the Lock Hospital Fund; that she was furnished with a printed ticket, to be renewed annually; that she was bound to present herself with her ticket for medical examination at the Lock Hospital not less than once a fortnight; that if found to be diseased she was detained in the Lock Hospital until discharged as cured; that if she wished to change her residence in the Cantonment she was bound to notify it; and that she was to observe rules made by the Cantonment Committee to maintain cleanliness in houses occupied by registered prostitutes; and any prostitute convicted of a breach of these rules was liable to a fine of 50 rupees, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for eight days. There were also rules for the registration of brothel keepers, who were required to keep a list of all prostitutes residing with them, to receive only registered prostitutes, and to do other things under like penalties. These rules were in force in all the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates, and in 60 other Cantonments in India.

5. The new Cantonments Act (xiii. of 1889) does not mention brothels or prostitutes, but gives the Government power to make rules for "the prevention of the spread of "infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment, and the appointment and "regulation of hospitals." This Act came into force on 1 January 1890, and rules under the Section quoted were put in force on 4 July 1890. The rules also make no mention of prostitutes or brothels, they treat only of hospitals for infectious and contagious diseases. Rules 4 and 5 are as follows:—

"4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital main-
"tained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious
"or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the
"Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer
"to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the
"hospital or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer
"has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment
"Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to

" remove from the Cantonment within twenty-four hours and prohibit such " person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of " such medical officer.

" 5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from " remaining in or re-entering a Cantonment remains in or re-enters the Canton- " ment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person " shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, or with " imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of " the said prohibition."

6. We presume that these are the only rules now having the force of law as regards infectious diseases in Cantonments, including venereal disease. At any rate, we find that the Government of India, about the middle of 1888, directed that no register of public prostitutes was to be kept, no tickets were to be issued, and no compulsory examinations of the women held, and that the Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution. Any officer applying the old stringent code would therefore do so without authority and at his own risk. Nevertheless we find that at Meean Meer women were registered, tickets were issued, and examinations held fortnightly between March 1890 and May or June 1892. Fines or expulsion from Cantonments were the punishments. These proceedings were altogether illegal and indefensible, and no reasonable explanation is offered by the Cantonment Magistrate, who was primarily responsible. We agree with the majority of this Committee that the circumstances of Meean Meer are exceptional, and " remarkably distinguish it from all the other Cantonments." It is the only instance in evidence of a positive disregard of the law, and we put it aside as thus distinguished from irregular or doubtful practices in other places, to which we now proceed.

Report, para. 43.

7. Apart from the Cantonment law, and under executive circular orders issued from Army Headquarters, we find that there had existed in India for many years before 1888 what was known as the Regimental system, which provided for the residence in regimental bazaars of prostitutes who had registered themselves under the Act, and the care and supervision of whom was imposed on commanding officers both in Cantonments and in camp or on the march. The attention of the Government of India was called to this subject by the Secretary of State in March 1888, and in a despatch dated May 18, 1888, the Viceroy in Council wrote that " the instructions on this subject are not issued " under the authority of the Government of India, but having them now before us in a " complete form, we have no hesitation in saying that some of the rules are open to grave " objection, and are, indeed, indefensible. The Commander-in-Chief has already issued " orders prohibiting prostitutes from residing in regimental bazaars, and from accompanying " regiments on the line of march or at camps of exercise, and we have now decided to " direct the cancelment of the circulars." The order was conveyed to commanding officers in a Circular of the Quartermaster-General, dated May 12, 1888.

8. Nevertheless, in 1889 we find that at Umballa and Meerut prostitutes were again allowed to reside within regimental limits, and near camps. There is a similar case of minor importance at Rawal-Pindi. And the Indian Committee states that prostitutes frequently did accompany regiments in standing camp and on the line of march, and instances are in the evidence.

Indian Commission Report, para. 32.

The explanation offered, as regards Umbala and Meerut, is that the orders of 1888 prohibited the residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars, and as registration had been abolished since, the prohibition was no longer in force.

9. We attach no weight to this explanation, which is more ingenious than convincing. The inducement of residence in regimental limits (nearer the regiment than the Sadr, or main bazaar) is stated to have been offered to secure the consent of the women to weekly examination, and the excuse that the prohibition was no longer in force appears to have been too easily embraced. On the other hand, we think that the object of the orders of 1888 was to prohibit the care and supervision of prostitutes by commanding officers, rather than their residence in one part of Cantonments or another, which is not a point of primary importance. And it is not clear to us how commanding officers can prevent women from travelling in the vicinity of troops on the march. The subject is fully discussed in paras. 43–47 of the report of the Indian Committee. The women were ejected at Umbala in 1891 and 1893, and at Meerut in 1891 or 1892, on orders being re-issued.

10. We have next to consider the practice as to periodical examinations. We agree with the majority of this Committee that periodical examination is a "cardinal point." Without the vigorous grip of the old rules, and without periodic examination, there can be no effective control of the body of prostitutes living in a Cantonment when not diseased. We understand the view of our colleagues to be that no examination of the women as a body (healthy as well as diseased) is admissible, because women thus found healthy are virtually certificated as safe. We will not discuss that theory, because the Resolution of the House of Commons is aimed at compulsory examination. The question is, therefore, whether the periodical examinations held in most Cantonments after 1888 were voluntary or compulsory. Compulsory in the sense of the old rules, as enforced by fine and imprisonment, they were not. They professed to be voluntary, but they were promoted by inducements of various potency. We think that if there was anything amounting to intimidation, it was clearly illegal and at the risk of the person who used it, and that the submission to examination thus obtained was not voluntary. On the other hand, if it was the inducement of some personal advantage that secured submission to examination, it may be argued that such submission was voluntary. We can understand that medical and other officers responsible for the health of the troops in a Cantonment might look about them for some means of effecting examinations which should not be compulsory. In some Cantonments there is no evidence that inducements were offered. The women generally said that they would be ejected from Cantonments if they did not attend, but there is no evidence that they actually were ejected, or that they were told by authority that they would be. In Umballa the inducement offered was the advantage of residing in regimental limits as preferable to the main bazaar. As the women were free to take or reject this advantage with the condition of being examined, we do not think that the examination was compulsory. At Meerut the practice was that if a newcomer did not present herself at the periodical examination, or if a resident prostitute absented herself persistently without good cause, she was reported by the medical officer, "supposed to be diseased," and dealt with under Rule 4. We are told that as a fact "the supposition almost always turned "out to be well founded." But the method of using non-attendance as an index of disease in our opinion deprived the examination of its voluntary character, and was indefensible. The practice at Lucknow where the Cantonment Magistrate invited prostitutes seeking permission to reside in Cantonments to be examined, and they "in all cases agreed," appears to be similar in quality to the practice at Umballa.

*Report, paras. 8 and 31.

Indian Commission Report, para. 76.

Ib. para. 86.

11. We think it unnecessary to examine this question at greater length, because the Government of India agreed with the majority of this Committee on the same facts, and, in consequence of their twice-repeated orders, periodical examinations ceased in six of the ten Cantonments to which the evidence relates at various dates in 1892, and in two more in 1893. As to the disuse in the two others there is no direct statement, but we think it is reasonable to conclude that in those also the reiterated orders have been obeyed. In a letter dated 12th March 1892, in which commanding officers were warned "that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and the spirit, the intention of "the Resolution of the House of Commons," the case of "women obliged to attend a "hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments" was indicated as one which would defeat the intention of the Government of India and the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally that Resolution. And in a letter dated 29th June 1892 (communicated to general officers commanding districts by the Quarter-master-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892) the Government of India interpreted the Statutory Rules of 1890 to mean that no special examination of prostitutes was to be permitted.

Despatch No. 148, 11 July 1893.

12. We think it of material importance in judicially estimating the present practice in Indian Cantonments (which is the task imposed on this Committee) that this "cardinal" agent in dealing with prostitutes has ceased to exist.

13. We next think it necessary to consider whether the position of prostitution in Cantonments under the new Act and Rules presents a substantial change from the position under the old Act and Rules, and whether the change is understood.

14. We are of opinion that the change is substantial. Under the old Act and Rules the women were, in all details of their traffic, within the iron grasp of a special penal code. That code is no longer operative. There is no evidence of any penal action since 1888 except in Meean Meer, where it is stated that "fines and expulsion from Cantonments "were the punishments," but not imprisonment.

See above, para. 4.

Expulsion, we note, appears to have no legal sanction. It was before 1890 enforced under the authority of prescription or custom. In the new Act the Government is empowered to make Rules for the exclusion from Cantonments of persons whom the Commanding Officer deems it expedient to exclude, but it is not in evidence that any such Rule has been made.

The registers kept under the old Rules are abolished, tickets are no longer issued, nor examinations enforced by fine and imprisonment.

15. On the question whether the charge is understood, we need not discuss it as regards the Government officials. On the question whether the prostitutes understood it and were made to understand it, the evidence is mixed.

16. We find the following statements of officials in the evidence:—

Meerut, 1888.—"The 16 patients in hospital were asked if they preferred to "remain in hospital for further treatment, and they all declined to do so. They "were then informed that they could leave the hospital."

Meerut, 1893.—"I do not think that the examinations gave the women "ground for thinking that they (the women) were in any way recognised by "Government. In fact it was often explained to them that they were not."

Lucknow, 1892.—"I then had notice given to the women that they were free "to attend examinations or not as they pleased."

Rawal Pindi, 1888–93.—"In each case which came under my notice I "explained to the applicants that prostitution in India could not be recognised by "the Government, and that since the abolition of the Lock Hospital rules there "was no such thing as registration."

Umballa, 1892.—"I then told the women who had come regularly to "examination that I would not see them any more, and they never came again as "a body."

17. With regard to the impression on the minds of the women, we find the following statements of the women:—

Statement and notes, p. ix.

Umballa, 1893.—"No one here has ever been punished for not going. But "we used to be fined and imprisoned when examination was the rule. Since "Government has released us from this we eat our bread in peace."

p. x.

Umballa, 1893.—"We are absolutely free to come or go, to leave the chakla "or the Cantonment."

p. xxv.

Meerut, 1893.—"Two weeks ago we were asked whether we came of our own "will, and we said 'No'; so were told we need not come any longer."

Meerut, 1893.—"If we want to leave hospital before cure we are allowed to "go; but are told that in that case we must leave cantonments"

Lucknow, 1892.—"She said that an order had come from the Queen, and "that they had to shut these houses up."

Peshawar, 1892.—"They said this, that the Queen had forbidden the "examinations," but the officers continued them, and "It is the officers, not the "Queen, who have done this."

Lucknow, 1892.—"They all assured us, and insisted, that the mahaldarnis "had all been discharged, and that doctors were not going to examine the "women any more, because word had been sent from Simla that the Queen did "not like it, and that it was all to be done away with."

On the other hand, we find that the women generally stated their belief that if they did not submit to examination they would be turned out of cantonments. It is possible, as our colleagues seem to hold, that this belief arose from an imperfect comprehension of the Rules of 1890. It is intelligible that some confusion would subsist for a time in the minds of women of this class after the abolition of the system which had previously coerced them so rigidly.

18. We next consider whether errors of practice have actually been corrected by successive Orders of the Government, so that the object in view has been more fully

attained by degrees. We find that there is evidence that this was so. We have mentioned above the misconstruction of the order prohibiting prostitutes to reside in regimental lines. It was corrected in 1892. The rules of 1890 required interpretation to show that they prohibited any special examination. But even the Order of July 1892, which supplied that interpretation was not obeyed at Meerut, where weekly inspections were continued until April 1893, and then ceased on the order being repeated. However, it is in evidence that this order of July 1892 did take effect at once in several cantonments. We observe that the Government of India has very recently repeated its orders to commanding officers and cantonment magistrates. We agree with the majority of this committee that the rules of 1890 were not accompanied on issue by sufficient explanation, and that if a comprehensive notification, in the vernacular as well as in English, had been issued along with them, cancelling all superseded rules, and stating exactly what was to be done and not to be done, there would have been less room for mistakes and neglects, and practices which ran very close to the verge of the permissible.

Despatch No. 148 of 11 July 1893.

19. It is very important to arrive at a true estimate of the feelings and sentiments of the Cantonment prostitutes. For if the examination at a hospital really filled them with shame and horror, the practice will naturally appear more odious than if the women are proved to treat it as a matter of business. The statements of the women reported by the American lady witnesses are at variance with the opinions of the Indian Committee. The women are reported everywhere to have spoken bitterly of the shame of the examinations and of their calling. The Indian Committee questions the genuineness of this feeling and explains that the Asiatic view of the profession of prostitution differs from the European view. Our own experience agrees with that of the Indian Committee; and we think the evidence supplies a test of the genuineness of the shame and horror about examinations. For if women are willing, as at Umballa, by consenting to examination to purchase the privilege of residing nearer to their customers, or to get the better of certain foreign prostitutes who were diseased and gave them a bad name, or as at Lucknow to gain admission to a Cantonment, or to consent because they prefer general examinations to being specially denounced by a soldier as the cause of his disease, and thus weigh their shame against a trifling advantage, and choose the latter, the wound to their modesty cannot be very severe.

Report, paras. 12, 18. Min. 3011.

20. We add the following remark on the evidence of the American ladies. Their sincerity and intelligence are beyond question. But the plan they adopted was to avoid all officials in authority. On only one occasion was an exception made, when Dr. Kate Bushnell went before a Cantonment Magistrate with a woman whom she wished to reclaim, in order to obtain for her a permit to leave the Cantonment, which the police and others had declared to be necessary. The Cantonment Magistrate informed her that no permit was required. On this we only think it right to suggest that as their evidence forms the basis of an indictment against a number of Government officers who had no opportunity of explaining or cross-examining, it would not be fair to form a judgment on it by itself, and that it should be taken and carefully weighed with the Report of the Indian Committee and the evidence received with it from India.

21. The above is our estimate of the existing Rules, Regulations and practices in Indian Cantonments. We will now explain the grounds on which we dissent from the conclusions thereon of the majority of this Committee.

22. The report of the majority, after prefatory matter, proceeds (para. 21) to review the evidence as to the practices which have existed since the resolution of the House of Commons, and arrives at the conclusion that "the actual practice constitutes in effect a "system of official recognition or regulation and licensing of prostitutes," and demonstrates a "general failure to carry out" the resolution.

Para. 21. Para. 46. Para. 48.

23. The review of practices presents under the head of each Cantonment a formidable array of facts, including not only the transgressions, mistakes, and disputable acts which we have discussed above, but also facts which really have no significance as supports to the conclusion. This arrangement is calculated to convey an idea of connected system, which we do not think that the facts will bear.

24. We will give instances. At Umballa, and elsewhere, it is recorded as a practice under "Registration" that "there is no separate registry of prostitutes now kept by the "Cantonment Magistrate; they are included in the general registry of Cantonment "residents, and therein described as prostitutes." Again, "an attendance registry of all "the women periodically examined was kept at the hospital." That is to say, the

Para. 22.

register kept by the Cantonment Magistrate has nothing to do with the register on which prostitutes had to enrol themselves under the old rules, but is simply a Cantonment Directory, which it is necessary to keep, that the authorities may know who are living in Cantonments and what their business there is. And the record kept in the hospital of women who are examined is the usual record which hospital doctors keep of their transactions. It was, as Mr. Ibbetson says, a list of women who did attend, not a list of women who had to attend, examinations. The evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, is to the same effect.

Min. 2801.

Min. 1528.

Para. 46.

25. Now the conclusion of the majority on this is (under the heading "Registration "and Licensing of Prostitutes") that these two records are "important practices," and that "all materials for effective registration still exist," and finally that "there is in effect "a system of registration which, while it recognises prostitution in general as an occupa- "tion permissible (like lawful trades) within the Cantonments, does further *afford to* "*the prostitutes who attend the periodical examination a special recognition by the* "*authorities which is unique both in its character and its object.*"

26. We do not think that the facts stated justify this conclusion. We observe that while the Directory cannot reasonably be objected to, two other facts must be accepted and are not excluded by the Resolution of the House of Commons. These are:—

(1) That there will be prostitutes among the large mixed population of a Cantonment bazar. The Resolution objects to their coercion, not to their existence.

(2) That while venereal disease exists in Cantonments, means of treating it wil be supplied in a hospital, and that such a hospital will necessarily be a separate building or ward.

27. The real objection to the venereal hospitals or wards in the minds of the majority of this Committee is that they were used for a time for the periodical examination of women, healthy as well as diseased. This may be a valid objection, but it has been met by the decision of the Government of India that such periodical examinations are not permissible.

Para. 41.

28. Again we find among the practices such items as this: "The non-official "witnesses alleged that at this Cantonment there was (March 5th 1892) one chakla in the "Sadar bazaar. This is admitted."

We would ask, why not? If there are prostitutes in the cantonment, they must live somewhere, and it is the custom in Indian towns that people of like occupation live together. It would be intolerable that prostitutes should live where they please. In the Indian Municipality Acts powers are given to eject them from residences where they annoy.

Para. 22.

29. Again, "There is a uniform minimum rate of pay. It appears to be a "customary rule long established, and is said, indeed, to be co-eval with British rule. "If the soldier evades payment, he is reported and compelled to pay, either by the "sergeant or, if necessary, by some superior officer."

It is natural that there should be a tariff, and it is said to rest on custom, not regulation. There is evidence that the soldiers were made to pay what they owed. The sergeant of Military Police (whose duty it is to look after the men of their regiment) would do this to prevent disturbance. The Indian Committee says: "We have been able "to obtain no evidence as to complaints of non-payment reaching the Colonel of a "regiment, except that the Provost-Sergeant of Umballa had known such cases."

Report, para. 57.

30. Again, it is stated generally that there were mahaldarnis, formerly official, and now performing duties "the same as before 1888."

Para. 24.

The mahaldarni is "forewoman of prostitutes," and performs for them the duties which a foreman performs for workmen. That is a private matter between her and the women, who pay her, and it continues. Before 1888 the mahaldarni was a paid Government servant, enrolled on the lock hospital establishment. This has ceased. The matter is fully explained in the Indian Committee's Report, paragraph 38.

31. We entirely agree with the majority of this Committee that the periodical examination was the "cardinal point" and key-stone of what was going on in 1892. We agree also that "it must be periodical, and to be effective regular attendance must be "ensured," but in the words which follow we do not agree, viz., "which implies that in "cases of reluctance or abstinence, *the attendance must be enforced*, with the *ultimate*

Para. 45.

" *alternative of expulsion from cantonments. In practice this is exactly how the system* " *of periodical examination has, we find, been worked.*"

We think that the evidence does not support this statement. Is it proved by Ambala or Lucknow, or of any Cantonment, except Meerut and Meean Meer? We have discussed the various cases above. And we refer as to expulsion to the evidence of the non-official witness, Mr. Bell, who, on the subject of the belief of women as to expulsion as a means of coercion, deposed that "no such case had occurred; no such case as " expulsion from the Cantonment." Para. 10 Min. 1734–5.

32. We do not concur in the statement that "the numerous official orders and " regulations, speaking generally, failed to effect the intended abolition of the old system " of regulated and licensed prostitution." Para. 51.

It seems to us established by evidence that the old system is substantially extinct. For instance, there is now no regimental system, thus described by the Indian Committee : " Under the old system prior to 1888 the officer commanding a regiment used, at any " rate in some cases, to arrange for the provision of women for the use of his men." The same committee says that "the women are worse off now in the matter of attention to " such grievances . . . there is a tendency to tell them that they are no longer " recognised by authority, and therefore no longer entitled to assistance by summary " order." In short they are disestablished. Report, para. 39. *Ib.* para. 58.

33. We have agreed that the periodical examinations after 1888 were an attempt to secure by various methods the same means of detecting disease without the old sanctions and with the substitution of motives for coercion. We have not argued that the practice was consistent with the spirit of the Resolution, though we do not think it was necessarily contrary to the letter, but it was not the old system. And when it is clearly understood that the Government of India has ruled that the practice is also inconsistent with the rules of 1890, and has prohibited it, and it has ceased, it is not apparent to us which portion of the old system has escaped abolition, or that any new system stands in its place.

34. We do not agree that the Rules of 1890 "have in effect been used, if not to " set up, at least to assist in maintaining, a system of periodical examination of prostitutes " which is practically compulsory, and of regulating and licensing within the Cantonments " the calling of those prostitutes who submit to periodical examination, and with the " effect practically of licensing those who are pronounced to be physically fit." Para. 50.

The Rules here seem to be blamed for what they do not forbid, for it is said :—

> "The Act and Rules themselves should have embodied all such prohibitions " as were necessary to effect the carrying out of the resolution of the House of " Commons both in letter and spirit."

35. We do not understand how the Rules of 1890 have assisted in maintaining (if they did not set up) compulsory examinations and the control of prostitutes. It should be remembered that the old Rules, now abolished, were a very comprehensive and stringent code, and that they empowered certain officials to do acts which, done without the sanction of the law, would expose them to prosecution. When a law and empowering Rules under it having the force of law, which put constraint enforced by penalties on the liberty of certain persons, are repealed, it does not seem necessary for the Legislature to enact that each of the things that might once be done under the empowering Rules is illegal. They have become illegal by the mere force of the repeal.

36. The peculiarity of the periodical examinations after 1888 was that they were supposed to put no constraint on the liberty of the women, and if so they were not illegal. The Government of India however directed in June 1892 that no other examination was to be held than that allowed by the Rules, viz.: the usual medical examination of a patient under treatment, and prohibited every other kind of examination, voluntary or otherwise.

37. In submitting these opinions we would not be understood to mean that the position in the early part of 1892 did not supply sufficient reasons for inviting thereto the attention of the Secretary of State, or of the Government of India, if that had been the course selected.

D. M. STEWART.
JAMES B. PEILE.

2nd September 1893.

I N D E X.

[*N.B.*—In this Index the *Figures* following the Names of the Witnesses refer to the Questions in the Evidence, and those following *App.* to the Pages in the Appendix.]

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EXAMINATIONS:

1. *Generally as to the System of Periodical Examination: Conflicting Evidence upon the Question, whether Compulsory or Voluntary:*

Grounds for statement that women suspected of imparting disease are hunted up and sent to hospital for examination, *Mrs. Andrew* 698–715——Testimony of the women as to the compulsion upon them to attend for examination; exception as regards women who consort with native soldiers, *Mrs. Andrew* 716–757——Compulsory examination not applied in the case of other contagious diseases, besides venereal disease, *ib.* 785–791.

Confirmatory statement as to the practical compulsion to attend, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 964–967——Practice at the Peshawur Lock Hospital to examine the Sudder Bazar women on Mondays and the regimental women on Tuesdays; refusal of the women to come for examination save under compulsion, *ib.* 1278–1284. 1299–1301——Bi-monthly examinations at Amritsar, *ib.* 1311.

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Evidence of women at Lucknow Sudder Bazar that the inspection takes place every Saturday, and that they must attend or leave the cantonment, *Bell* 1638–1645.

Explanation respecting the system of periodical examination, the healthy women returning to the chakla and the diseased being detained at the hospital, *Lord Roberts* 1828–1837. 1844——Evidence to the effect that both military and medical officials prognosticated that the voluntary system would be useless, *ib.* 1916–1931.

Continued periodical inspection till recently of all the prostitutes at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, who could be induced to attend by the fear of expulsion from cantonment, *Lord Roberts* 2047–2054——Questions considered as to the maintenance of the examinations up to June 1893 at Benares, Bareilly, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawur under the new Rules, which, although intended to apply to a voluntary system, are dangerously near to compulsion, *ib.* 2068–2079.

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Coercive jurisdiction as regards prostitutes and others living in a cantonment to which they would not be exposed outside, though they cannot be expelled except for breaches of the law affecting cantonments, *Sir Donald Stewart* 1748–1751. 1759.

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Evidence as to the intended discontinuance since 1888 of everything in the nature of compulsory examination, though if a woman is reasonably suspected to be diseased and will not be examined, she is, very justly, expelled from the cantonments, *Lord Roberts* 1932–1995.

Practice generally as to the women having to comply with certain conditions or to leave the cantonments when turned out of the regimental chaklas, *Ibbetson* 2716. 2717. 2763——Limited power of the military authorities as to expulsion from chaklas and cantonments, *ib.* 2959–2974——Denial of statement by Dr. Kate Bushnell that in all cases women would have to leave cantonments if they did not attend the periodical examination, *ib.* 3378–3382.

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Conclusion that the Government of India and the present Commander-in-Chief have no wish to revert to the old system which obtained before 1888, by which prostitution was partly recognised, *Lord Roberts* 2179–2183.

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GUARDS OR WATCHMEN (NATIVE POLICE). Presence of guards or watchmen at the chaklas: conclusion as to these being native policemen, *Mrs. Andrew* 209–211. 221–229——Guard on duty at one of the chaklas at Umballa, *ib.* 354; also, at Bareilly, *ib.* 384. *See* also POLICE.

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Reference to Circular of November 1892 pointing out that the object of the new cantonment general hospitals is to remove the idea that these hospitals are to be used exclusively for venereal diseases, by opening them for all diseases, *Bell* 1685–1689——Statement that with two exceptions none but venereal diseases were treated in the hospitals visited by witness, *ib.* 1690–1702.

Explanation by Dr. Rice that in consequence of the agitation against the old system the entrance of girls to the prostitutes' lock wards is now made free and voluntary, no coercion whatever being used, *Bell* 1714 *et seq.*——Obstacle to reconciling Dr. Rice's statement with the evidence obtained by witness, *ib.* 1721–1723——Identity of the venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals with the buildings used as Lock Hospitals under the old rules, *Lord Roberts* 2155–2178.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS RESOLUTION. Explanation that upon receipt of a copy of the House of Commons Resolution of 1888, the necessary orders to give effect thereto were at once issued by the Government of India, and that they appeared at the time to be carried out satisfactorily, *Lord Roberts* 1780, 1781.

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Explanation that the Commission of Inquiry undertaken by Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn and witness on behalf of the Government of India was confined to two main points; namely, the question of the accuracy of the statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell and the further question of the infringement of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the regulations under it, 2463–2494.

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Absence of any register of prostitutes, though at Umballa there is a register of the whole of the inhabitants of the Sudder bazar, *Ibbetson* 2649–2655——Reference to the numbering of houses and rooms, as at Umballa and Lucknow, and the means of identification of the women thereby, *ib.* 2655–2665. 2766, 2767. 2980, 2981.

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RENT OF CHAKLAS. Grounds for statement as to the chakla at Lucknow having once belonged to Government and as to the women paying rent, *Mrs. Andrew* 187–208——Payment of rent for the use of the regimental chakla at Meean Meer, *ib.* 272–276——Rent said to be paid by Government for chakla at Benares, *ib.* 397–401.

Evidence as to the rents of the rooms let to prostitutes at Meerut being collected by Ali Bakhs (Hira's chaukidar), income tax on the rents being regularly paid to the cantonment authorities, *Bell* 1565–1588——Ownership of the Lucknow Sudder Bazar by Selig Ram, who pays income tax to Government on the amount received as rent from the women, *ib.* 1643, 1644.

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ROBERTS, General LORD, v.c., g.c.b. (Analysis of his Evidence):

Official cognisance of witness, as Commander in Chief, and as member of the Supreme Government, in regard to everything that was done in India in the matter of cantonment regulations, 1774.

Explanation that upon receipt of a copy of the House of Commons' Resolution in 1888, the necessary orders to give effect thereto were at once issued, and that they appeared at the time to be carried out satisfactorily, 1780, 1781.

Regret that there should have been any slight failure in carrying out the instructions given in connection with the Resolution; personal action of witness resulting eventually in the removal of all the shortcomings, 1781, 1784. 1944 *et seq.*

Certainty that there was a full and *bonâ fide* intention on the part of the Government of India, and every desire on the part of the local authorities throughout the country, to carry out the Resolution, irrespective of what might be thought of the wisdom of it, 1781–1783. 1910 *et seq.*

No doubt that the orders, which were issued in the ordinary way, reached the women concerned; belief, moreover, that as a matter of fact the orders were generally carried out, 1785 *et seq.*

Agreement of witness with the summary of conclusions in the Report of the Committee of Inquiry, though he is not at present prepared to refute any statement of fact put forward in the evidence of Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, 1788–1811.

Main feature of the system in force before 1888 that the women were segregated together in certain chaklas for the use of the British soldiers, 1812–1822.

Former registration of the women, who were numbered and supplied with registration tickets, 1819–1827. 1842, 1843.

Periodical examination, the healthy women being allowed to return to the chakla, while the diseased were detained at the hospital until cured; witness is not aware of any penalties for disobedience to the rules under the old system, 1828–1837. 1844.

Enumeration of the Acts, Rules, &c., dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases, under which the old system was administered; probability that all the rules and regulations were fairly observed, 1838–1845.

Accepted object of the old system to preserve a number of healthy women for the use of British soldiers; impression, however, that the women did not confine themselves strictly to Europeans, but were visited by their native friends (not native soldiers), 1838–1854.

Origin of the old system due to the desirability of preventing British soldiers becoming diseased by mixing promiscuously with the native women, and getting into trouble with the natives generally; certainty that the system was not established to let soldiers think that they could indulge in sexual intercourse with impunity, 1855–1862.

Explanation that the second paragraph of the circular memorandum of the Quartermaster General of 17 June 1886, suggesting the establishment of a

ROBERTS, General Lord, v.c., g.c.b.—*cont.*

Native Medical School for the study of venereal disease, was issued under witness' instructions in consequence of disease being so terribly rife among the natives, and not with any idea of extending the system, 1863–1879——Issue of a series of circulars from the Quartermaster General's Department between 1876 and 1886 relative to the adoption of more stringent measures to prevent the spread of venereal disease in the Army, 1880–1886.

Evidence to the effect that, notwithstanding anything objectionable in the Circular Memorandum of 17th June 1886, the efforts of the Commanders in Chief who preceded witness were directed towards controlling prostitution, and mitigating its attendant evils, and that there was no encouragement by the Government, either directly or indirectly, 1885–1897 ——Probability that similar views to those in the Quartermaster General's Circular of 1886 have been expressed from time to time by Army medical officers, 1899–1902.

Assertion that the rules framed since the Resolution of the House of Commons have been intended absolutely to abolish the system of official recognition and regulation of prostitution, not to modify it, 1903 *et seq.*——Evidence to the effect that when the change began to be effected both military and medical officers concerned in the administration of the pre-existing system expressed their general opinion that the substituted voluntary system would be useless, 1916–1931.

Intended discontinuance since 1888 of everything in the nature of compulsory examination; explanation hereon that if a woman is reasonably suspected to be diseased and will not be examined, she is, very justly, expelled from the cantonments, 1932–1995.

[Second Examination.]—Admissions to the effect that the old system was in many respects practically maintained in Lahore (Meean Meer) until May 1892, in disobedience of the general orders issued, 1996–2038. 2273–2287——Foundation of witness' views vary much upon the Reports of Commanding Officers; reference hereon to Report of Sir Hugh Gough, Commanding Lahore District, 2031–2034——Acceptance by witness of the proposition that many of the principal features of the old system existed at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow up to May 1893; 2039–2046.

Continuation nearly to the present time of the periodical inspection at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow of all prostitutes who could be induced to attend by the fear of expulsion from the cantonment; detention of the women in the hospital until cured, 2047–2067——Questions considered as to the maintenance of the periodical examination of prostitutes, regularly, up to June 1893 at Benares, Bareilly, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawur under the new Rules, which, although intended to apply to a purely voluntary system, are admittedly dangerously near to compulsion, 2068–2079.

Admission that by an error at Umballa and Rawal Pindi, at the time of the intended change of system, documents, new rules, &c. on the subject, marked "Confidential," were read and then locked up in a special drawer or put on a file and never seen by succeeding commanding officers, 2086–2090. 2239–2250 ——Explanation that the documents overlooked at Umballa and Rawal Pindi were marked "Confidential" because they dealt with a delicate subject; admission that there is no cogent reason why they should be treated as confidential, 2091–2097.

Probability that the change of system would have been more widely known among the natives if the cantonment magistrates had proclaimed it in open court, and if the police had been made to distinctly understand it, 2098–2103. 2184–2187——Reference to the new Cantonments Act that came into force on the 1st January 1890, and date of publication of the new rules under it, 2104–2106.

General concurrence of witness in the Minute of the present Commander in Chief, relative to prostitutes in the cantonments in India, 2107–2118 *et seq.* ——Doubt as to there being any analogy in regard to the regulation of prostitutes between Umballa and an English city, such as York, 2110–2116.

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Admission by the present Commander in Chief that in certain instances the regulations under the new system have been infringed, 2140–2142—— Extent to which witness disagrees with the conclusion of Sir George White upon the general question of compulsion in connection with the periodical examination of prostitutes; undesirability of refusing voluntary examination, 2143–2152. 2205–2207—— Entire belief of witness in the good faith of the missionary ladies, 2152–2154.

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ROBERTS, General Lord. Letter from Lord Roberts to the Chairman of the Departmental Committee, dated 12th August 1893, enclosing statement in which it is admitted that the statements of the missionary ladies are in the main correct and that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had not been everywhere obeyed; full apology offered to the ladies in the matter, *App.* 138.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS. Conclusion that the orders issued in the ordinary way reached the women concerned, and that is a matter of fact they were generally carried out, *Lord Roberts* 1785, *et seq.*——Enumeration of the Acts, Rules, &c., dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases, under which the old system was administered; probability that all the rules and regulations were fairly observed, *ib.* 1838–1845.

Admission that in spite of Rules and Orders many of the principal features of the old system existed at Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, down to May 1893; *Lord Roberts* 2039–2067.

Examination whether the Rules under the Cantonment Act may not have admitted of the evasion of the Resolution of the House of Commons, *Ibbetson* 2604 *et seq.*——Explanation to the effect that there is nothing in the Rules under the Cantonment Act to prohibit the carrying on the old system of dealing with prostitution, *ib.* 2704–2706.

Contention that the Rules under the Cantonment Act of 1889 must be read as part of the Act, and that they are empowering rather than prohibitory, *Ibbetson* 2919–2936 —— Explanation that the Rules do not authorise any periodical examination, *ib.* 2928, 2929.

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SITAPUR. Description, with sketch, of the chakla at Sitapur, which had room for twenty women, *Mrs. Andrew* 389–393——Conclusion as to the chakla belonging to Government, *ib.* 394–396.

SITAPUR—*cont.*

Visit to Sitapur Lock Hospital on 5th March 1892· a sketch thereof being submitted; treatment of prostitutes only, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1381–1415——Non-compliance with requisitions made for the hospital annual reports, *ib.* 3525, 3526.

Doubt as to there having been periodical examinations after a certain date, *Ibbetson* 2870–2876.

SOLDIERS. Evidence as to ill-treatment of the women by the soldiers, *Mrs. Andrew* 568–575; *Ibbetson* 2744–2751——Men never found in any Lock Hospital save at Bareilly, *Mrs. Andrew* 93. 800–806——Frequent advice given to soldiers by officers and chaplains to practise chastity, *General Chapman* 2457–2462.

See also PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES.

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STEWART, General Sir DONALD. (Analysis of his Evidence):

Prevalence of the general law in a military cantonment as it does elsewhere, the only difference being that the commanding officer has power to deal with breaches of rules under the Cantonment Act, 1742–1744. 1747–1751——Explanation that prostitutes and other persons living in a cantonment are subject to a coercive jurisdiction to which they would not be exposed outside, but that they cannot be expelled except for breaches of the law affecting cantonments, 1748–1751. 1759.

Ownership of the land in a cantonment by the Government, who permit buildings to be constructed there, subject always to the convenience of the military authorities, 1765–1768.

SUBSISTENCE ALLOWANCE IN HOSPITALS. Allowance of from two to three annas per day made during detention, *Mrs. Andrew* 690–693——Confirmatory statement as to subsistence allowances in hospital, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 961–963.

SUDDAR BAZAR. *See* BAREILLY. CHAKLAS. CIRCULARS. EVIDENCE. EXAMINATIONS. HOSPITALS. LOCK HOSPITALS. LUCKNOW. MAHALDARNIS. MEERUT. PESHAWUR. REGIMENTAL CHAKLAS.

TARIFF OF CHARGES. *See* PAYMENT OF PROSTITUTES.

TICKETS (REGISTRATION). Form of registration and inspection ticket, *Mrs. Andrew* 431–433——Statement respecting the issue of tickets to the prostitutes enrolled to appear regularly at the Lock Hospital at Meean Meer, to enable them to pursue their calling, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1228–1233.

Cessation of issue of tickets to prostitutes at Lahore in September 1888, and recommenced in March 1890, *Lord Roberts* 2022.

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UMBALLA. Description of visit to three chaklas at Umball, two of which were regimental, *Mrs. Andrew* 345–364——Examination of diseased women, *ib.* 435–439.

Information obtained on various points on visit to the Lock Hospital; specially constructed table used for examinations, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 1312–1315.

Limited extent to which periodical examinations existed at Umballa since 1888, *Ibbetson* 2545——Evidence to the effect that in June last the periodical examinations were not compulsory, and that several women applied voluntarily to be examined, *ib.* 2781–2815——Weekly inspection of the cavalry women till August 1892, *ib.* 2804, 2805——The old Lock Hospital not now confined to venereal cases, *ib.* 2877–2882.

Separation between the old Lock Hospital and the general hospital, the former being now used for prostitutes only, whatever their ailment may be, *Cleghorn* 3090–3096.

Citation of evidence and records from Umballa in confirmation of former evidence of witness on certain points, *Dr. K. Bushnell* 3428–3467.

See also EXAMINATIONS. REGISTRATION.

VOLUNTARY EXAMINATIONS. *See* EXAMINATIONS.

WHITE, General Sir GEORGE. General concurrence of witness in the Minute of the present Commander in Chief relative to prostitutes and their examination, general treatment, &c., *Lord Roberts* 2107–2118.——Admission by the present Commander in Chief that in certain instances the regulations under the new system have been infringed, *ib.* 2140–2142.

Dissent to some extent from the views of the Commander in Chief upon the general question of compulsion in connection with the periodical examinations; inexpediency of refusing voluntary examination, *Lord Roberts* 2143–2152. 2205–2207——Absence of any desire on the part of Sir George White to return to the old system, *ib.* 2180–2183.

WITNESSES. More than 300 persons interviewed by witness and her companion; particulars hereon, *Mrs. Andrew* 114, 115, 538. 641.

See also EVIDENCE (MISSIONARY INQUIRY).

WORLD'S WOMAN CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (UNITED STATES). Explanation of the constitution, objects, and operations of this association, and of the circumstances under which Dr. Kate Bushnell and witness undertook a joint inquiry on its behalf into the system of prostitution in the Indian Cantonments, *Mrs. Andrew* 1–55.

See also EVIDENCE (MISSIONARY INQUIRY).

APPENDIX I.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before the DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE appointed by the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, to inquire into the Rules, Regulations and Practice in the INDIAN CANTONMENTS, and elsewhere in INDIA, with regard to Prostitutes and to the Treatment of Venereal Diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, viz.: "That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for "the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating Prostitution "in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits "such measures ought to be repealed."

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

FIRST DAY.

Tuesday, 11th April 1893.

PRESENT:

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.
General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.
Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

MRS. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, called in; and Examined.

Mrs. E. W. Andrew and *Dr. K. Bushnell.*

11 April 1893.

1. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) YOU are, I believe, a native of the state of Indiana, in the United States, and you reside, when at home, at Evanston, Chicago?—Yes.

2. And you are the widow of a late Methodist Episcopal Minister in Indiana?—Yes.

3. Will you give the Committee some account of the public business in which you were greatly interested and engaged in the year 1890 in your own country?—I was appointed in the autumn of 1890 to be one of the round-the-world missionaries of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and that meant a journey round the world to visit the branches of our society, which had been formed in 40 different countries, and I was appointed, with Dr. Bushnell, to make this journey, and to visit the branches, and to set forth in public meetings the objects of our organisation, to increase the usefulness of the Society generally, hold councils with workers, and do the work generally of a visitor who was trusted and sent forth to encourage the work and to brighten it all that was possible on its special line.

4. So that you undertook a mission, and were sent forth, so to say, as evangelists?—Yes.

5. (*Chairman.*) Temperance work, I understand?—Well, it has a temperance basis, but it is very broad in its scope.

6. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And will you give us an account of the other objects of this World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union; does it consist of various departments?—It consists of 40 departments of work in the United States. Of course all these departments have not yet been developed in the different countries where the work is new, but in the United States, where the society originated, it has developed into 40 different departments, and among those departments is the work of social purity. They are called departments because there is one woman in charge in each country of these national departments.

7. Who is the president of the whole body?—Miss Frances E. Willard.

8. And are those 40 departments grouped under a more limited number of heads; now, for instance, I see in the proof of your evidence that you have certain departments with the general title of, first, evangelistic; second, organisation; third, prevention; fourth, educational; fifth, social; and sixth, legal?—Yes; evangelistic, organisation, prevention, educational, social, and legal.

9. And those are your six heads?—Well, yes; we call those the six general heads. We group the departments under those general heads as we think appropriate. Purity comes under evangelistic; therefore I was an evangelist.

10. And that, as you said, includes the question of social purity?—Yes.

11. And you have superintendents of these different branches of work in various countries?—Yes; in 40 different countries, of which I have the list here.

12. And who is the superintendent in this country of the social purity section of work?—Well, the superintendent for the world is Mrs. Josephine Butler, and the head of our society in England is Lady Henry Somerset.

13. Mrs. Josephine Butler, of England; but she is the head of that department for the whole body?—For the whole world; and we have not yet this department under way in England, although Lady Henry Somerset has presented it for consideration.

Mrs. E. W. Andrew and Dr. K. Bushnell.

1 April 1893.

The reason it has not been done is because of the purity societies already existing.

14. You have already told us it has branches in 40 countries in different parts of the globe, and that the vice-president for the United Kingdom is Lady Henry Somerset. Now, when did this world's union, I call it for short, hold its first general convention, and where ?—It held it at Boston, Mass., on 10th November 1891.

15. And there were present representatives from many countries ?—Yes ; representatives from more than 20 countries.

16. When did the British section hold its first general conference ?—A year ago this coming May, in May 1892.

17. And where ?—Here in London.

18. And under whose presidency ?—Lady Henry Somerset's.

19. You are associated in your work with your friend and companion, Dr. Kate Bushnell ?—Yes.

20. And your work has been a joint work, as far as the inquiry of this Committee is concerned ?—Yes, quite so.

21. You have never, I believe, parted company during your investigations ?—No.

22. Except that occasionally, I presume, Dr. Kate Bushnell may have made one inquiry whilst you were engaged in some other portion of the work ?—Yes.

23. But you invariably travelled together ?—We invariably travelled together, and with very exceptional instances, we witnessed everything together, we never parted company, when she went to one town and I to the other, except on one occasion when she went to Sitapur.

24. Come back to this country, before you went to India, because we have not traced you to India yet. What did you do in this country at the time of the general conference, or afterwards ; did you hold public meetings ?—We were holding public meetings throughout England, and visited also Cardiff and Swansea in South Wales.

25. That was in the year 1891 ?—In the year 1891.

26. And the scheme for your work included Great Britain ?—Oh, yes, it included visiting and remaining as long as we chose. We were given full liberty to remain as long as we chose, and to visit the countries in such order as in our judgment should be thought best.

27–36. But were you not specially set apart to visit certain British Colonies ?—Do you mean in our general mission ?

37. Yes.—We were to visit the countries where our societies were organised, but as to the order of visitation, we were allowed to choose. If my commission were read, you would see that very great liberty was given us to choose as to our work, and the order of it, and the manner of it.

38. But your plan of action included visiting certain colonies, did it not ?—Our plan of action as we started from the eastern side of our country, included taking England and Wales, then South Africa, then India, and then Australia, and then all round the world to China and Japan, and so on.

39. And Australia included New Zealand and Tasmania ?—Yes, Australia included New Zealand and Tasmania.

40. Now while you were in England was your attention directed to the subject matter to which this Committee is about to inquire ?—It was.

41. And did you become acquainted with the Resolution of the House of Commons passed in 1888 upon the subject ?—Yes, I did.

42. That resolution has been read to us, it is in our Order of Reference, but you are familiar with the resolution ?—I am quite familiar with it.

43. (*Chairman.*) May I interrupt you a moment about the date when your attention was called to the Resolution, and so on. I suppose that was after you had attended the Convention in London last May ?—Oh, no, my attention was called to it through things that I read and heard in public meetings. Indeed, I may say that my attention was called to it first through a letter in America before ever I came over ; not that I expected to have anything to do with it, you understand, but simply as a matter of interest. It was spoken of, the fear that things were wrong in India, and that the Resolution of the House of Commons was not being fully carried out. Then when I came to England I read certain pamphlets, among others this by Miss Lucy Wilson, setting forth the matter. I also had the honour of hearing Miss Lucy Wilson read this paper at the Westminster Town Hall at a public meeting, and was very deeply impressed by her paper.

44. When I interrupted you I only wanted to get my dates down. I had not quite caught when you first came to Britain ?—I came to England in October 1890.

45. Before the great meeting at Boston ?—Oh, yes. You see I was not present at that meeting nor at the meeting here. We have simply been engaged in the furtherance of our work, only holding communication with our home authorities by letter.

46. You were in London in May 1892, last May ?—No, not at all. I have only the printed reports of what was done. I was not present, because of course in taking so vast a journey as that and holding public meetings, and with such immense work, we could not be coming back. Really, we expected to be away a term of years, and had we not come back to England for this work we should have pursued our journey directly round the world, but this being a part of our work we have turned aside to finish it.

47. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) As I understand, Mrs. Andrew, you simply cite the passages that you have just read for the purpose of explaining to us how your attention was directed to the subject, and your interest in it made active and keen ?—Yes ; that is exactly what I meant to convey ; but this was the first very serious thought I had given to it through this.

48. Am I not right in saying that, during your stay in England, you had the opportunity of reading a pamphlet containing references to articles in Indian papers ?—To a pamphlet containing citations from Indian papers.

49. (*Chairman.*) I thought you said one was an English paper ?—The "Indian Medical Record" is an Indian paper. All those citations are from Indian papers ; but it is in an English pamphlet that they are published.

50. But I mean the newspapers ?—The newspapers were Indian newspapers, and that was why it struck me with such force.

51. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And those extracts which we will not take down, suggested to your mind that the Resolution passed by the House of Commons was not meeting with practical obedience in some of the cantonments of India, and excited your interest in the matter, created in your mind a desire to ascertain the truth ?—Yes.

52. And were you at that time informed of some correspondence which had passed between myself and Mr. Stuart, M.P., and Lord Cross, who was then Secretary for India upon the same subject ?—I was, before leaving England.

53. There is a British Committee of the General Federation for the abolition of the State Regulation of Vice which holds its meetings in this metropolis ?—Yes.

54. And were you requested by that body to take all the opportunities your general work might afford in India of obtaining information as to the actual condition of women living as prostitutes within the military cantonments with a view to ascertain to what extent the rules and practice under the Cantonments Act were in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons ?—Yes.

55. You undertook that mission ?—Yes.

56. At what date did you leave England?—We left England on the 18th July 1891.

57. You did not leave for India?—No, we left for South Africa.

58. Engaged upon your general work?—Engaged upon our general work, visiting the four colonies of South Africa.

59. You visited the four colonies there?—Yes.

60. And did you in November of the same year, November 1891, proceed to India?—We did.

61. And you arrived in India?—On the 21st December 1891.

62. When did you commence your inquiries?—Do you mean when we actually started out to make them?

63. When you actually commenced?—We started out the 30th December.

64. And you went first to what place?—Bareilly. We did not make any inquiry until the beginning of the year.

65. On the 1st of January 1892?—Yes, we were engaged in travelling you know, night travelling. It was the night of the 30th. We were travelling all day, and we did not reach Bareilly until the morning of the first day of the year.

66. Your general rule was to travel at night, and work by day?—It was very much so all the time; we were compelled to do it, and we often found it was much more convenient. There were sometimes better trains at night.

67. Will you now tell us something of the distances you travelled, and the places you visited, during the periods of your inquiry. Your inquiry began on the 1st January 1892, and how long did it last?—We reached Calcutta again on the 15th of March. It lasted until the middle of March, from the 1st of January till the middle of March.

68. And after leaving India?—We proceeded directly to Australia as soon as we could get a steamer.

69. Upon your general mission?—Upon our general mission, visiting six colonies.

70. In India you restricted yourselves entirely to the work which the Committee of the British Federation had asked you to undertake?—We did, for the season was so short. We were detained with our general work in South Africa, so that, as you see, we did not reach India until December, and we thought it best to do it as soon as possible, and get away, because the season was advancing so fast.

71. (*Chairman.*) If I understand you rightly, during the time you were in India, from January to March, the first three months of 1892, you two ladies confined your attention to the subject to which it had been directed by that pamphlet of Miss Wilson, the evasion, as you supposed, by the authorities there, of the decision of the House of Commons?—We confined ourselves to that entirely.

72. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then you went on to the Australian Colonies, and whilst there did you receive a communication from the British Committee?—We did.

73. Requesting what?—Requesting our return to England.

74. With a view to giving evidence before, as it was then supposed, a Committee of the House of Commons?—Yes.

75. And that communication was made to you after you had sent home an abstract of your evidence?—Yes.

76. Well, now, how many miles did you travel altogether in India?—I cannot state the exact number of miles; it was over 3,000.

77. Will you give us the names of the places which you visited and conducted your investigations?—The cantonments?

78. The cantonments.—Yes; do you mean just the cantonments where we actually did work?

79. Where you actually did work, yes; you visited, I understand, some places where you had not a sufficiently favourable opportunity for inquiry?—No, there was not a favourable opportunity at Agra.

80. You passed on to others?—Yes.

81. Can you give us, in the order of your visit, as I have them marked on this map, the cantonments which you did visit, where you did conduct investigations?—Bareilly, Lucknow, Mean Meer, near Lahore, Rawul Pindi, Peshawar, back to Rawal Pindi for a second visit, back to Mean Meer for a second visit, Amritsar, Umballa, back to Bareilly for a second visit, Sitapur, Lucknow, Benares.

82. Lucknow a second visit?—Lucknow a second visit, and then Benares.

83. You have enumerated ten cantonments?—Ten cantonments.

84. And you conducted your inquiry in each of those ten cantonments?—In each of those ten cantonments.

85. Now with regard to the admission to the lock hospitals, did you find a lock hospital in each of those cantonments?—We did.

86. Was it called a lock hospital?—It was, in ordinary parlance; it was so called by the women, and by the native physicians.

87. Was it ever called the cantonment hospital?—It was sometimes by the native physicians, but they usually called it the lock hospital.

88. Were these hospitals for the treatment of men as well as for women?—There were out-door cases. These were pointed out in some cases, not the lock hospital proper, but there was sometimes a dispensary outside the wall.

89. (*Chairman.*) And the men were treated as out-patients there?—It was so; I would have to go over the list, if you wish.

90. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You visited some of these hospitals?—Yes.

91. How many did you visit?—We visited in the 10 cantonments.

92. You visited the lock hospital in each?—Yes.

93. And you saw the patients?—We never found the men in any lock hospital save at Bareilly. As I said, the men were in the out-door dispensaries, and outside; but never in the lock hospital proper, with this one exception.

94. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was the lock hospital the official term?—It was not so marked where the hospital was indicated; it was not called the lock hospital on the gateway; it was in some places called the cantonment hospital; but it was called lock hospital, as I stated at first, in the common parlance, and by the native physicians and by the women.

95. Are you aware that the term "lock hospital" was abolished some years ago?—I am aware that it is said to have been.

96. (*Chairman.*) Do I understand that these hospitals were, nominally, at any rate, designed for the treatment of various contagious illnesses, or were they exclusively given to this one complaint?—It was stated to us over and over again by the native physicians that these hospitals were for venereal diseases only.

97. I asked that question to illustrate what you said before about not finding any men in them, because I could not conceive men being found in a lock hospital, but if it were a hospital for the reception of all manner of contagious disease cases, the chances are that there would be men subject to other complaints in them as well as women?—No. I meant this, that most of the women were within a separate wall, the lock hospital proper, and the women, you might say in the women's ward, though they did not call it the women's ward, and they did not call it the lock hospital; sometimes there was an outer wall, and there men came to a dispensary.

98. In reply to a question by Mr. Stansfeld, whether you found any men in the enclosed hospital, I understood you to say, no; but were those enclosed hospitals in which you did not find any men—these

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walled-in, I will not call them lock hospitals, because the term seems to be disputed—but these cantonment hospitals, were they supposed to take in people with other complaints, such as small-pox or ordinary contagious diseases ?—We were assured that they did not take them in.

99. (*Sir James Peile.*) You did not yourselves see that there were none sick of small-pox—no small-pox ward ?—We went through them in several cases and had the word of a native physician.

100. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you go through the wards ?—Yes.

101. And do I understand that you saw no cases that were not, as far as you can tell, venereal cases ?—I should have to take each case and study it, Mr. Stansfeld, to say what the different things were that were upon the reports that we saw ; but the reports stated a few, but we were also assured that such cases were not treated there, that they were treated somewhere else. We never saw any case of small-pox.

102. Or fever ?—I think not of fever.

103. Perhaps upon this branch of the subject it would be as well if I were to examine, by and bye, Dr. Kate Bushnell ?—I think she will be the best to be examined in regard to that, being a physician.

104. But the general impression produced upon your mind in visiting these hospitals was that they were practically confined to the venereal cases ?—Practically confined to those.

105. And did you see any other cantonment hospitals in the cantonment than those hospitals ?—We visited several general hospitals.

106. For what kind of cases ?—Well, for general cases.

107. For any infectious or contagious cases ?—No ; but we visited at Lucknow the general hospital, and the head nurse, Miss James, pointed out what she said was the place for infectious and contagious diseases.

108. And what was the place she pointed out ?—We did not visit it ; it was, as we understood, for male patients.

109. And where was this ?—This was at Lucknow.

110. This is in the case of Lucknow, was this a nurse ?—Miss James ; she was the head of the nursing sisters.

111. The head of the nursing department pointed out another building which she said was a building for infectious and contagious cases ?—Yes ; it was not the same building which we visited, which was pointed out to us as the lock hospital.

112. As far as you know that was not a lock hospital ?—It was not a lock hospital.

113. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was that for European patients or for natives ?—For European patients, Miss James stated.

114. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I should like you to give us some idea of the number of persons, of all kinds and conditions, qualified to give information in all these various ten cantonments, whom you have interviewed ?—We interviewed over 300 persons.

115. And they would consist mainly of what people ?—They consisted mainly of the women themselves and of the mahaldarnis, the women in charge of them.

116. Now tell us who are the mahaldarnis ?—The mahaldarnis are the women in charge of the chaklas, as they are called, the places where the women live.

117. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) May I ask what a mahaldarni is ?—I believe the explanation of the term is the woman superintendent, or the woman in charge, as nearly as we could get it.

118. The term mahaldarni is the guardian (female) of a ward of a bazar ?—Mahaldarni I refer to. That is as nearly as I could get it spelt, and in nearly every chakla we found such a person in charge.

119. Was that the term used in Bengal in these hospitals ?—In all these cantonments that we visited she was called a mahaldarni, and the dhai was the woman in charge of the women at the lock hospital ; the nurse, I presume, is the meaning of it, but the mahaldarni was sometimes called the dhai.

120. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And had you conversation also with a certain number of medical native officers ?—Yes, with a certain number of native medical officers.

121. And with some patients in the hospitals ?—And with some patients in the hospitals.

122. And with any other persons ?—With a few Europeans, one or two district pleaders.

123. The majority were the women themselves ?—The majority were the women themselves.

124. You commenced your inquiry, I think, if I remember right, at Bareilly, did you not, by seeing the European medical officers in charge ; was that so ?—We did ; not the medical officer in charge of the lock hospital.

125. And the result of that interview, in your minds, was, am I right in saying so, that you were more likely to get the information, of which you were in quest, by addressing yourselves to the native, rather than to the European element ?—Yes.

126. And after that visit to Bareilly you adopted that plan ?—We did.

127. And you went to the chaklas, and you went to the hospital, and you put yourselves into communication with the native element as much as you could ?—We did.

128. And you found facilities for so doing, did you not, through friends who were ready to interpret between you and those persons you saw who were not able to speak English ?—Yes.

129. But did you find them often able to speak English ?—We found very many of those women able to speak broken English, English, so that we could understand them very well, and they could understand us, we presumed, from their association with the soldiers.

130. Well now, besides the information which you derived from conversation with these persons, had you the opportunity of seeing, and of more or less studying, any official documents bearing upon this question ?—Yes, we had.

131. You inspected the lock hospital in every cantonment ?—We visited the lock hospital in each cantonment.

132. In any of those lock hospitals had you access to any books or other records ?—We did have.

132*. How many ?—Shall I name them ?

133. Name them if you like ?—In Meerut, you quite understand me, that I do not say that we saw all the books or anything of that kind, but we saw certain books and hospital records in Meerut and Mean Meer, in Rawal Pindi, in Peshawar ; Umballa, in Bareilly, in Sitapur, and in Benares.

134. In eight out of ten you had the opportunity of seeing some books and records ?—Yes ; Dr. Bushnell will refer more fully to the lock hospitals if you please.

135. During this time, roughly speaking, three months, not quite three months, did you both keep a joint journal ?—We did ; we kept notes and a rough diary.

136. And what did you do with those notes ?—We preserved the notes. You might say we kept a journal ; it was in the form of notes.

137. In loose sheets at first ?—Yes, in loose sheets.

138. Did you think it a safer method than carrying about a volume with yourselves ?—Yes.

139. And did you copy those in due order into a journal ?—We did, for the Committee.

140. And that journal you have with you ?—Yes.

141. And that journal you can produce ?—Yes, that journal we can produce.

142. Have you it with you at this moment ?—No, I have not, but it can be produced.

143. You can produce it at the next meeting ?—Yes, if so desired.

144. And that gives an account of your daily journeys made at the time ?—It does, yes.

145. You first went, as you have told us, to Bareilly, and you determined then upon altering your course of procedure, and addressing yourselves to the native element, and you commenced operations upon this new method at which cantonment ?—At Lucknow.

146. You went to Lucknow on what date ?—January 21st.

147. You made preliminary enquiries from a resident friend, did you not ?—We did, yes.

148. And you began your investigations practically on the 25th of January ?—We began our investigations on the 25th of January.

149. Now will you give us an account of your doings in this place, Agra was it not ?—We did nothing at Agra ; we began our work in Lucknow proper, that is from this new side.

150. Now give me an account of what you did in Lucknow ?—We began our work at the lock hospital ; we went in. You do not wish me to describe the lock hospital, do you ? Dr. Bushnell will describe it.

151. Is there only one cantonment at Lucknow ?—There is only one. We went first to the cantonment, and we went to the lock hospital in the cantonment.

152. And whom did you see there ?—We saw there the dhai and a number of girls. The first person we saw was the watchman inside.

153. Inside the lock hospital there was a watchman ?—Inside the gate.

154. Of the lock hospital or of the chakla ?—Of the lock hospital. We went to the lock hospital first. There was a watchman inside.

155. On guard ?—On guard.

156. On entering at the gateway of the cantonment hospital ?—Yes ; we went to the gate and were about to pass through the inner gate. There was an inner wall, and the women were inside of this inner wall, and we were about to pass in, but the dhai told us that we could not go in ; that the doctor would be angry if we went in, and so we waited outside and talked with the women. She said we could talk with the women there at the gate, and so we did.

157. Was that your only visit to the cantonment at Lucknow ?—Oh, no ; we went from the cantonment hospital or lock hospital to the chakla, as it is called, the same day.

158. And were you conducted over it ?—We saw it ; we did not go all over it at that time, we did at a later visit, but at that time we only went into the one ward.

159. And who showed it to you ?—The girls themselves ; that is, we were received kindly, we sat down and talked with them.

160. You were not conducted over it by any official ?—I do not know that I should say conducted ; we simply sat down and talked with the women under a tree ; there was a great tree with a mortar bench round it.

161. At the hospital ?—This was at the chakla, but at the hospital we did not go inside the gate at that time.

162. But you did afterwards ?—We did afterwards.

163. Conducted by the native doctor ?—Conducted by the native doctor.

164. Did you visit other places at that cantonment ?—We visited Miss James whom I spoke of, the head of the nursing sisters, and she took us over the hospital there where she is.

165. And more or less in all future cases you endeavoured to obtain, and succeeded in obtaining access both to the hospital and to the chaklas ?—We did.

166. Did you find in all the 10 cantonments an hospital for venereal cases ?—Yes, for the women.

167. And in all of those cantonments you therefore also found at least one chakla ?—Yes, we did.

168. The chakla being, practically, to use the English phrase, a brothel for the reception of native women who were not allowed to consort except with British soldiers ?—Yes, we were so assured.

169. And that you found wherever you went, and there was no question about their being restricted ?—Yes, there was no question about it.

170. Now the chakla ; what kind of a building or buildings is a chakla ?—There is not one kind : they are of different constructions. I might divide them into three heads ; there were those where the women were all under one roof, and those where they were all in one place or one bazar, and those where they were in different parts of the cantonment in different chaklas. At Lucknow they were practically under one roof ; they said all the chaklas had been broken up, and the women were brought under the one roof.

171. Was that called the Sudder Bazar chakla ?—Yes.

172. And what does Sudder Bazar mean ?—We were told that it meant central. I do not know whether that is correct or not. We asked a good many times, but we were told it was so.

173. The central trading place of the cantonment ; the Sudder Bazar ?—It seemed to be the central trading place of the cantonment.

174. And in Lucknow only the British soldiers resorted to the Sudder Bazar chakla ?—Not only in Lucknow, but in Amritsar, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares ; five of these.

175. And Peshawar ?—No ; in Peshawar they were in one place, one bazar, but not under one roof, but all gathered into one place. It was a street, with its ramifications, as you might say. I think a drawing can be shown of that, a rough drawing, if you wish. It was of peculiar construction.

176. Then in other cantonments besides the Sudder Bazar, you told us there were other chaklas ?—At Meerut, Mean Meer, Rawal Pindi, and Umballa, we found the women in different chaklas in the same cantonment.

177. And to what special use were those other chaklas devoted ?—They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment. Those seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazar chakla.

178. As far as you could see, they were chaklas apportioned to particular regiments ?—Yes.

179. Did all the Sudder Bazar chaklas consist of permanent buildings, or did they, as far as your observation went ?—Yes, they did, as far as our observation went. I think we can say that there is a great difference between English ideas about building and the Indian ; the buildings seemed to us very poor in India usually ; but there are rather poor buildings occupied by respectable people, so that while some of these I would not call very good buildings, nothing wonderful, still they were as good and substantial buildings as are usually to be seen.

180. Do some of the chaklas consist of tents ?—Yes.

181. Is that the case with some of the regimental chaklas ?—Yes.

182. But not with the Sudder Bazar chaklas ?—Not with the Sudder Bazar chaklas ; not any that we visited.

183. In Meerut, Mean Meer, Rawal Pindi, and Umballa cantonments, there are chaklas of both kinds ?—Yes.

184. At Lucknow the chakla, you said, was a large building called the Sudder Bazar ; it contains accommodation for how many women ?—The woman said there were 100 there at the time, and that it would hold 150 or possibly even 200. I counted 33 rooms on my left hand side as I sat there.

185. How many of these women did you see there ?—We had an interview with 37 ; there were 37 at one time around us, and two mahaldarnis.

186. Thirty-seven besides, or including the mahaldarnis ?—Thirty-seven with the mahaldarnis, 35 women, and two mahaldarnis.

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187. What questions did you put to them ?—This was a very good building at Lucknow, and we asked them who built it, and who gave them such a place as this, and they said the Government. The course of our questions was usually in regard to the house and who owned it, and whether they paid rent or not.

188. Well, now, I will put it to you in this way ; take that particular chakla. Do you understand from your visits that there could be such a building within a cantonment without the sanction of the authorities ? —No, not possible.

189. Or that it could be appropriated to that purpose without the sanction of the authorities ?—I do not see how it could be possible according to the published cantonment rules, and also the evidence that we had from a district pleader, and from others. I do not see how it would be possible, because everything of that kind is regulated. I do not say by that that it necessarily had to belong to the Government out and out, but that it must be under the knowledge of the cantonment authorities.

190. But nothing can happen within a cantonment without the sanction—nothing permanent can happen within a cantonment without the sanction of the military authorities ?—We were so assured by two European gentlemen, besides the evidence of the rules. One of these gentlemen stated that he built a wall, and then afterwards wished to put a gate through his wall, and that he could not do that without sanction ; and the district pleader stated that you could not cut a limb off a tree. Property and everything was under the care of the cantonment authorities. This was stated to us quite voluntarily.

191. These chaklas, I presume (I put it to you for what your evidence may be worth), these buildings, occupied as they are, could not exist within a military cantonment without the knowledge, and therefore without the sanction, of the military authorities ? —I do not see how it would be possible.

192. I do not know whether you know to whom the land of the cantonment belongs ?—We did not inquire into that ; we only asked in each case ; and this conversation to which I have just referred was quite voluntary in our presence regarding the strictness of the cantonment rules. With regard to the Lucknow chaklas, when we said, " Who built this house ? " they said, " The Government ; " and they did not answer in the Indian word that has been referred to. They said, " The Government," and then they said that it had belonged to the Government until recently, and it had been sold to a Mahomedan, who owned it now, and they paid rent. This was one of the places where the women paid rent.

193. That was the Sudder Bazar Chakla at Lucknow ?—The Sudder Bazar Chakla at Lucknow.

194. (*Sir James Peile.*) Do you mean they lived in it before the Mahomedan bought it ?—We did not ask that. They said it belonged to the Government until recently, and that a Mahomedan bought it. They mentioned the name of the Mahomedan, but that we did not take down.

195. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you re-visit this chakla at a later period ?—Yes, we did.

196. At what date ?—We re-visited it in March ; I think March 2nd was the next visit. You mean on this same visit to Lucknow ?

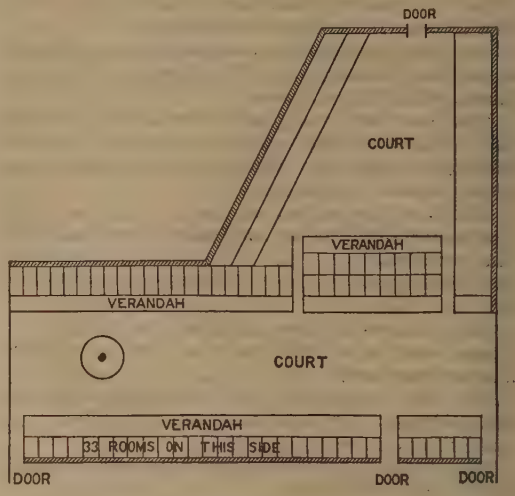
197. I mean on the 25th January ; two days later ? —We visited it later ; on the 30th January.

198. Now, what did you discover or observe as to this building ?—We found that it was a large irregular building about 125 feet long, I should say, at the longest portions of the walls, very high. Certain portions of the walls were over the railway, I should think not more than eight feet high, but the other portions of the walls were higher, with a long narrow entrance, the principal entrance off the Sudder Bazar.

199. Were there windows looking out outside ?—There were windows high up on this very high wall out over the railway. There were windows high in the wall, barred with wood ; and then these little rooms faced the wall, looking out on a courtyard. There were two courtyards. We were in the one going directly in from the Sudder Bazar.

200. Did you make a sketch of that courtyard ?—Dr. Bushnell made just a rough sketch of it.

201. Have you got it ; is this it ?—Yes, that is it. Her original work is in the original journal, which is not here, which will be produced ; but that is a copy of it.



Lucknow Chakla.

202. (*Chairman.*) It is a ground plan ?—Yes, it is a ground plan. We entered through this narrow place, and sat under this tree with this round mortar bed. Then you go through there [indicating]. There is a place there, in the centre, passing into this irregular courtyard, and then the railway running here, and it is there that the wall is very high towards the railway, and low across here. That is the shape ; very irregular.

203. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Do you know what the building was intended for originally ? —I do not.

204. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, along the wall on each side, is there a series of small rooms ?—Yes ; single rooms, that is. Each woman had a room.

205. Unfurnished ?—Nothing in them usually except a native bed.

206. A bed ?—Yes ; they are bare, with this exception.

207. Did you ascertain whether the women paid rent for their rooms ?—They said they paid two rupees a month each.

208. Did you obtain that information there ?—I think they did not state the amount at our first visit. That is my recollection. They said they paid rent ; but we afterwards met a girl at Sitapur whom we had met at Lucknow, and this girl at Sitapur immediately on greeting us said : " This chakla at Sitapur belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent here. We had to pay two rupees a month at Lucknow." But I do not recollect getting the exact sum of the rent at our first visit to Lucknow.

209. Now did you see inside this chakla any men ? —We did. We saw a man in native uniform with " Chaukidar Cantonment " on the brass plate of the belt that he wore. He came up and stood with the group.

210. You understood him to be a guard ?—Yes, a guard. It was stated that there was a guard there, a constable.

211. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Do you know what "chaukidar" means ?—It was explained to us as meaning "guard." For a watchman or a guard they said the chaukidar.

212. (*Sir James Peile.*) You said that there was no question, nobody doubted that the women in the chakla were limited to the use of British soldiers.

By whose orders is it understood that they are limited, or how are they limited? Do they limit themselves or how?—No.

213. What was the idea you got?—I got the idea that they were not permitted to consort with natives at all.

214. By whom?—By the authorities.

215. The British?—The cantonment authorities, the British authorities I mean, if it is the nationality you wish.

216. Was that said or was it what you inferred?—Well, it was not altogether inferred although there was very much inferential evidence in that we frequently saw British soldiers there, and we never saw a native soldier. I am quite sure that in every cantonment visited we saw British soldiers in the chaklas.

217. But you do not mean that you saw any order of the British authorities limiting these women to the British soldiers?—The native physician at Rawal Pindi told us that it was only the women who were set apart for the European soldiers who were required to be examined.

218. Set apart?—We saw the registers on several occasions, and the women's names. I refer to the registers in certain lock hospitals on which the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments.

219. You say were set apart or were apportioned, but by whom?—By those in authority.

220. But you did not see any orders to that effect?—No; at Lucknow 35 girls and two mahaldarnis testified that only Europeans could visit them. At Sitapur, a woman who was there pointed to the smoke on the wall and said that this room had been occupied by a native woman who was at that time one of the women of the chakla, who had a native lover who visited her secretly. He became very jealous and angry and set fire to the bed, and then it all came out, his visiting her secretly, and the woman was expelled from the cantonment. And at Bareilly a woman told us that none but European soldiers were allowed to come; we visited that neighbourhood in the evening and saw the European soldiers coming and going to and from the chakla. As I say, the native doctor at Rawal Pindi said that all women consorting with Europeans must be examined and registered with the cantonment magistrate, and at another time he said that those women who were for the European soldiers were obliged to be examined, but those for the native soldiers came only when they pleased. We visited the native chakla at Rawal Pindi, and there the women told us first when the mahaldarni was absent, and then afterwards the mahaldarni confirmed it at another interview with her that they were not required to be examined regularly because they consorted with natives; that they were very glad to be relieved from it, and that they were only seen when the mahaldarni sent them; they were not required to be examined.

221. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) With regard to the guard or watchman you saw there, did you understand anything as to the length of period during which he would be on guard and how often he would be removed?—At Lucknow the women did not state how often the guards were changed. They said that they were changed every few hours, and at Umballa they said the guards were changed every six hours.

222. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Could you tell us whether this was one of the cantonment police?—At Lucknow he wore the uniform of the cantonment police.

223. He was a policeman on duty on that beat?—Well, I do not know whether he belonged to the regular police or not. As I say, he wore a cantonment uniform, and had "Chaukidar Cantonment" on the brass plate of his belt.

224. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But you saw him inside the chakla?—Yes, we saw him there as long as we stayed inside, he was going up and down.

225. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Outside or in?—Inside.

226. (*Sir James Peile.*) In the courtyard?—In the courtyard.

227. Open to the open air, not under a roof?—Not a roofed courtyard; an open courtyard inside the chakla. We also saw a guard at Bareilly chakla.

228. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Which of the courtyards; there are two?—It was the one where the tree is; he came up and listened while the others were talking. I do not remember whether we spoke to him.

229. With regard to this plan, there is the long court with the tree, and then there is another court, but the whole of this building is a chakla; no part of it is the Lock Hospital?—Oh, no. The Lock Hospital is at some distance away. At Bareilly we also saw a native policeman or chaukidar in the chakla with his badge on, and in the evening at the entrance to the Bareilly chakla a policeman came and spoke to us about a girl whom we were trying to befriend.

230. I think I will take you on to another cantonment, to Meerut; what day did you visit that cantonment?—We visited the Lock Hospital at Meerut on 5th February 1892.

231. And your visit extended from 5th February to 11th February?—I think it was 11th February we reached Mean Meer. We began our work at Mean Meer on the 16th February. We were at Meerut, and began our work on the 5th.

232. You stayed a few days at Meerut?—Yes.

233. According to my instructions, you stayed from the 5th to the 11th?—Yes, I think so. We reached Mean Meer, or Lahore rather, 11th February; we reached Mean Meer 11th February.

234. How many chaklas did you find at the cantonment at Meerut?—We found four that we visited. We also knew of another through the Lock Hospital registration and hearing of it.

235. You heard of another chakla, at the Lock Hospital?—Yes.

236. You visited four chaklas?—We visited four; we did not visit the artillery chakla.

237. Is there a Sudder Bazar chakla there?—There is.

238. Did you visit that?—We visited the Lancers chakla, which is near by, and the women came to us in the Lancers chakla for the interviews we held with them.

239. What you call the Lancers chakla is near the Sudder Bazar chakla?—Yes.

240. Now why do you call it the Lancers chakla?—The women said they were the women of that regiment, and that it was called the Lancers chakla. In the Sudder Bazar chakla it was a different arrangement. They lived in little houses on a street. The Lancers chakla was the same arrangement of rooms on a courtyard, as at Lucknow, and it was a better place, and more open place, for the women to come to us in numbers. They came in numbers from the Sudder Bazar chakla to see us there.

241. Well, now, with regard to this Lancers chakla, did you ask them to whom the place belonged?—Yes, we did. They answered that it formerly belonged to the Government, but did not now. I think we did not ask at all to whom it did belong, or anything about that.

242. Now what else did they say; did they say to whom they belonged themselves?—They stated that they belonged to the Lancers regiment.

243. That was their view?—Yes.

244. Did you afterwards see a number of women collected at the same chakla. I presume that means outside the chakla, does it?—No, inside the chakla.

245. You mean on a subsequent occasion?—Yes, the next morning.

246. You met three and twenty women collected there?—Yes, we met 24 persons.

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247. You conversed with them?—Yes, they came from all round from the Sudder Bazar chakla.

248. Did that occur again upon a third occasion?—Not so many again; but we had another interview with them.

249. And upon that third occasion, were there any men present?—Yes, there were.

250. And who were the men?—There was the husband of the dhai or the ex-dhai; they call her the dhai. We could not just find out what her position was, but she was there. She said she had to take care of the women, and that this was her husband.

251. Are you speaking now of a chakla?—Yes, of a chakla.

252. But the dhai would have no position in the chakla, would she; she is the nurse of the hospital?—That is why we say we could not get her real position. She said she took care of the women when they were ill, and they gave her a few pice, but she did not seem to have a definite position.

253. Did you see any native police there?—There was a man there on the third interview, one afternoon, who they said was the head of the native police; he did not make himself known to us. We saw him there.

254. Did you see another chakla?—We did. We saw the Infantry chakla.

255. Is that one building, or a series of houses?—It is rooms on a street.

256. Is there a fourth chakla that you saw?—We saw another. That was the 50th West Kent Rest Camp; we saw the chakla there.

257. What do you mean by a rest camp?—I do not know that I could define it in a military way, but it seemed to be where the soldiers were staying for a time in tents in quarters out in a camp.

258. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) They are permanent buildings, are they not?—No, it is in a camp.

259. Was it a brick building?—No, in tents, wholly in tents.

260. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) However there was a chakla. What did the chakla consist of?—The chakla consisted of 14 small tents.

261. How ranged?—They were in a row opposite each other.

262. Two rows?—They were just beyond the bazar where the trading went on.

263. The bazar of the 50th Royal West Kent Regiment?—The bazar of the 50th Royal West Kent Regiment.

264. Did you see any other tents near these?—We saw a large tent which seemed to be used for eating and smoking opium, and all that; we went in and saw this after we had finished our interview with the women, and they were smoking and eating opium, and also eating food in this large tent.

265. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Who were?—The natives were, both men and women who had been there near this chakla of the women.

266. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now I will pass on to Mean Meer, how many chaklas did you see at Mean Meer?—Three, the Sudder, the regimental, and the artillery.

267. Now take the Sudder Bazar; is that a substantial building?—Yes, it was a good building; it was built with little rooms facing on the courtyard.

268. How many rooms?—There were 20 rooms, that is the rooms were against the wall, you know; the back was the wall, and they abutted on the courtyard; they were ranged about the courtyard. There were 20 rooms, and the mahaldarni said they were full.

269. Did you converse with the mahaldarni?—We did.

270. Did you converse through an interpreter, or did she speak English?—She spoke some English. We conversed with her partly in English, and partly in the native language. She offered us tea, and was very friendly. She showed us around. She stated she had 16 girls in her own quarters, that was next to this chakla; that is, I mean they were really joined, there was just a wall between, but it was next door.

271. Did you visit another chakla in the same cantonment?—The regimental chakla; the women in the Sudder chakla told us there was another, the regimental chakla, and we visited that. There the quarters were rooms on a street; they resembled barracks rather closely, that is the way barracks looked usually. There was the outer verandah, and then a room inside of that; a row of rooms on a street, and these were very near the soldiers.

272. Did the mahaldarnis rent these rooms or what?—They stated that the commanding officer rented them for them, and that they paid rent.

273. They paid rent?—They said they paid from one rupee to one rupee four annas a month each.

274. The women?—The women stated this.

275. To whom did they pay that, to the mahaldarni?—I do not know to whom they paid it, I did not ask.

276. They said they were charged by somebody?—They said they were charged rent.

277. Is there a third chakla in the same cantonment?—That was the artillery chakla; that was little rooms in a street, a little narrow native street.

278. Did you visit the rest camp here?—We did not, we saw it at a distance as we drove on the road.

279. Did you hear anything about the rest camp?—The women at these three chaklas told us that there were 12 women at the rest camp.

280. Now Rawal Pindi, when did you visit that?—We left Mean Meer February 19th, and arrived at Rawal Pindi the same day, the 19th February.

281. You commenced your inspection on February 20th?—We commenced on the 20th, we did not arrive till the afternoon of the 19th.

282. How many chaklas did you find there?—We visited the Sudder chakla for the European soldiers, and that for the native soldiers, a very large chakla in the Sudder bazar, and the infantry and the artillery, and then we drove out to the new cantonment on the Monday following.

283. Some distance?—That was some distance. Yes, I could not say just how far, but I think it was stated to be three miles. I will not positively state that it was three miles, but it was a ride of some distance to the new cantonment, and there we visited three chaklas, the Highlanders, the Battery, and the Rifles.

284. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you make it quite clear how many you gave us that you visited. You mentioned them one by one?—Yes, that would make seven, counting the one for the natives also.

285. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Besides the new cantonment?—No, including the new cantonment.

286. Now the new cantonment, for what number of women are these chaklas?—There were 12 at the Highlanders, and 12 at the Battery, and 11 at the Rifles.

287. You have not got the numbers, have you, for the other ones?—I think I can give them. I cannot give them for the Sudder Bazar. We could get no light on it at all; they simply, when we asked, wherever we inquired, said there were so many women there that they could not tell; we interviewed ten, and then this native chakla was crowded. It was an immense place. Then at the Infantry chakla there were 20, and at the Artillery there were five.

288. Did you see the 20?—We did not interview the 20.

289. But you saw the 20?—Oh, we saw, I think, fully that many women moving about, but we only interviewed a few.

290. Well, now, take the chaklas at the new cantonment, what were they structurally?—They were on three parallel streets, brick buildings. It was stated that they had only been erected a few years

ago, and they looked new. Everything looked very nice and fresh, and there were three parallel streets, extending a long distance; I mean these three parallel rows of buildings down those three streets, and there was no break in all this line of buildings except one short very narrow street, going down toward a ravine; there was a little ravine at the end, and it was at that end of these rows of brick buildings that the women were. The one that we first approached was the Highlanders, and then we went around the end, passed along this ravine, or the one side of it, to the Battery bazar, and then on to the Rifles. The women occupied the buildings at that end, which were not separated from other buildings, but were all at that end of the ravine.

291. Were there any tents besides these buildings used for the same purpose?—Yes, there were ten small tents a little to the right of the Highlanders' rooms.

292. Ten or 11?—It was either 10 or 11. I have it recorded in the journal there were 11 little tents in the ravine close to the row of brick buildings.

293. Now, Amritsar. When did you visit that cantonment?—We reached Amritsar the last day of February, and we visited the chakla March 1st.

294. Was it a large or a small chakla?—It was a small chakla, and there were only five women there. It was built after the same manner that I have spoken of in several other cases, about a courtyard.

295. Was there a mahaldarni for these five women?—Yes, there was a mahaldarni.

296. Did you see them all?—We saw them all and talked with them all.

297. What happened in the course of that conversation; did they tell you how many soldiers were situated there?—We asked why there were so few, and they said there were only two companies situated at Amritsar at that time.

298. Did you see an English soldier there?—We did; he came to the entrance of the chakla, and stood waiting as we came away.

299. Now, Peshawar. When did you visit Peshawar?—We visited Peshawar after visiting Rawal Pindi; we went from Rawul Pindi on February 23rd for Peshawar, and arriving very late in the afternoon——

300. Before reaching Amritsar, you visited Peshawar?—We visited Rawal Pindi, then we visited Peshawar, then we returned to Rawal Pindi; that is the order, Peshawar being further towards the North West frontier than Rawal Pindi.

301. Well now take Peshawar?—Peshawar is the place where we found the women all gathered into one bazar.

302. The Sudder Bazar?—The Sudder Bazar, but not under one roof; there were little houses there and they were on these streets.

303. A series of buildings in a street?—Not in a street, but in, you might say, two streets, forming a street of right angles, and then little ramifications.

304. About how many women were there?—There were 56 registered, as in the Sudder Bazar chakla. The women claimed that there were two lists, and they had two examination days; that the regimental women had just been brought there, and therefore there were two examination days. We asked why there were the two examination days, and they explained it that way, but we saw only the registration list of the Sudder Bazar, and whether it covered the whole number or not we cannot tell. It did not seem as though it could, 56, for the reasons that we may give later regarding what we observed.

305. You made your way into that narrow street?—Yes.

306. And what happened then?—Well, we were warned not to come in, that was the first thing.

307. By whom?—By a woman speaking out at one of the doors.

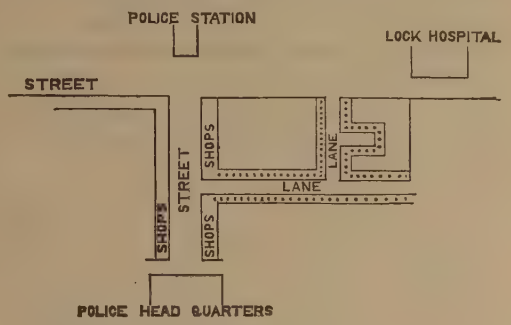
308. What did she say?—She said, "Do not come in here; we are all bad women here." We said we were seeking them. She then made us very welcome, and called in other women to see us.

309. And did some women come?—Yes.

310. How many?—There were nine women counting the old woman who was there, the mother of this woman where we had gone in; eight of the women themselves and this old woman.

311. Did they tell you anything about the Regimental Bazar?—Yes, they said that all the women in the Regimental Bazar had been brought in. They all lived in the same place. We asked if all the women lived there. We were accustomed to asking that in order that we might know whether to visit other places.

312. Have you got a sketch of this place?—Yes, we have in the Journal. Of course, these were just rude sketches; they were not intended to be exact as to numbers of feet and all that. There was a police station at each end of the street.



The little dots bordering the Lane represent the Registered Houses of Prostitutes.

PESHAWAR CHAKLA.

313. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) The police station used to be in the middle of the Bazar, was it not?—The police station now is just as it is placed there; one is at the middle of the street which is just outside, and the other is just at the middle of a street running the other way.

314. You have one called police head-quarters, and another called police station?—Yes.

315. My recollection is that the head-quarters were in the middle of the Sudder bazar?—We just took it as it was indicated to us.

316. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you observe with regard to these houses any numbers that they bore?—Yes.

317. Numbers outside the houses?—There were such numbers.

318. What were those numbers?—They were large and small numbers. The small ones were about six inches, I should think, nearly square.

319. Square pieces of what metal?—Of tin, and they were the cantonment numbers; they were small.

320. You inquired and you were told so?—Yes, we inquired and we were told so.

321. And then were there larger ones?—There were larger round tin plates on which were very large English numbers.

322. How large were these round?—About 15 inches in diameter.

323. (*Chairman.*) Were they the same numbers; would one house be numbered by a square plate and by a round plate?—They were in Hindustani figures on the small plates, and in English only on the round plates. These houses had the two plates on, and the small plates had both English and Hindustani figures on them, but they did not correspond to the figures on the large plates.

324. That is what I mean; two different systems?—Yes, and the large numbers were in English.

325. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you ask any one of these women what the numbers meant?—Yes, we asked on three different occasions.

326. What did they tell you?—They said the small numbers were the cantonment numbers, that every house in a cantonment has to be numbered with, and the large numbers corresponded with their registration numbers.

327. The registration numbers of the prostitutes?—The registration numbers of the prostitutes, yes.

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328. How many of these numbers did you count?—I saw the number 67 opposite me. I did not go and count each one regularly. I only saw that number opposite me as I stood talking.

329. And that there were a considerable number?—Yes; naturally in this length of street.

330. Did you afterwards ask any other persons what the large numbers signified?—That was one reason why I thought the 56 names on the Sudder Bazar list could hardly cover the number of women, because it was No. 67 opposite me while I was talking. Yes, we did; and on one occasion, both a native man was standing there and a woman, and we asked the woman, but both the man and the woman answered, yes.

331. They gave the same answer?—The same answer.

332. That the larger numbers signified the registration number of the women?—That the larger numbers signified the registration number of the women. Then we had an interview with a girl later in her own room, a young girl there, who invited us in with seven others, and they stated the same. This was an entirely new group of women whom we had not seen, in another street from the first two interviews.

333. (*Sir James Peile.*) You say you saw the register of the women at the bazar?—Yes, we saw the register.

334. Where was that?—At the Lock Hospital.

335. In the hospital?—Yes, in the Lock Hospital.

336. Do you mean a hospital that was only for venereal diseases?—Yes.

337. And no other?—And no other.

338. And in the hospital you saw a register of the women?—Of the Sudder Bazar Chakla, 56 cases we saw.

339. The register of cases?—The register of names; there were 56 the total.

340. But it was a register of women who had been treated in the hospital?—Yes, the register.

341. Of the cases?—Well, of the women. It was an hospital register, and it was of the women.

342. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Was it a register of the patients who had been treated in the hospital, or was it a register of women who had to come for periodic examination?—It was the register of the women; I thought I had made that clear.

343. Who had come for periodic examination?—It was the register of the women who had to come there for examination.

344. Not patients in the hospital?—No, except as they were detained.

345. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now we pass on to Umballa. You visited that on the 2nd of March?—We went from Amritsar to Umballa, and arrived there on the 2nd of March, Wednesday morning, a little after midnight.

346. What did you see there?—We visited three chaklas at Umballa.

347. Were they tents or buildings?—There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazar.

348. Did you find one chakla at the camp of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders?—We did.

349. Did that consist of tents?—Yes; that was the first that we visited.

350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here?—She told us to what regiment they belonged.

351. Did she tell you of whom she hired the tents?—She said she hired them from some one; I do not remember whom.

352. From a merchant, was it not?—From a merchant—a native merchant, I think it was.

353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there?—That there were 11.

354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there?—She and the girls corroborated each other that there was a guard there till midnight; that the guard was changed every six hours.

355. Then what did you see at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders?—There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were inclosed with native matting.

356. A kind of wall of matting?—Yes, a kind of wall of matting.

357. How many tents were there there?—There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?—We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

359. Are both these chaklas near to each other?—Not at a great distance.

360. At what part of the Cantonment; how far from the military tents?—They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these women—the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

361. While you were at the chakla, at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?—Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

362. Now what did you see at the Sudder bazar?—There were 20 girls at the Sudder bazar.

363. What is the chakla there?—The character of it? it was rooms built on a court-yard inclosed by a wall and the rooms facing on the court-yard.

364. How many of the girls did you see?—We saw 10 at the Sudder Chakla.

365. And did you also see two very young ones?—Yes.

366. Apparently of what ages?—Well, one was, I should think, 12 years old; she did not seem to be more than that.

367. And the other girl was?—I remember that there were two, but I do not remember the ages.

368. Was the other girl almost an infant?—One was a child of four, but the other was one of 12; the latter impressed me greatly.

369. How was the one of 12 dressed?—She was dressed just as the degraded women were.

370. Was that any peculiar dress?—I could not say they wear any uniform, but they are apt to be bedizened out very much; they wear all the jewellery that they can get, you know. This little girl was very much tricked out, and they are apt to put on as many gay colours as they can.

371. Well now, Bareilly, did you visit that on March the 3rd; that is the second visit, is it not?—Yes, that is the second visit; we visited Bareilly on March the 3rd.

372. Is the chakla a considerable building there?—It is a very good building. It is built in the same way, with a wall and the rooms facing on a court-yard.

373. That is the Sudder Bazar?—Yes, the Sudder Bazar Chakla.

374. How many women were there?—Well, they said there were 25; we did not see that many, but we saw quite a number. We interviewed 15, 14 girls and the mahaldarni.

375. They told you there were 25?—They said there were 25 in all, and we saw other girls moving about, but they did not join the circle.

376. Did they say there had been more than 25?—They said there had been 50, but many of their number had gone away to Ranikhet with the soldiers.

377. With the regiment?—With the regiment, yes; I think they said with the soldiers; I think that was their expression, yes; many had gone away to Ranikhet with the soldiers.

378. And all the women there, they said, were gathered into this one chakla?—They said they were, that the other chaklas had been broken up, and they had all been brought in.

379. Were the rooms here numbered with the small and large numbers ?—Yes, they were.

380. But in this case ?—It was just the opposite from Peshawar.

381. The small numbers were supposed to be the registration numbers, the large numbers to be the cantonment numbers ?—It was said by the women to be so. We did not make the thorough investigation there that we did at Peshawar, but this is what was stated to us, that the small numbers were the registration numbers.

382. What did the women tell you as to the men who were allowed to visit them ?—They said none but European soldiers were allowed to visit them.

383. Did they say at what hours they visited them ?—They spoke of the first hour in the afternoon, 2 o'clock, I think, to 8 o'clock, I know 8 was the time they spoke of.

384. Did you see any native official within that chakla ?—Yes, we saw a guard there with the cantonment badge on.

385. Did you go to that chakla again the same night ?—We did the same evening.

386. Did you see any soldiers go in and out ?—We did, a large number.

387. Did they all come walking up ?—No, they came in cabs, or gharris, as they are called, and there were many gharris there waiting when we went, and none of them went away empty ; there were sometimes three or four. Some officers came.

388. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was this chakla at Bareilly in the cantonment or outside the cantonment, in the city ?—It was in the cantonment ; not in the city.

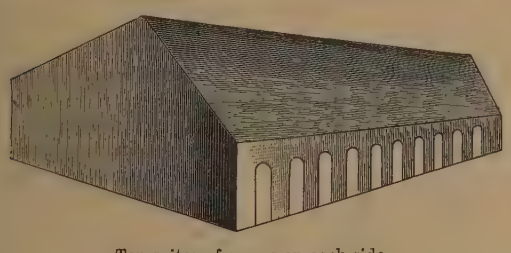
389. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Sitapur you visited 5th March ?—Yes. Left Bareilly 4th March ; visited Sitapur, 5th March.

390. Is the only chakla there at the Sudder Bazar ?—Yes.

391. What size building is that ?—Well, it is a very good building, very substantial looking, and not inclosed. It resembles barracks very closely. It is built with the rooms facing two ways, the wall in the middle.

392. How many women did it hold ?—It would hold 20 ; 10 suites of rooms on one side, and 10 on the other. Stop ; I think we have a drawing of it.

393. Is this it ?—Yes ; that is it ; just in outline.



Ten suites of rooms on each side.

SITAPUR CHAKLA.

394. Did you see one of the prostitutes under an hospital nurse, a dhai there ?—Yes ; we did, an ex-dhai ; she said she was not at that time a dhai.

395. What did they tell you ? Did they say anything as to the payment of rent for the building ?—That was after we passed round to the other side—this woman accompanying us, the prostitute. She went with us ; and another whom we had seen in the Lucknow Lock Hospital spoke to us. This last one spoke right up, and was very glad to see us when we came round—recognised us immediately and spoke to us joyfully.

396. Was this your second visit ?—No ; this was the same visit, only we were first at one side and then we passed round the end of the building to this girl's room. It was the second or the third on the other side, and she was at her door, and recognised us and was glad to see us, and then she said to us, seemingly with great gratitude and pleasure : "This house "belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent "here. We had to pay two rupees a month at "Lucknow, but we pay no rent here." She could talk broken English.

397. Well, did you visit Benares, on the 11th of March ?—Well, we visited Lucknow in the meantime. Then Benares came in later. We left Lucknow on Friday the 11th of March 1892, reaching Benares the same afternoon.

398. Is the chakla a building there ?—It is a very noticeable building. It is in rather a prominent place, and there was a watchmaker's sign in front, a sort of shop there, or had been ; a watchmaker's shop, and the chakla enclosed. There is a wall and there is a verandah round the rooms ; and then you go from this veranda into the rooms—a room for each girl.

399. Did you see the mahaldarnis ?—We saw the mahaldarni, and they said there were 15 girls there. I think we did not talk with the whole number ; we interviewed 11, that is the mahaldarni and 10 of the girls at the Benares chakla.

400. They said they paid no rent ?—They said they paid no rent ; they said the building was rented for them by the Government, and that they paid no rent. They said there were 15 girls there.

401. (*Sir James Peile.*) You did not test that statement, I suppose, in any way, the statement that it was rented for them by the Government ?—No ; we did not.

402. Have you any proof that there was any order by a British authority, limiting the use of these women to the European soldiers ?—We had the declaration of the women everywhere that they were under this strict rule, and they certainly showed that they felt it to be a positive prohibition.

403. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) They acted in that belief ?—Yes ; they acted in that belief—they certainly did, as far as we were able to judge. It certainly seemed to us strongly presumptive evidence that registration lists which we saw assigned the women to certain European regiments ; that is to say, their names appeared under the regimental title. That was good evidence that they were not permitted to receive other than British soldiers.

404. (*Sir James Peile.*) Where were these lists ?—In the lock hospitals.

405. In all ?—I did not say in all the lock hospitals, but we saw them in several.

406. You mentioned it in one ?—Where we saw registration lists, the women's names were thus assigned.

407. Do you mean they were ranged under the regiments—the women's names ?—They were, in certain cases. I mentioned that the native doctor at Rawal Pindi stated this, that none but the women consorting with European soldiers were required positively—he put it positively—to come regularly for inspection ; and then I said that in registers that we saw in different lock hospitals they were assigned to certain regimental quarters, and in most cases we have the corroborative evidence of having visited them in these quarters.

408. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, at Lucknow, as to registration of the women, I want to ask you one or two questions. In the Sudder Bazar chakla, at Lucknow, did you hear anything upon the subject as to who were registered ? Did you hear anything about the mahaldarni's daughter ?—There is a bit to be brought in with regard to that. An old procuress —who acknowledged herself to be so—and we saw her bring the girl whom she said she owned to the Lock Hospital—we met her several times ; but the particular thing she said in regard to the registration I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell, because she said it to her.

409. Did you yourself hear from any of the girls or women there anything concerning the mahaldarni's

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daughter ?—They said that the mahaldarni's daughter was registered, as all in that neighbourhood had to be.

410. All in that building ?—That was the expression. This was at our last visit to Lucknow, and it was after this change had been made in the chakla, and the mahaldarni was reported to have been dismissed, and she was living near by, just a few steps from the chakla in a little building there, and she had several girls living with her; and one of those girls who lived with her, when we went to see the mahaldarni, stated that the mahaldarni had gone to the Lock Hospital, and had taken her daughter with her. But we were not given to understand that the daughter was not a virtuous woman. She said the daughter was virtuous, and did not receive the visits of soldiers, but that she was registered—that they had all to be in that neighbourhood, and that, therefore, she was obliged to go to the Lock Hospital.

411. Well, now, at Peshawar, what did the women tell you there in reference to their registration ?—We had seen the daughter, I should mention, the day before. In the meantime examination day had intervened, according to the statement of the women, and this woman was detained there. More evidence as to why she was detained, and for what purpose, will be brought in later.

412. Did you make any enquiry as to how the girls entered this life ?—That is for Dr. Bushnell to answer. She talked with this woman who owned the girl there, and the woman informed her.

413. I mean at Peshawar ?—When we asked at Peshawar, "Where are your names written ?" they said, "They are put down in a book with the cantonment magistrate."

414. Did they say they would come to the cantonment magistrate to be registered ?—We asked how a new girl would go into that life, if she wished to go into it; and they said she would go first of all to the cantonment magistrate to be registered, and then to the Lock Hospital.

415. For what purpose ?—They said if the doctor said she was clean, she could then go into the chakla after examination.

416. If not, she would have to stay in the hospital, I presume ?—Yes; it was presumable. They said, if not, she would have to stay at the hospital until she was well.

417. In this cantonment did the women's houses bear the registered number of the woman occupant as well as the number of the house ?—Do you mean those houses we were then visiting ?

418. The women's houses in this cantonment ?—The women's houses in the cantonment were numbered twice—the large numbers they stated to be the registered numbers of the women.

419. Well, now, at Mean Meer, in the Lock Hospital, you saw books and forms of counterfoils, did you not ?—Yes.

420. Bearing upon this question ?—We saw several books there.

421. Will you tell me what you saw ?—We saw a book of blank forms, with coupon attachments, and the stubs of those pages. A great many of those pages had been torn out. We saw the stubs there still.

422. You saw the counterfoils ?—Well, I mean that they were ranged, we will say, *so*; and then with a little piece to tear off—a little thinner place—and the page to be torn out of those, and the attachments of these had been torn out, and the stubs remained.

423. With reference to these parts which were left—which I will call counterfoils—what did you see upon them ?—Some of these bore dates as late as January 1892. This was February 16th that we were there; there were many of these blank forms remaining.

424. Did you notice any of the blank forms ?—The blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, asking him to give the prostitute —— —— a ticket, enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspections, the Voluntary Venereal Hospital of Mean Meer Cantonment.

425. That was on the blank form ?—Yes, that was on the blank form.

426. Was the same instruction on the counterfoil ?—Well, on the counterfoil there was just a jotting, as I remember, of the name and date.

427. Were these forms signed ?—They were all from the surgeon of the Lock Hospital.

428. Were they signed by the surgeon ?—They were signed by the surgeon, but there were blank forms there; many of the forms had been torn out.

429. Was the word "surgeon" on the blank form ready for the name to be added ?—They were all printed.

430. (*Chairman.*) With the word "surgeon" printed ?—Yes, as I remember. I think I can be quite sure of that; that there was the word "surgeon" on it.

431. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, you have said these blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, requesting him to give the prostitute of such a name, a ticket enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear at the bi-monthly inspection. Did you succeed in obtaining one of such tickets ?—Yes.

432. Can you produce it ?—We saw a number of such tickets in the hospital, and supposed them to be tickets of women in the Lock Hospital. We afterwards succeeded in obtaining one of these tickets.

433. Have you got that ?—Yes, here it is.

1892.

TICKET OF REGISTERED PROSTITUTES IN THE CANTONMENT OF MEEAN MEER.

Name, Begum 1st.

Caste, Mahomedan

Registered number, 1

Place of residence in Cantonment, Sudder Bazar.

Date of Registry, 4. 3. 90.

Personal appearance, ——

C. L. M. Rich,
Officiating Cantonment Magistrate,
Meean Meer.

A. B. P., S. B., M. M.

Year and Month.	Date of Medical Examination and Signature of Medical Officer.				Remarks.
	Date of Inspection in the First Half Month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	Date of Inspection in the Second Half Month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	
1892:					
January - -	1st. G.		15.1.92. 23.1.92.	H. E. H.	
February - -	1st	H. E. H.	27.1.92. 15.1.92.	B. W.	
March - -					
April - -					
May - - -					
June - -					
July - -					
August - -					
September -					
October - -					
November -					
December -					

In the Journal I see that I have written it so :—"Signed, Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital." All these forms were so signed. This was the form. This was February 16th. As you see from the ticket, the last inspection at Mean Meer had taken place just the day before, the 15th February 1892.

Mrs. E. W. Andrew and Dr. K. Bushnell.

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The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned to Friday, at noon.

SECOND DAY.

Friday, April 14th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.
General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

Mrs. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL, called in ; and Mrs. ANDREW further Examined.

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434. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) At Rawul Pindi, what did you hear from a native doctor at the lock hospital ? He told us that the women who consorted with European soldiers were obliged to be registered by the cantonment magistrate, and examined regularly, and he said there were about 45 women who were usually or regularly examined there, and 35 of those were for the European soldiers.

435. At Umballa you saw the lock hospital ?—Yes. At Umballa, we saw in the Correspondence Book certain letters from the surgeon-in-charge.

436. Copies, I presume ?—Copies of letters to the cantonment magistrate.

437. From whom ?—They were from the surgeon in charge.

438. From the English surgeon ?—The English surgeon in charge of the Lock Hospital, to the cantonment magistrate. These were dated ; I think the letters referred to were all included between January and February, 1892 ; declaring that certain soldiers had declared themselves as diseased, and certain women were indicated in those letters.

439. Indicated by the soldiers ?—Certain women had been indicated by the soldiers, and the English surgeon included the names of those women and requested the cantonment magistrate to send them for examination.

440. Have not you already told us that at Bareilly the houses or rooms of the women in the Sudder Bazar chakla bore the registered number of the women as well as the number of the tents ?—I have stated that the women so declared, pointing out the numbers. These were the English numbers, and they were the small numbers ; the native numbers were the large numbers in that case ; just the opposite of Peshawar.

441. As to the mahaldarni. The mahaldarni, I think I understood you to tell us, was a woman superintendent of the chakla ?—That was what they told us, that mahaldarni meant the woman in charge, or the woman superintendent.

442. Did you, in nearly all the chaklas, find a woman called the mahaldarni, who appeared to you to be in charge of the women ?—Yes, in nearly all.

443. When you were at Lucknow, on January 25th, you visited the chakla at the Sudder Bazar ?—Yes.

444. Did you ask to see the mahaldarni ?—We did.

445. And did she come forward ?—She came forward ; she was an old woman.

446. What did she tell you ?—She told us that she was the mahaldarni, and that the Government paid her ten rupees a month.

447. (*Chairman.*) Where was this mahaldarni ?—At the Sudder chakla, Lucknow.

448. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was paid ?—She said she was paid by the Government ; that was her expression.

449. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How much ?—Ten rupees a month.

450. Did you at the same time see another mahaldarni ?—We saw another woman there, who said herself, and the girls said, that she was the mahaldarni of the Lancers regiment. She stated that she was paid ten rupees a month, and the girls stated in her presence, and she corroborated, that she also took one-fourth of their earnings.

451. She was a showily-dressed person ?—She had a great deal of solid gold jewellery, and was a very fine-looking woman, that is, judging by the native type, and she impressed us as prosperous in every way ; and this she said not only once, but it was said over and over by the mahaldarni and the girls. There were 35 girls in the group.

452. (*Sir James Peile.*) Did they speak English ?—Not all ; a number of them did.

453. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) A kind of English ?—Yes, a kind of English. I do not say classical English, but English that was easily understood—colloquial ; and some of them very good English indeed ; that is, very fair for native women to have picked up.

454. Did these two mahaldarnis tell you through whom they received their Government pay, as they called it ?—They said they received it through the cantonment magistrate.

455. This was on the 25th January ?—Yes.

456. You visited Lucknow on the 7th March ?—Yes.

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457. Did you find the two mahaldarnis still there?—We did not find them in the chakla. When we visited the Sudder chakla the women told us that the mahaldarni had been dismissed.

458. Did you see either of them elsewhere?—We went to see them at their own houses. We went to see the old mahaldarni first, who had been in charge of the Sudder chakla; she was in a little house just a few steps from the chakla.

459. And what did she say to you?—She said that she had been dismissed, and that she had been dismissed a month before; and she said that she had worked for the Government, that was her expression, continuously in Lucknow for ten years.

460. Did she show you any documents?—She produced two certificates that she showed us.

461. What did they seem to be?—Well, these certificates, one of them read thus——

462. Did you make this copy?—No.

463. Who made that?—Dr. Bushnell copied this; I dictated to her. I dictated and she copied from the originals. Is it all right to read it?

464. Very well, you can read it.

465. These are your copies, Dr. Kate Bushnell?—(*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) Yes. (*Mrs. Andrew.*) "Ameer has supplied the 2nd Derby Regiment with prostitutes for the past three years, and I recommend her to any other regiment requiring her for a similar capacity." Then follow the names.

466. The names of whom?—Is it a proper thing to read it? "S. G. Miller, Quartermaster, 2nd Derby Regiment, Lucknow, 25th October 1885." The second one is Ameeran. Of course, these gentlemen from India know how very arbitrary the spelling of the Indian names is, and we found them very different in their conclusion. She was called Ameer in the first, and in the second "Ameeran, Mahaldarni of the Sudder chakla has been known to me for three years, and has always done her work well. R. A. Kay, Surgeon, M.S." And then underneath, "Staff Surgeon Dil Kushaw, Lucknow, 12-3-'89."

467. Did you also see the second mahaldarni of the Lancers regiment?—Yes; we also saw her. We saw her on three different occasions.

468. But on this occasion did you see her?—Yes; on the same day, March 7th.

469. And what did she tell you?—Well, we saw her twice on this occasion; at the lock hospital in the morning; and then in the afternoon at her little house, which is just a few steps from the chakla.

470. She said she had also been dismissed, but she was nevertheless at the lock hospital?—Yes, she was at the lock hospital.

471. What was she doing at the lock hospital?—I do not know. She seemed to be just a visitor there; she was with others standing about. A girl had died, and we went there, and we were all there together in the outer enclosure, not in the inner enclosure, in the outer enclosure; and she said that she had been dismissed, and that the authorities told her that "they," putting it in the plural; including, we supposed, the old mahaldarni, "were promised that they should have the first places when these houses should be opened again." Though the houses were not closed the Mahaldarnis were dismissed; but at any rate this was what she said, that they were told that they would have the first places when they were re-opened.

472. Then what was the hypothesis in her mind: apparently that these houses were to be closed?—Yes, it seemed to be so. And then later in the day, when we saw her, remembering that she had not stated who said this to her, only "the authorities," we said, "Who dismissed you?" She said she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate; that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up, had to "close up." Then, on the third occasion, I saw girls there, and there seemed to be quite a number, and I said to her, "What does this mean; you have girls here living with you?" And she said, when her Lancers' chakla was broken up she sent a petition, feeling it a great grievance, and that both the European doctor at the lock hospital and the cantonment magistrate told her to take six or eight girls, and so make her living in that way; take a part of their earnings, and so make a living in that way, and she said she had five now.

473. Did she show you any certificates?—Yes; she showed us certificates and papers. She brought out a great bundle of papers of various kinds.

474. Of what dates were they?—You mean from one year to another? They were of different dates. Some of them years before, 1882, I think, to 1885.

475. They were none of them later than 1886?—I think none later than 1886. Stop, there is one here of 1886.

476. Do you desire to produce those?—Well, I should desire to produce them, for this reason: to show what the mahaldarni's duties are, and what they have been; because we have proof that they are the same now. We have some evidence that they are the same; and if the Committee will permit them to be brought in in that way, I think it will make it clearer.

477. You can produce them as evidence of what their duties were at the periods to which they refer?—Yes; at the periods to which they refer. One that she had read thus: "Ameer, Mahaldarni, Seventh Lancers, you have not brought your women from Meerut and Ferozepore. You will have to do it, or the Colonel will think you have broken faith. It is now fifteen days since you received your appointment." This is also signed by "R. A. Kay. Staff-surgeon." 26th June, 1886, is the date. And then she showed us also a statement signed by the colonel of the regiment, showing that she had leave of absence for a number of days to go to Ferozepore, to attend to certain business of her bazar. This was dated June, 1886, within a fortnight of the foregoing. Then there was a petition, also, from her to the cantonment magistrate. The petition stated that she had been greatly misrepresented by the native police, and that they had said that her place was dirty, that she was not there, and that she did not have girls there; and she stated that the place was kept tidy, that she was always there at the proper hours, and that she also had 15 girls there "within hours"; that was the way in which it was expressed; and she begged therefore for an inspection of her bazar. I think we only kept between which years these covered.

478. Was it in the period between 1882 and 1886?—Between 1882 and 1886. Then there was another petition to the cantonment magistrate, that she had informed him that she had brought four new girls, who had several thousand rupees' worth of jewellery, and that they were in danger of losing it. She said their brothers had accompanied them, and that she should require them to live in her bazar, and then the brothers would not come near. This was dated August, 1886, at Lucknow. Then there was still another lot of papers in regard to Orderly-Sergeant Edward Theobald; his letters were very fulsome, and he told her he had forsaken his family for her, and then he made a petition to the cantonment magistrate.

479. She stated that he had lived with her, did she not?—She stated that he had lived with her, and she called him her husband.

480. This was the mahaldarni?—The mahaldarni Ameer. This is the woman who had so much jewellery. The letters were signed, "Your loving husband." Then there came a petition from this Orderly-Sergeant Edward Theobald, to Captain Campbell, the cantonment magistrate, for the privilege of building a brick house in the cantonment. Then Captain Campbell had written on the same, saying that he would have to know more particulars before he could grant the application; and this document was dated in the year 1885. Then there was a petition in regular form by Edward Theobald, orderly-sergeant, asking for a place to live with this woman Ameer, as it was his intention to remain in India

and live with this woman until death removed one or the other. He said he had a salary of 30 rupees, and that he would give her 20 out of these, and therefore he asked this privilege. We then asked where he was, and she said he had gone to England.

481. I understood you to say "sergeant"?—Orderly sergeant. This was dated August 1886, at Lucknow. She treasured all these very carefully. Her petition, that you asked me the date of, may I correct, was dated August, 1886.

482. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, we pass on to Meerut. Did you visit that on February 10?—On February 10.

483. And who did you see at Rest Camp chakla?—We saw two women who claimed to be the mahaldarnis. We concluded that there must be one who was the head woman, with another who was in an inferior position; evidently Rahiman was the head woman from the way that she talked; but they both said that they received two pice for every four annas of the girls' earnings. Rahiman said that she protected the girls from ill-usage and excess.

484. Was that the chief one?—That was the chief one. She was an old woman, that is, past middle life, and a very hardened-looking woman. She said that when a girl was not sufficiently attractive to earn her living she sent her away, and got another one in her place. She spoke as if she had full authority; we asked her where she got women from. She said "she got them from the bazar when they were needed." She said she went to Colonel Plowden; she did not call him the cantonment magistrate; but, by reference to the Meerut Directory, you see he is. She stated his name right out. She went to him and "he gave her five, ten, or twenty rupees, as the case needed, to get girls." She said that, "for a very young attractive girl, she was furnished with fifty rupees." Then, she added, "There is always plenty money to get them with." This is the Meerut Directory for that month, for February; his name is at the bottom of that page.

485. "G. Plowden, colonel"?—Yes. Cantonment magistrate.

486. Well now we pass on to Mean Meer, cantonment of Lahore. Did you visit that on February 16th?—Yes, on February 16th.

487. And you saw a mahaldarni there; was she one whom you had seen before?—This was in the Sudder bazar. That was our first visit. She was adorned with a great deal of jewellery.

488. But had you seen this one before?—No, not at all. This was our first visit. Perhaps I referred to her in the evidence on a former occasion.

489. Well, you saw her there?—We saw her.

490. What did she tell you?—We saw her first in her own place. I remember now describing how it was constructed; that there was just a wall between what was called her quarters and the chakla proper, and she stated that she had 16 girls in her part of the house, and there were 20 in the other. She was adorned with jewellery profusely, and those who are acquainted with this know that we could tell at a moment whether it was proper jewellery. There is a great deal of that which is just gimcrack, but even if is somewhat rude in construction, yet you can see when it is solid gold; so we noted those who seemed to be more prosperous than others. She was adorned with jewellery, and some of it very good; and she said she had 10 rupees a month from the Government. That was her expression.

491. (*Sir James Peile.*) That she was then getting; not that she had formerly?—No, she said she was getting it.

492. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) What time was this?—This was February 16th.

493. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you visit the regimental bazar?—We visited the regimental bazar, and the mahaldarni there stated that she got one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

494. Did she say she received any salary?—No, simply one-eight of the girls' earnings. The artillery bazar we visited on another day, on the 17th February, and there was a mahaldarni there. She also stated that she got one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

495. But no salary?—No salary.

496. What did you find at Rawal Pindi?—At Rawal Pindi we found mahaldarnis in all the chaklas visited except the Sudder, and as to that we really did not get a clear idea of its boundaries, because the women were living in little rooms on the street, and I think we did not ask whether they had a mahaldarni we were occupied in asking other things, and, at any rate, we did not meet with a mahaldarni at all in the Sudder; but we did in the artillery, and she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

497. That is to say, she told you?—Yes, the mahaldarni and the girls both told us. The artillery one-eighth, the infantry one-eighth, of the girls' earnings. In the infantry the woman said she had formerly been a dhai in the lock hospital, and had had 15 rupees a month, but was not now. This is in the new cantonment of Rawal Pindi. In the battery one-eighth, and in the rifles one-eighth. The latter was a young woman. In the Highlanders' bazar we saw a very fine-looking, well-dressed woman, who came forward to meet us, and stated to us that she was the mahaldarni before we asked her, and she had a manner of great dignity. Her name was Ezeerge. She produced a scrap book, which was very neatly arranged, with all her certificates and letters of recommendation pasted in in very nice order. These people so appreciate their certificates. We found that in all classes and grades of society in India, from the dhobis or washermen, up to those who served us in the most intelligent manner; this woman had it in the folds of her dress, and she drew it out and showed it to us, and it contained letters of recommendation and certificates of service from April 1887 to November 1891; they spoke of her efficiency as superintendent of the prostitutes, and of her intelligence and obedience to instructions, and of the soldiers being very free from disease, and so forth, when the women were under her care; and also that she had accompanied the women "on the march" in a very satisfactory manner. They covered a great deal of ground. She stated that she received 15 rupees from the Government and one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

498. (*Sir James Peile.*) That she did receive, or had received?—No, that she was then receiving. Perhaps I did not express myself properly.

499. It is a point to make clear.—Of course it is, as not being in the past.

500. Because you spoke of another who had had it.—No. She said she was now in receipt of 15 rupees a month, and also took one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

501. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, did any of these mahaldarnis who stated that they received one-eighth of the girls' earnings tell you what that eighth amounted to?—Yes; they sometimes put it in this way, that it was two pice out of four annas; they generally put it in that way. Sometimes they said it that way, but I think we got rather into the way, for shortness, of saying one-eighth in our journal.

502. But did they tell you what that amounted to?—Oh, yes.

503. What their earnings on that basis amounted to?—You mean as a whole?

504. As a whole.—No.

505. Per month or per week?—No, we never asked that; we were not bright enough to ask that, Mr. Stansfeld; we did not think of it at all. We sometimes asked them what their proportion was, and they said two pice from the four annas, or sometimes it was one-fourth instead of one-eighth as I have stated, but they always worked to this proportion of four annas, because that was the pay the women declared they got from the private soldiers. May I state with regard to the earnings of the mahaldarnis that when we returned the second time to Lucknow, then the old

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mahaldarni who had been in the Sudder chakla was receiving one-fourth of the girls' earnings. She did not state that she was receiving this at our first visit in January, but when we were there the last time she was taking one-fourth of the girls' earnings whom she had with her in the house, so that both mahaldarnis were doing this.

506. And when she received one-fourth then she had no salary ?—No salary ; but, in the first instance, the Lancers' mahaldarni, who had the gold jewellery, received both 10 rupees a month and one-fourth of the girls' earnings.

507. Did you say in two cases the mahaldarni received one-fourth ?—When we returned. In the first instance, I should say, on January 25th, when we visited them, they stated that one of the mahaldarnis received 10 rupees a month ; that was the Sudder mahaldarni. The Lancers' mahaldarni received 10 rupees a month, and one-fourth of the girls' earnings ; was receiving at that time.

508. But am I right in saying that your evidence is to this effect : that in almost every case where the mahaldarni received no salary she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings ?—Yes.

509. Now, at Peshawar, was the mahaldarni there or absent ?—At Peshawar the women stated to us that the mahaldarni was absent at that time. They stated that they had one, and that she took the usual proportion of their earnings ; but she was away, and we did not see her. We called at her house the next day, but she was still away ; we saw her daughter.

510. And what did you ascertain at Amritsar ?—At Amritsar the mahaldarni received no salary, but one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

511. At Umballa ?—At Umballa we saw at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders bazar a young woman as a mahaldarni, and she stated that she received one-eighth of the girls' earnings, and that the girls pay six rupees on entering the chakla, any new one, and then the mahaldarni allowed her to pay it as she earned it.

512. An entrance fee of six rupees ?—An entrance fee of six rupees was charged. At the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, a chakla visited the same day, the mahaldarni and girls stated that the mahaldarni received one-eighth of their earnings.

513. Now, at Bareilly ?—At Bareilly it was an old woman who was the mahaldarni. She herself and the girls stated that she received 10 rupees a month and one-eighth of the girls' earnings.

514. (*Sir James Peile.*) Received from Government ?—I do not remember enquiring whether she received it from the Government.

515. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) This was said in her presence and she did not contradict it ?—Yes, this was said in her presence, and she did not contradict it. We have other evidence regarding how the mahaldarnis were paid ; that is as to how the expenses were carried on. She would not have said from the Government in that case, but from the cantonment magistrate, had she said it, because the matron whom we talked with later, Mrs. Barrett, stated to us that all expenses connected with the Government service were paid out of the cantonment fund at Bareilly.

516. Now at Sitapur ?—At Sitapur there was no mahaldarni ; a woman and an ex-dhai, who was living here, stated that the European guides and the native police took care of them ; that they had no mahaldarni.

517. At Benares ?—At Benares there was a woman who claimed to be both mahaldarni and dhai of the lock hospital. We met her in the chakla, and she stated that she received 10 rupees a month.

518. (*Chairman.*) I forget what the meaning of the second word is ?—Dhai, nurse. Dhai and mahaldarni are often used interchangeably, but it certainly is not correct.

519. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now this woman, what had she formerly been ? —She had formerly been a prostitute, but she expressed a desire to leave that life, and she said, when she was about to leave it, she was given this position, which she had had five years, and she had been two and a half years there at Benares.

520. In that chakla ?—In that chakla.

521. At Benares ?—Yes. Afterwards we saw in the hospital records that she was paid 10 rupees, and all the records were signed by the military surgeon, Dr. J. Paterson.

522. You saw an entry of sums paid during that period, with her name ?—With her name as dhai of the lock hospital ; that she was paid 10 rupees a month. She stated that she was paid for her double services, and that, while her duties were unpleasant, she preferred it to a life of sin.

523. Let us begin with Lucknow. Have you got the number of soldiers who were in the cantonment at the time you visited it ?—We were told that there were 2,860.

524. And the number of prostitutes ?—One hundred the girls stated, and the mahaldarnis.

525. Well now, at Meerut ?—1,038 soldiers. That is the infantry, Meerut infantry 1,038 ; the number of women 32.

526. That would be in the chakla for this regiment ?—It was so supposed.

527. Well now, take the artillery ?—The artillery 635, and the women nine.

528. That was a much smaller proportion ?—The Lancers 595, five women ; the 50th, West Kent, 890, and 13 women. Mean Meer, Lahore, I have only the numbers of the women. The regimental bazar 12, artillery eight, Sudder 36. Rawal Pindi, I have not the number of women in the Sudder bazar. We could get no light on it, it was put so vaguely, but as if there were a great many. We talked with ten in one house. The infantry, 20 women. The artillery, the women stated that there were 250 men, there were five women. At the new cantonment, Battery 12 women ; at the Rifles 11 women ; at the Highlanders 12 women. Peshawar Sudder bazar 56 women. At Amritsar there were two companies, the women and the mahaldarni stated, and there were five women. At Umballa, the Sudder bazar, 20 women. The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders 11 women ; 2nd Gordon Highlanders 10 women. At Bareilly, the Sudder bazar, 25 ; they stated there had been 50, but there were only 25 left, many having gone to Ranikhet with the soldiers. At Sitapur, 15 ; and at Benares they stated that there were 400 men, and there were 15 women. We did not make a special study of this. We simply took things as they came to us from time to time, merely to show somewhat as to the truth of what the women stated as to the proportion.

529. As far as you gathered from what you happened to hear, without endeavouring or pretending to make an exhaustive inquiry as to the results ?—We did not undertake an exhaustive enquiry.

530. Well now, at Meerut ; did you make any inquiry of the women ?—I have a note here that in some cases the number of women apportioned to the number of men is very much smaller than in other cases. Did you ascertain at Meerut how such conditions were met ?—We asked the women in the Lancers regiment how they did when there were too few women there, and they said they took in more. We said, where did they get them, and they said from the bazar, and then they said the authorities took them after examining them. You will remember that Rahiman, the mahaldarni of the 50th West Kent Regiment, said she also got them from the bazar, whatever that may mean.

531. What did you hear from the native doctor at Sitapur ?—We asked, "When there are too many women, what do you do." He said, "We send some away," and we asked "When there are too few what do you do." He said, "Send and bring more." We did not question him further.

532. Did you endeavour to ascertain the amount of money which the soldiers had to pay the women, and which the women received?—Yes. We asked that, I think, in every cantonment. Yes, in every cantonment we asked it.

533. And what was the result of your inquiries, did you find that there was, generally speaking, a uniform rate of pay?—Yes, there was.

534. Regulated by the rank of the soldier?—It seemed to depend upon his rank, because they stated almost invariably that the rate was proportioned to the rank of the soldier, and that it was for a sergeant one rupee, a corporal eight annas, a bombardier six annas, and a private soldier four annas. I have a table of it, setting forth the places where this was stated.

535. Is this a table of your drawing up?—It is a copy, but that is type-written.

536. Then the evidence which you have just given us as to the uniform rate of pay is founded upon statements you have received from the persons enumerated in this table which I hold in my hand?—Yes.

537. And your informants were either prostitutes, or mahaldarnis, or dhais?—As they are stated there, because we made quite a thorough investigation into it. Our attention was called to it, because of the women giving us the information voluntarily, and then we naturally noticed the matter.

538. Will you put that paper in?—I am perfectly willing to do so.

TABLE showing sources of information as to UNIFORM RATE of PAY, viz.:—Sergeant, 1 rupee; Corporal, 8 annas; bombardier, 6 annas; Private, 4 annas.

Cantonment.	Brothel.	Number and Character of Informants.	
Benares	Secrole	10 Prostitutes	1 Mahaldarni.
Lucknow	Sudder Bazar	35 „	2 Mahaldarnis.
Sitapur	Sudder Bazar	1 „	1 Ex-dhai.
Bareilly	Sudder Bazar	10 „	1 Mahaldarni.
Umballa	Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.	4 „	1 „
Umballa	2nd Gordon Highlanders.	6 „	1 „
Amritzar	Sudder Bazar	6 „	1 „
Meerut	Lancers	3 „	1 Dhai.
Mean Meer	Regimental Bazar	6 „	1 Mahaldarni.
Mean Meer	Artillery Bazar	7 „	1 „
Rawul Pindi	Infantry Bazar	4 „	1 „
Rawul Pindi	Artillery Bazar	4 „	—
Rawul Pindi	Highlanders (new Cantonment).	4 „	1 Mahaldarni.
Peshawur	Sudder Bazar	8 „	1 „

The above Table will show that we made careful inquiry into this matter. Benares and Peshawar are at the farthest distance from each other of any of the stations we visited. And we gathered evidence on this point at every one of the ten Military Cantonments we visited between these two places.

539. Did you find any exceptions to this general rule of uniform payment?—There were these exceptions; I do not know that I can name them in the order of visitation, but I remember the exceptions. At Rawal Pindi, at the new cantonment, at the rifles bazar, I think it was.

540. Battery?—At the battery bazar, that was my first thought, they stated that they got double this rate, and we questioned them, and yet I have always thought there was a mistake, they were such a wretched-looking lot. They did not show any sort of prosperity; still they stated that, and therefore in fairness I wish to mention it. And at the Sudder Bazar, at Umballa, the women stated there that they had not a positively fixed rate of pay because they had no mahaldarni, and they said the mahaldarnis fix the rate of pay; and then at the native chakla in Rawal Pindi the women stated that they did not have a uniform rate.

541. No fixed rate?—That was for the native soldiers, no fixed rate.

542. At Meerut Rest camp you saw the mahaldarni. Did she tell you anything with respect to the pay of the girls?—She said when the soldiers were dishonest, and did not pay, she reported them to the colonel or the quartermaster, and she said it was deducted from their pay.

543. And she said that the amount was deducted?—She said the amount was deducted from the soldier's pay, and the girls also confirmed this.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March, and saw some of the prostitutes?—Yes, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said, was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla. They started to call him, but we would not let them, because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them. The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the colonel.

545. On the subject of the indigent condition of the women, did you find, as far as you were able to ascertain, that the women were invariably in a state of debt?—As far as we enquired in all these different places, and we asked in many places, they were in debt.

546. I presume a large proportion of them would drift into prostitution owing to the previous fact of destitution?—That was what was stated in almost every case that we asked them about their histories, and we did often, because we were very deeply touched by their condition. Many of them were widows.

547. Now take the case of Meerut, at the Rest Camp chakla. Did you see one who was said to be a widow there?—Yes. She said she was a widow, and that she had been very ill, and she looked very ill. She said she was deeply in debt, and that she would be obliged to follow the soldiers until she could pay those debts.

548. Did you find that the girls get into debt to the mahaldarni?—Yes; that was frequently stated also, and of course the case of the mahaldarni at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla, Umballa, was proof of that, and their getting into debt immediately on entering the life, because they had to give six rupees to enter that life. That put them in debt to the mahaldarni at the beginning.

549. They probably would not have the six rupees to begin with?—The mahaldarni positively stated that she took it as they earned it. They paid it off in instalments, but of course they were in debt.

550. Did you at Lucknow actually see the transaction of the transfer of such a debt, and the consequential transfer of the custody of the girl?—Yes, I witnessed that. That was the morning of March 10th, 1892, at the Lancers' mahaldarni's house, Lucknow, near the chakla.

551. Just recount that circumstance?—I was talking with the mahaldarni, and there was a number of persons present, six women and one man, when there came two girls into the room. One was dressed very beautifully, with solid gold jewellery and a great deal of scarlet in her dress, a very pretty girl indeed; a native girl, but beautifully featured, and very inde-

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pendent in manner. She came in, bringing another girl with her, and she went out and spoke to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni laughed, and drew forth seven rupees.

552. The other girl was of a different appearance ?—The other girl was very miserable, very shabby-looking indeed, very wretched, and a very ill-favoured girl in appearance, compared with the other ; not at all a handsome girl, and a girl whose manner was of perfect apathy. She sat down, said nothing, took no part in this at all ; but the bright, well-dressed one spoke to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni laughed, and drew forth her purse from the folds of her dress, and took out seven rupees.

553. And gave them ?—Gave seven rupees to this girl ; put them into this girl's hand, and then she said that she would give eight annas more.

554. That was to the well-dressed girl ?—To the well-dressed one.

555. She promised to pay eight annas more ?—She promised to pay eight annas more. There was a great deal of scrambling and laughter, because this girl dropped the money on the floor. They were all sitting on the floor, in native fashion. One of them said to me, "This is a new one," and of course that attracted my attention very much, so I watched it all very closely, and they then explained that this one that had come in was the daughter of a mahaldarni who had died. I do not know when she had died, that was not stated, but at any rate she was the daughter of a mahaldarni who had died, the handsome girl, and that this girl had earned money for this mahaldarni, the ill-dressed one had earned money for the mahaldarni who had died.

556. For the mother of the well-dressed one ?—For the mother of the well-dressed one, and that she had died, and this girl, the ill-dressed one, had owed the mother seven rupees.

557. Owed the mother at the time of her death ?—Owed the mother at the time of her death.

558. How much ?—Seven rupees and 8 annas ; and therefore a bargain had been arranged by the daughter of the mahaldarni to bring this girl and the Lancers mahaldarni would pay the debt. She exacted the payment of it, or got it in this way, and they all declared, corroborating one another, and the mahaldarni nodding her head, that the ill-dressed one "belonged now to the Lancers mahaldarni, because she had paid her debt." Then it was on this occasion that the mahaldarni stated again that she had been told to get girls and earn her living, and she had had five, and now this was the sixth girl. I called Nesibon and spoke to her, and she smiled and nodded to me, and then sat down. She took no part otherwise, except when I called her and asked her her name. I called Nesibon, the poorly-dressed one, and asked her her name, which she gave me, and I asked her if this was true. But the manner of all showed that it was ; the lightness, and fun, and the perfectly jolly manner in which they carried out the transaction showed that it was not anything infrequent, that it was not a rare or strange thing to them ; that their manner showed.

559. It passed off as a custom ?—As though it was all right. They seemed to think that I ought to think it was all right, and the mahaldarni went on to tell these girls that soon she meant to leave this life, and she pointed to me, as showing how people prospered who obeyed God and lived the right life, saying that I could ride in my carriage, and had everything that heart could wish. Therefore she intended bye-and-bye to leave all this, and go and read her Koran, and make a pilgrimage to Mecca, because God rewarded those who obeyed him ; and yet in my presence she had just arranged for the continuance of her work.

560. Well now, at Umballa, what did the mahaldarni tell you on the subject of payment ?—I mentioned Umballa as to the six rupees.

561. Did you receive a statement from any of the mahaldarnis or the girls tending to show that they were in debt, and desired, as they naturally would, to get out of that debt ; that it compelled them to receive an excessive number, more than the usual number of British soldiers ?—That was at Benares. The dhai told us that the girls early lost their health from excess. She said that the rate of pay was so low that they were compelled to receive more visitors than they ought, and that they early lost their health from this.

562. Did you hear from any of the girls any account at all of the number of visits they would receive ?—No, we asked them about that many times, but they just shook their heads, and would draw their fingers across their foreheads, saying, "It is our fate," and they would not talk of it. There was just one more thing in regard to debt, if you would permit me to mention it, that was at Sitapur. A girl told us that she had come there from Lucknow. We were deeply interested in Itwaria, whose case will be presented by Dr. Kate Bushnell. She said that we need not hope that she could ever leave that life, because she had more debts than the hairs of her head. But, we asked, would that keep her ? She said "Yes ; if she would go away she would be brought back."

563. Did you hear anything at Rawal Pindi upon the subject of money claims made against these girls ?—There was a group of three girls, and one of these three, the other two corroborating, said that they were detained sometimes in the lock hospital by the native doctor, even when they were not sick, unless they paid him five or six rupees, and that if they paid him they were then let off, and they expressed great indignation at this extortion.

564. Did you hear of any instances of extortion at the hands of the native police ?—At Meerut we went to see a woman in whom we were interested one day, and when we sent for her a woman came back saying that she could not come, that there was some sort of intervention by the police, and we could not quite understand it, not knowing very much of their customs ; the next day we went to see this woman again, and we saw her, and then she said that a man had fallen dead in the street near her door, and that the native police had accused the degraded women of having had something to do with it. Of course she said they had not, but the police accused them in this way, and then demanded that the women should pay them from two to ten annas, or they would have them brought into court, or that they would beat them. She said that the women who had money gave them some money, but that there were others who had no money.

565. (*Chairman.*) That he would beat them, you say ?—The police threatened to beat them, and she said that the women who could paid something, and that those who then could not promised to pay when they could, but that the police said they would give the beating now and take the money afterwards. That was her expression.

566. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did she say she was beaten ?—Yes.

567. Cruelly ?—She said she was.

568. Now did you hear of any cases of abuse of these women by English soldiers ?—When we were at Lucknow on the 25th of January, our first visit, we asked the girls what the mahaldarni did for them, or something about why the mahaldarni was there, and they said that when the soldiers came there drunk, and were rough and unkind to them, the mahaldarni was there to protect them. And then at another time, that was in March, on our last visit to Lucknow, the girls, on our speaking kindly to them in parting with them, in telling them that we were very sorry for them, and that we wished them to leave that life, lifted up their hands and uttered a sort of blessing on us, and said, in pouring out their feelings on our parting with them, that they thanked us that we cared for them, because they said the soldiers often knocked them about, and kicked them, and abused them, and took their money from them.

569. At Meerut what was your experience?—That was at the Lancers regiment. They said, I think, that the men were very bad. They wanted all the women in common. They were speaking then of the blessedness of marriage, and that they thought that next to marriage to live with one man, to be a kept woman, was the best. They said the men there were very bad, they wanted all the women in common; the men of the regiment, I should state.

570. Do you mean that sometimes some of these women ceased to carry on the life of a prostitute at the call of any soldier, and became the kept woman of one soldier?—Yes; such women were pointed out to us more than once, and they were regarded with great envy. They seemed to think that this was an approach to virtue.

571. At Mean Meer, what did you find?—At Mean Meer, this was at the artillery bazar, they said that when the men were in drink they beat them and sometimes robbed them and otherwise ill-used them.

572. At Rawal Pindi, what did you hear from the girls?—At Rawal Pindi, the women said that the soldiers tormented them for two hours at a time and took their money away.

573. When?—When they were drunk, when they would come there and be in an ill humour. There were only five women at this bazar, and we asked why there were so few women there, and they said it was because the soldiers were so unkind. That was when they described their being so cruel to them, and they said that they not only did not pay them, but that they often robbed them, and sometimes took away their cotton quilts and sold them for a few pice for drink. They then told us of one woman who had been beaten very terribly and cut in the arms and breast, and they said that she had run away to the Highlanders' bazar. They were the most wretched looking lot those women, and their quarters were unusually poor. Usually we found them in pretty comfortable quarters, as I stated the other day, but in this case I remember it was a very cold night and the wind blew in, and they were just dressed in their thin cotton garments; they were spreading their hands over a little charcoal pot to try and warm their hands by turns; there was no door. There was just a sort of grass or native matting curtain over the door in this room where we sat, and the women sat on the mud floor; it was a very dreary scene; it impressed me deeply.

574. And what did you see at Umballa?—At Umballa the mahaldarni said at one of the chaklas that the soldiers often came terribly drunk, just after pay day, and knocked the girls about badly. But we said, "You are here to protect them; why do you not protect them?" She said, "How can I?" Of course she could not. She was a young woman, and not very strong in appearance.

575. What did you see at Bareilly?—There we saw a wretched woman. The girl spoke to us at one part of the chakla and called our attention to her, and then we got up and went into the courtyard farther on to see this woman. She said she was a Christian woman, had been amongst the Christians. They called her a native Christian; they said that she had been very wretched, and that they had been giving her food, that she would have starved if they had not given her food, and that they wished we would take her away; they wished we would do something for her. And so we promised to take her away and we went for her; but she was another of those cases, she was in debt, and she said she could not leave on account of being in debt, and that her creditor had come and sat down at her door; at this time, when we wanted to take her away, a girl who spoke fair English, came up to the cab just opposite the chakla and declared that this woman was treated terribly. You see she was past middle age, she was the oldest woman we ever saw in any of the chaklas in appearance, and this girl said that the soldiers knocked her down and called her "grandmother," and beat her, because she was too old to please them.

576. And she could not leave because she was in debt?—She would not tell us at first why, but when we pressed her she said that since we had been there in the morning the word had gone out that she was going away, and now the man to whom she owed ten or twelve rupees for food had sat down at her door, and she could not go, that he demanded to be paid.

577. To whom was she in debt?—She was in debt to a man, who, as I remember it, was her creditor of whom she had bought food. I see I have stated it in the journal: "Had been notified of her intention to leave, and had come and sat at her door demanding payment." She owed him ten or twelve rupees.

578. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Bunya?—I think she called him that, but I find it difficult to remember names. It was the native merchant, at any rate, who had sold her food.

579. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) At Sitapur what did the girl show you?—The Committee will remember the construction of the Sitapur chakla. It was ten suites of rooms facing opposite ways, with a wall in the centre; the girls showed us a hole in the wall up near the roof, and they said that that was to enable them to call for help in case the soldiers abused them.

580. Now, as to the age of these poor women. The large majority were of course young?—Yes, they were, although it is very difficult to know their ages because I think it is always difficult to judge of a people of another nationality, it always has been for me, but many of them looked very young, and I should say that a large proportion were under 20.

581–2. They probably might be younger than they would appear to your eyes?—Yes, I am quite sure of that, because of the unfamilarity of their type to me; I have found it so in other countries.

583. When you say that they appeared generally to be under the age of 20 you would be on the safe side?—I think so.

584. Did you sometimes see very young girls admittedly living in this way?—Yes. At one interview with the girls at Meerut there was a young girl; they said she was 15, and she did not look any older than if she were that age. She was exceedingly slender and delicate, a very pretty girl with an exceedingly sad face; she was there with an elder sister, but she was an acknowledged prostitute, they so stated.

585. She had come to be with her elder sister?—She had come to be with her elder sister.

586. Now at Rawal Pindi new cantonments did you see a young prostitute?—At the Rifles bazar we saw one. She was a very pretty girl; she was 15 or 16 years of age.

587. She was said to be?—She was said to be, and she did not look as old as that. We both remarked it.

588. At the Sudder Bazar chakla, at Rawul Pindi, did you see a young girl there?—Yes. There was one there apparently not over 16. She was brought by her brother, the woman told us.

589. At Sitapur you saw a young girl, did you not?—We saw a woman there who said that she was "sold by a Sepoy, whose daughter had brought her up to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla," that was the way she expressed it, when she was 11.

590. What age was she?—She did not seem to be more than 20 then. She was sold by the Sepoy. It was in famine times. That was her story. The Sepoy's daughter adopted her, and then this Sepoy sold her to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla. She added, "In all the years of my life I have never known one day of happiness," as if she felt herself to be old in misery, but she really looked to me not to be over 20 then.

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591. At Benares, did two girls tell you at what age they began to be in the chakla?—At Benares there were two girls who said they were taken up in the bazar and put into this life when they were 14. They told their full histories.

592. By whom were they taken up?—They said by the native police.

593. And did they say why they were taken up?—Well, they said that they were wandering about. One of them stated, as I remember, that her husband was beating her, and that she ran away when she was 14 years old. She was wandering in the bazar and the police took her to the lock hospital she said. This occurred at Ferozepore.

594. What I understood you to say was, the police took these girls to the chakla; That would be a different thing?—No. She says the police took her to the lock hospital.

595. That is one of the girls?—Yes. I was speaking of the two together.

596. Have you got the other?—Another did not wish to give her name, and we did not get it. She said her husband ran away and left her. A sahib, a European, took her by force at 11 years of age, and kept her. When she was thrown off, her family would not receive her. She said she was "taken by the Government"—the other girls said "by the police," and put into the chakla.

597. This one was put into the chakla?—This one was, but I wanted to mention these two. —— was put in at eleven. Her husband died soon after. She was then three years with his family, but was so miserable that she ran away and wandered in the bazar. She was taken up at 14 years of age, and brought into a life of shame. Those were the two that were brought in at 14.

598. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Where was the one that you mentioned first, as being taken to the lock hospital?—That was at Benares also. These three girls told us their stories at the same time. We were struck with them, because of their extreme youth when they came in.

599. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You found, did you not, quite young children in the chaklas?—Yes, living in the chaklas. One was at Lucknow, a little girl, 10 years old. We met her as we went in at our first visit, in this long narrow passage way. She was dressed like a prostitute, in that very gay style, looked like the others, and was living there with them.

600. Do they usually dress in gay colours?—It is difficult to describe how they are dressed.

601. And this little girl was dressed in the same way?—She was dressed in the same way.

602. You do not mean that she was acting as a prostitute at that extremely young age?—We did not enquire, as we thought it impossible, and yet we saw her there, living in the chakla with the others.

603. Now at Meerut?—At Meerut we saw a little girl of nine living in the 50th West Kent Regiment chakla, and she was there with her sister.

604. With her sister or mother?—They stated that the mother cooked for them. The elder sister was earning money. And at Umballa, at the Sudder bazar chalka, we also saw a little girl of 12 dressed as a prostitute, and living with the women in the chakla.

605. As to the women accompanying regiments, can you give us a summary of the information you gathered?—At Lucknow, when we asked how many women there were in the chakla, they said there were a hundred, but they said that the chakla would hold many more, that there were sometimes 150, and sometimes as many as 200 there "when other regiments came and brought their women with them." That was the way they expressed it.

606. How many did you see?—How many did we talk with on this occasion?

607. Yes?—We talked with 37.

608. Thirty-five girls and two mahaldarnis?—Thirty-five girls and two mahaldarnis, yes.

609. They said that when other regiments came they brought their women with them?—Yes, that is what they said. "There were sometimes as many as 200 in the chakla when other regiments came and brought their women with them." That was the way they expressed it.

610. Did you hear anything from a resident at Lucknow as to the average number of women for a regiment?—Yes; he said that it averaged 10 on the march.

611. At Meerut did you hear anything on this subject from some of the women at the Sudder Bazar?—At Meerut it was the 50th West Kent Regiment that we saw in their tents. A district pleader told us in Meerut that if we should visit the regiment that was in camp some distance out of Meerut we would find the women there in charge of a woman, and he went on to explain what the method of these women was, that they took money from the girls and so on, and we drove out that same night, and the sentinel pointed out the women. He said there were about 12 women there, and pointed them out; he said it was too late for us to go through the lines that night, but we could come in the morning; so we went the next morning, and then we saw the women as I described the chakla the other day; a row of tents; 14 tents.

612. What bazar was that?—That was at the 50th West Kent Regiment.

613. Yes, but I do not understand that you heard anything from those women upon this particular subject. I am referring to a visit which I believe you paid at the Sudder bazar at Meerut where you saw three women who said they belonged to the Lancers?—Oh, yes.

614. What did they tell you about accompanying the regiment?—They said they accompanied the regiment when marching, and we asked how their expenses of travelling were borne, and they said the expense was borne by the Government, but the colonel provided the carts, and a certain number of men, they said, gora dandawallas. That was explained to us to mean European guards with batons. This term was used very often, "gora," meaning European, European guards. "Dandawallas" was explained variously, men with batons, men with police authority, men with guard's authority, and so on; at any rate these men were told off to take care of them.

615. What did they say about the number of women allowed on march or in camp?—They said 12 to 15. One group the day before said 10, and another group of 23 women the next day said 12 to 15.

616. Did you go to the Rest Camp chakla?—We did.

617. Where there were seven girls?—Where there were 13. We talked with seven altogether. We talked with more than that altogether, but there were seven that were all together when they gave us information regarding this matter.

618. And the mohaldarni?—Yes.

619. What information did they give you?—They said they were taken in covered carts, and taken care of by European guards on the march, that they accompanied the regiment. Then at another interview at this same place there were two women present, and one said that when the soldiers were on the march they went with them in carts, and that Europeans guarded them. The other woman added that the colonel provided the carts.

620. Did you hear anything from a sentinel?—The sentinel said, as we went in, in our presence, speaking of the strength of the regiment, that it was 890 strong.

621. What regiment was that?—This was the 50th West Kent. Then he said that their winter quarters were at Meerut, and their summer quarters were at Chakrata.

622. Is that a place in the hills?—That is a place in the hills, as we understood. And later a woman, in talking with me, dreading to see us go away, said, "Will you not come to see us when we go to Chakrata?"

623. So that they apparently expected to be taken there with the regiment?—Yes, they expected to go; and later we had information through a letter that the 50th West Kent Regiment marched from Meerut on the 8th March for Chakrata.

624. Now Mean Meer. What information did you receive?—At the regimental bazar chakla there were seven present, and one mahaldarni, eight in all. A young girl said she had been there three months, and she said they all came from Umballa three months before, on the march. That was the way she said it. She spoke it in English, and she said they came in covered carts, and that European soldiers took care of them. The colonel furnished the carts. This is what she stated.

625. What did the mahaldarni in the Sudder bazar chakla tell you in the same place?—She said that the women at the Sudder bazar chakla accompanied the soldiers on the march.

626. Now at the artillery bazar chakla what did the women say there?—They said that when on the march they travelled in carts and were cared for by European soldiers. They said they paid for their own carts by what they earned on the way. The women of the artillery bazar said that.

627. At Rawul Pindi you saw some girls at the battery bazar chakla new cantonments?—Yes, we did.

628. What did they say?—At the battery bazar, that was in the new cantonment, Rawal Pindi, eight girls and the mahaldarni were present. The women said that they accompanied their regiment when it marched, and the soldiers and officers took care of them. They went in carts, paying part of the expense of their journey by their vice on the way. When we asked them first, "Do you go with the regiment on the march?" they replied, "The Government has registered us; why not go with the regiment." They seemed to consider it an enlistment. They spoke impatiently when we asked it, as if they thought it was all a perfectly straightforward matter.

629. You saw, upon one occasion, a mahaldarni at the Highlanders chakla. What statement did she make to you?—We saw her, and when she showed us her certificates, one of these certificates stated that she had taken care of the women satisfactorily on the march; had taken care of the women on the march in a satisfactory manner, I think is the way in which it was expressed.

630. Do you recollect the date of that certificate?—I doubt if we have the date of it. We would only get certain portions of it. I can only give the range of the whole of the certificates, and that is from April, 1887, to November, 1891.

631. That is the range of date?—But I cannot give the date of this special certificate.

632. Of the certificate you got at that place?—The certificates that the Highlanders mahaldarni showed us in her scrap-book ranged from April, 1887, to November, 1891.

633. At Peshawar what did you hear?—There were nine women present at one of the interviews there, and they said 15 women accompanied the regiment to the hills at the beginning of the hot season. We asked how did they go, and they said in bullock carts, and the European soldiers looked after them. They said they were moved with the bazar, and fed as well as the soldiers by the rajah of the country through which they passed. Then we saw a Kashmir girl, at the same place at another time, and she told us she came in April of last year; that was April 1890. This Kashmir girl said that she came in April of last year from Fyzabad with the soldiers. She said the women came in bullock carts, and they were taken care of by European guards. Then at the lock hospital, Peshawar, seven women were present. They told us that they went with the soldiers on the march in bullock carts, and were cared for by European guards. They said they were moved with all the bazar things. A girl at the hospital said that they earned money on the way towards their expenses.

634. At Umballa?—At Umballa, at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla, the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about March 15th to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend. They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them. They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

635. At Bareilly?—At Bareilly 14 girls in the Sudder chakla told us that there had been about 50 girls there, but many had gone away with the soldiers to Ranikhet. Twenty-five were left at Bareilly. They said that when they marched with the soldiers they went as far as possible by train, and the rest of the way by bullock carts and other conveyances.

636. Did they say that they paid their own way?—They said they paid their own way.

637. At Sitapur?—At Sitapur, in an interview with the women the next day, the women said they went to the hills with the soldiers at Dagshai and Subathu, and what they earned they paid on the way.

638. Now, as to the periodical examinations of these women. Did you make careful inquiries in each of these 10 cantonments to ascertain whether regular periodical examinations of these women were held at the lock hospital at each place; by whom such examinations were held, and by whom they were witnessed?—We did.

639. And what did you find?—We made very careful enquiries in all of the 10 cantonments regarding this matter, and we found that in seven cantonments, Meerut, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares, the examinations were stated to be held once in each week, and at Lucknow twice a week. At Mean Meer and Amritsar, twice a month. We have a Table which was prepared on that testimony. This is the type-written copy.

640. What does that Table show?—This Table shows a summary of evidence as to regular periodic examinations covering the cantonment, the place of taking the evidence, the number and character of the witnesses, and when they were examined by sufgeons.

641. That you put in?—Yes, that I put in.

TABLE showing Times, &c., of REGULAR PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS.

Cantonment.	Place of obtaining Information.	Number and Character of Informants.	When Examined by Surgeons.
Lucknow	Cantonment Hospital	9, dhai and 8 patients	Tuesdays and Fridays, bi-weekly.
Lucknow	Sudder Chakla	37, 2 mahaldarnis and 35 prostitutes	" " "
Lucknow	Neighbourhood of Chakla	5 prostitutes	Bi-weekly.
Lucknow	Cantonment Hospital	1 native physician	Intimated Friday, examination day.
Lucknow	Near Cantonment Magistrate	6 native police	Monday (false) and Friday.
Meerut	Lancers Chakla	4 prostitutes	Monday, weekly.
Meerut	Lancers Chakla	23 prostitutes	" "
Meerut	Near Lock Hospital	A. and B. saw women collect for examination	Monday.
Meerut	Near Lock Hospital	1 prostitute	Monday, weekly.
Meerut	Rest Camp	7 prostitutes	" "
Meerut	Rest Camp	5, some same as above	" "
Meerut	Rest Camp	4, 1 mahaldarni and 3 prostitutes	" "
Mean Meer	Lock Hospital	7, 1 mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	Bi-monthly (Mondays).
Mean Meer	Artillery Bazar	8, 1 mahaldarni and 7 prostitutes	" " "
Mean Meer	Lock Hospital	A. and B. saw hospital records	" " "
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	6, dhai, mahaldarni, 4 prostitutes	Fridays (weekly).
Rawal Pindi	Sudder Bazar	10 prostitutes	" "
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	1 native physician	"Regularly."
Rawal Pindi	Infantry Bazar	5, mahaldarni, 4 prostitutes	"
Rawal Pindi	Artillery Bazar	4, mahaldarni, 3 prostitutes	"
Rawal Pindi	Lock Hospital	4, dhai and 3 others	"Examined this morning" (Friday).
Peshawar	Sudder Chakla	10 prostitutes	Some on Monday, some Tuesday.
Peshawar	Lock Hospital	Records seen by A. and B.	" " "
Peshawar	Lock Hospital	1 native physician	Regularly.
Amritsar	Sudder Chakla	7, mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	Bi-monthly (Tuesday).
Amritsar	Lock Hospital	1 dhai	"
Umballa	Argyll and Sutherland Regiment	5, mahaldarni and 4 prostitutes	Every fourth day by Mahaldarni; every eighth day by surgeon.
Umballa	2nd Gordon Regiment	7, mahaldarni and 6 prostitutes	Tuesday (weekly).
Sitapur	Lock Hospital	1 native doctor	Regularly.
Sitapur	Chakla	2 prostitutes and ex-dhai	Tuesday (weekly).
Benares	Chakla and Lock Hospital	11, dhai and 10 girls and records	Mondays (weekly).
Bareilly	Sudder Chakla	10, mahaldarni and 9 prostitutes	Every other day by matron; every eighth day by surgeon.
Bareilly	Cantonment Hospital	1 native physician	Regularly.

642. Now what other results came from your inquiries upon this subject?—Well, I think they are well covered by the Table. There are just a few other points. One is that the women said almost invariably, so much so that you might say that it was a consensus, that the examinations were made by the European medical officers of the lock hospital and assisted by, or in the presence of, the native physician and the dhai also, and this was confirmed by the books and records as seen in the lock hospital.

643. Had you an opportunity of inspecting some of the hospital books in some of the cantonments?—We had in eight cantonments. One I will not count, Amritsar; I think Amritsar should not be counted, because we saw only one book there, so it is scarcely worth mentioning, it was just a book of expenses.

644. In the others you saw books of various kinds?—We saw books of various kinds.

645. You had access to the books?—Yes, we had access to them.

646. And you found from the women's statement that the examination was made by the European medical officer, confirmed by the entries in those books?—Yes.

647. (*Sir James Peile.*) What was stated in the books.

648. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Yes, how was that confirmed?—Well, it was confirmed by letters such as I have referred to, signed by the medical officer in charge to the cantonment magistrate ordering up women for examination, and also speaking of women not being present at the inspection on this occasion, such as I read at Mean Meer at the lock hospital.

649. But did any of those books contain records of the examination conducted upon examination days?—There were the registration lists signed by the European physicians.

650. Yes, but what was the evidence in the books which you inspected which confirmed to your minds the intelligence you got from the women, that the examinations were conducted by European surgeons?—Well, it was of various kinds; it was that these records were signed by a European physician in almost every case; in every case so far as we investigated it. The whole of the books were thus kept.

651. (*Sir James Peile.*) But I want to get the nature of the records. What was said in them, did it show this woman was examined, and what the result was; was it merely an entry of patients I mean, or was it a description of an examination and the result of an examination?—Well, there were correspondence books, such as I have referred to, in which there were copies of letters addressed to the cantonment magistrate, and requesting him to send women for examination, women who had not come. There was also this book that I spoke of the other day, of the blank forms with the coupon attached, and those signed by the European surgeons, and then the ticket above all with the surgeon's initials on it attached to the examinations. This ticket was purchased just two days after the examination day. This was at Mean Meer.

652. You did not on any occasion question the European medical officer himself?—We did not; not the one who was in charge of the examinations.

653. And did you actually see the women at an examination or going to an examination?—We did.

654. (*Chairman.*) Which, saw them at the examination, or going?—We saw them going to an examination. Sir James Peile said "or." I ought, perhaps, to have made it more explicit. I have the full account. We had a great consensus of opinion on it, but perhaps we took too much for granted. We quite considered that they were in charge, and everything corroborated that that we saw in the records; but the full account of the records will be brought in by Dr. Bushnell, of the lock hospitals, and that will probably make this much more clear.

655. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And the statement of the women was that they were examined by European surgeons?—Yes, that they were examined by the European doctor.

656. Did they describe the examination?—They gave the names of the European surgeons in different places, hundreds of miles apart. The girls were perfectly intelligent as to the European doctors. At Rawal Pindi we visited the lock hospital on examination day, and got there just, as the dhai informed us, after the examination. She said the European doctor and the native doctor had just gone away; so there was a consensus of opinion. I could bring up a great deal and a great many instances, but it was simply a consensus.

657. Well now, how did the women describe the character of the examination?—They described it at different places in a most vivid way, expressing their hatred of it, and then described it. They described it as a corporeal introspection by means of the speculum.

658. At Meerut a woman described this to you, did she?—At Meerut a woman suddenly broke into

the interview we were having with the women. To our surprise—we had not questioned her at all—she broke in, in the most vivid manner describing it and expressing her horror and indignation against it, and especially with regard to the exposure of the women. And there were others; there was a crowd about her, and they cried out, "Oh, shame, shame," over and over, and she also did; one girl joined with her particularly, and described it with her, as you might say; they almost described it in concert in their feeling and indignation; we said to them that we were sorry that these things should be, and that the women should be so treated, and then this woman, who spoke fair English, turned to us and said, "Oh, shame"; and we said we were sorry that those who came to them as representatives of a Christian nation, and who called themselves Christians (because, of course, they are called Christians in distinction to the natives), we said that we were sorry that these things should be carried on by them, and she said "Yes, the Commander-in-Chief, the colonel, and all of them all the way down, your Christian men, favour these things." She said: "The Queen does not countenance it. She has daughters of her own, and she cares for her daughters in India also." She said "It is the Commander-in-Chief."

659. Did any of the girls confirm her description?—Yes, these girls all confirmed it.

660. On the following Monday, February 8th, at Meerut, did you see the girls assembling in the morning at the lock hospital?—We did. They had told us at the Lancers chakla at a previous interview that they went on Mondays regularly at 8 o'clock, and the native physician had also told us that the women were examined on Mondays regularly, and how many came, and so we went out at 7.35 in the morning to see whether the women went at that hour. The women said at 8 o'clock, and we saw them going. We saw them coming, some walking, and some riding in what they call the gharris, the closed cabs, and others coming in the ekkas, the native carts. All these cabs and carts waited for them just across the street while they were there. There is a police-station just across the street, somewhat diagonally across the way from the lock hospital, and there were several policemen standing about. In this cantonment the lock hospital is situated in a very prominent place; it is one of the busiest thoroughfares in Meerut. There are five roads meeting not far from the lock hospital, and then several other roads not far away. So that it is a very busy thoroughfare.

661. I presume there were a good many men and boys about?—There were; we counted 25 at one time either sitting there or passing by, lingering along, and there were at least 20 women, 25 women I should say, at the gate almost constantly. They were coming and going, but there was a group that sat down just at the entrance, and there was another group to be seen inside. We could not count them, that was too far off, but we could see it was a crowd nearly as large as the one outside. Then, of course, it was varying, some coming and some going inside the gate, and others going away.

662. Did you see one woman waiting for a girl?—We did; she was an Eurasian woman. She was evidently waiting for a girl, and when the girl came up she took hold of her by the arm and marched her off as if she were a prisoner, with right of ownership, and the policeman called out, evidently in a derisive way, after this woman, "Mem sahib."

663. What was the meaning of that expression?—It was always addressed to us by the natives. I suppose it means a lady.

664 (*Sir James Peile.*) Was your impression that all the women went to the examination?—No; our opinion was that there were some women who owned women, and who brought them, as in the case of the "Mem sahib."

665. What I meant was that the examination was an examination of all the prostitutes in the place, and not one or two only?—Yes. No; we believed it was an examination of all the degraded women in the cantonment. That was confirmed to us by the statement that the women of the 50th West Kent Regiment went once a month in cabs to be examined.

666. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are speaking only of women who received the visits of European soldiers?—Yes, who received the visits of European soldiers, and were registered.

667. At Mean Meer, what did you hear from the women at the Artillery bazar on this subject, about their distaste of it?—They spoke with very strong expressions of hatred of the examinations.

668. Can you recall, or have you a note of, the exact statements of the women with whom you spoke at the Artillery bazar at Mean Meer upon this subject? I understand from you that they spoke with strong expressions of hatred. Have you a note of their specific words?—I could not repeat the words at this moment. I do not know whether I made any exact record of their words; but it was that they hated them, that is what they were saying: that they hated them; and they showed it by their manner.

669. If you did make a record you can supply it afterwards, can you not?—"They spoke with hatred of the examinations, and pitifully of the hardships of their lives."

670. That is all?—That is the way I have recorded it.

671. Now, we will pass to Rawal Pindi?—At Rawul Pindi one girl in the group described, much in the same manner as the two women at Meerut, the process of the examinations, and spoke of the shame of them, and the exposure of them to the women, and spoke of the shame, too, of being pointed as a "Bazar prostitute." She had special reasons in her own history evidently, because she claimed to come of a good family, and that her father had been killed during the Afghan war, and that she had been deceived under promise of marriage, and brought into this life without knowing what she was coming into; and she spoke with great bitterness, with the tears running down her cheeks, and sobbing with the shame she felt both in regard to the examinations and the shame of being pointed out as a "bazar rundi," as she expressed it, or a prostitute; and the women that were there corroborated all that she had said regarding the method of examinations, the exposure of the women; and they all felt, as she did; they cried, "Yes, we all hate it; not one is left out!" We asked if the other women of the chakla felt as these women did, and they said, "Yes; we all hate it; not one is left out."

672. Did one describe how their clothes were thrown back?—Yes, she did.

673. And in the presence of whom?—In the presence of the European doctor, and the native doctor, and the dhai.

674. And the mahaldarni joined in these denunciations, did she?—Yes; the mahaldarni made no correction of her statement at all.

675. She made no statement?—She made no correction of her statement; but joined in in sympathy with the women.

676. And did she say that all the girls felt the same way?—Yes, she joined in saying they all felt the same way.

677. Now, at Peshawar. What did you hear there?—At Peshawar their spirit was a little different; that is, they expressed just as deep a feeling, but in a more pathetic way; and they spoke of the disgust they felt at the examinations. And they said this, that they had heard that the Queen had forbidden the examinations; and they said that when they heard this they petitioned verbally to the cantonment magistrate that they might not be examined; they said then for six months no soldiers were allowed to come near them, and at the end of that time they said they were starving, so the cantonment magistrate then told them that if they wanted to sit in

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the bazar, this was the way they expressed it, they must be seen regularly ; and they said they were forced to submit ; but they hated it just as much as ever. And then they added, "It is the officers, not the Queen, who has done this" ; and then they said, "Everyone under this Government is treated well but ourselves ; we only are despised."

678. At Amritsar ?—They spoke in a similar manner, and declared that only their poverty compelled them to live this way.

679. The same at Umballa ?—Yes ; at Umballa they spoke particularly of the shame of it, and the mahaldarni spoke with sympathy for the women in the matter.

680. And at Sitapur ?—It was the same testimony of hatred of the examinations.

681. At Benares ?—At Benares they all declared their hatred of the examinations, and declared that all the women felt the same way.

682. Did you visit the examination room at any of these 10 lock hospitals ?—Yes, we visited eight. We saw eight examination rooms. We were inside of seven. At Lucknow the examination room was pointed out to us, and we stood talking with the native physician by the open door ; and at another time by the open window, so that we saw it, but we did not go into it.

683. Did you see the usual table used for the purposes of examination ?—We did.

684. Did you ever see the instrument used ?—Yes ; we saw the speculums, and sponges, and syringes, and washes and disinfectants, and medicines in many of them.

685. Did you notice anything particular at Umballa in regard to the table ?—Yes ; it was peculiarly constructed. It was four or five inches lower at the end away from the window than at the end towards the window. At the end towards the window there was a step for the woman to ascend, and the other end was four or five inches lower where her head would lie.

686. So that she lay with her feet to the window, to the light ?—Yes.

687. (*Chairman.*) With her feet higher than her head ?—Yes.

688. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) What happened after examination, as to the women being either kept in the hospital or returned to the chakla ?—They are kept if diseased ; it is so declared. Or, if well, they are allowed to go back to the chakla to pursue their occupation until the next examination-day.

689. Are they ever kept, although they may not be venereally diseased ?—They claimed that they were ; and we saw evidence of their being kept during the natural menstrual period.

690. Did you ascertain that an allowance is made to each woman during detention in the hospital ?—Yes ; that was stated to us.

691. By the women ?—By the women and the dhais and the mahaldarnis ; and in some cases the native physician told us the same ; and of course reference to the Cantonments Act confirms it.

692. What kind of payment did they receive ?—From two to three annas a day when they were in the lock hospital.

693. Then would they pay their food with that money ?—I presumed they paid for their food, but did not ask as to that. They simply told us there was this allowance of two to three annas per day, and we sometimes saw it so stated in the records of the lock hospital.

694. Now the testimony of the women that they were confined at the time of the monthly period ; was that confirmed anywhere by a native physician ?—It was confirmed at Lucknow. The native physician showed us through the hospital, and he stated that they were kept there during that period. He pointed out two or three women who were there for that reason, and he said that it was for safety.

695. For the safety of whom ?—We asked him what he meant by that expression, and he said, Well, it was to prevent their giving disease to the men, and also, he added, or getting any.

696. Did you see at Umballa Lock Hospital any girls detained at the monthly period ?—Yes ; we had been told at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla that there were certain of their number there for that reason ; we asked when we went there, and there were eight patients there, and a number of them were there for this reason. That was stated to us, and the dhai confirmed it.

697. And did you see any list of cases at Benares which told the same tale ?—We saw a list of cases since January 1st, 1892, in the lock hospital. We were there on March 12th, and this was a list of cases in the lock hospital since January 1st, 1892. It showed 25 cases for menses averaging three to seven days each. There were 37 cases in all ; 25 of these were for menses.

698. You have told us, I think, already, that the soldiers reported against certain women as having diseased them who were then ordered for examination ?—We saw some records of that.

699. Will you give us some particulars. At Meerut what did you ascertain ?—Well, at Meerut the mahaldarni, to whom I have referred before, at the 50th West Kent Regiment chakla, said that when a soldier became diseased he was questioned as to the woman, and she was then hunted up and sent to the lock hospital.

700. Did any other person confirm that statement ?—Yes ; there were two girls sitting there at the time ; they confirmed what the mahaldarni said.

701. Well, then at Umballa, at the lock hospital, had you access to their reports ?—Yes ; we saw the correspondence book at the lock hospital in which there were certain copies of letters from the surgeon in charge.

702. From the European surgeons ? — The European surgeon in charge of the lock hospital to the cantonment magistrate, in which he mentioned certain women as suspected cases of disease, and requested them to be sent for examination.

703. Under what date were those entries made ; recently ?—There were at least half a dozen within the new year.

704. Within the year 1892 ?—Yes, within the year 1892. We were there on March 2nd.

705. And you found there half a dozen letters to the cantonment magistrate of recent date mentioning certain women as suspected sources of disease, and requesting that they might be sent up for examination ?—Yes, their names were written on the margin of these copies of letters.

706. Now, at the same cantonment, did you visit the lock hospital on March 2nd ?—Yes, it is the same lock hospital. Dr. Bushnell will describe those hospitals more particularly ; but I will just say this much about this one, that it was two buildings, that is, that there was a large building, and then there was a smaller building two storeys high. The large building, as I remember it, was only one storey high, and these were all brick and plaster. In this two-storey building, the second storey was the examination room, and in going up the steps of this examination room (it was an outside sort of winding stairway leading up to the examination room) I saw what seemed to me to be fragments of paper on the steps, and I picked those up. They afterwards fitted in to the description seemingly of women inhabiting certain tents.

707. How many women ?—Two women inhabiting certain tents, and they were the very chaklas that we had just visited on the camp ground, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders.

708. And they were a complaint ?—They seemed to be ; they are apparently a memorandum to identify these women.

709. Do you produce that paper ?—Yes. With the description of a male disease written, on hospital paper.

710. These are the fragments you picked up and joined immediately ?—Yes.

711. The printed side is a paper to record apparently the temperature of a soldier, rank of man, date of attack, under some feverish attack ; but on the back of it there are certain things which are written : "Gordon corner tent, biggest and fattest, A. & S." ; what does that mean, Argyll and Sutherland ? "Little fat woman, sister of dhai, first on left" ; and that you picked up there ?—Yes, Sir. Corner tent, Gordon, biggest and fattest (ulcer penis), A. & S. ; little fat woman, sister of dhai, first on left as you go in.

712. This is in blue pencil ?—Yes.

713. Do you know that handwriting ?—I wish to make no remark about it. I just put it in as I found it. I do not know the handwriting.

714. Then you put that in as mere evidence of the denouncement of the women ?—It seems to bear somewhat strongly on this, as we have read this correspondence regarding it. May I say as we have read this correspondence regarding the denouncement of women on the part of the soldiers, it seems to us to fit in.

715. Was this on an examination day that you picked that up ?—I think it was the day following. It was the 2nd of March. We can easily ascertain by reference to the Table. This was the day following the examination day, according to the record in the Journal. We were there, as nearly as I can make out from the Journal, on Wednesday the 2nd of March, and the examination day was, according to the testimony of the women, on Tuesday, so it was the day following examination day, in the forenoon.

716. Well now, I come to the question of the compulsory attendance at examination, and the penal consequences of non-attendance and of the breaches of other regulations. At Lucknow did you ask the girls whether they attended voluntarily ?—We asked the women who were in the lock hospital on the morning of the first visit that we made on the 25th of January, as we stood at the gate talking with them, the inner gateway, if it was voluntarily, and they said yes. We asked if they submitted to the examinations and went to the lock hospital voluntarily, and they said yes, voluntarily and not voluntarily. They said unless they did submit they would have to leave the cantonment.

717. The compulsion, according to their account, was their being turned out of the cantonment ?—Yes, their being obliged to leave the cantonment, was their expression.

718. Well, now, at Meerut, at the lock hospital, in the visitors' book, did you see anything ?—In the visitors' book it was stated that two or three women had been coming in from the city to practise prostitution, and that they must be dealt with severely by the cantonment magistrate.

719. How did you interpret that entry ?—That it was a note made for future action, or for immediate action.

720. That the women were to be punished for coming into the cantonment ?—To practise prostitution without being registered and inspected.

721. Your interpretation of it was—— ?—That two or three women had been coming into the cantonment. The idea was that they were outside women, as we took it.

722. (*Sir James Peile.*) Who wrote that note ?—It was just an entry in the visitors' book.

723. It was signed ?—I do not remember by whom.

724. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Do you recollect the name of the visitor ?—I cannot state the name of the visitor.

725. (*Chairman.*) But it was signed by somebody ?—Oh, yes. It was in the visitors' book.

726. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And the result of all your visits and inquiries has been, has it not, to your own minds, clearly this, that the women were only admitted to the cantonment by this process of passing through the lock hospital, being ascertained to be what they call fit ?—That was what we understood in all the cantonments. Then the native doctor at Meerut, in this same lock hospital, said that if they did not come for examination they would be expelled from the cantonment.

727. What did you hear at the Lancers bazar at Meerut ?—The women at the Lancers bazar chakla said that a native guard, or police, as they expressed it, came for them every Monday and told them to go to the examination. We said, "Suppose you do not go ?" "Well," they said, "if they missed one day they would be told that they must go next time, and if they missed that next time they were told that they must go outside of the cantonment."

728. Did you hear anything from the district pleader in that neighbourhood ?—Yes.

729. Will you tell us, for the information of some of us, what you understand a district pleader to be ?—A man who practices in the courts there, in the cantonment ; this man evidently did, because he spoke of cases, and spoke his observations generally.

730. A lawyer ?—Yes.

731. What did he tell you ?—He told us that this sentence of expulsion was a very serious thing indeed, that it really meant expatriation for these women if they were sent outside ; that it meant losing their home and friends, and that it was a most serious thing. And he said it was military law.

732. And if they were driven outside the cantonment, he meant to say, they would have no friends to go to ?—No ; that they would have no friends to go to, and that it was really leaving home and friends, and it meant starvation.

733. In fact, their only home was the chakla ?—Yes ; he spoke very intelligently of the difficulty of women having very little means of subsistence in India ; that there were so few industrial positions open to them ; and he added, no person could reside in the cantonment without permission from the authorities.

734. He said the cantonment was subject to military law ?—Yes.

735. At Mean Meer ; did you see a book with a copy of a letter in it ?—Yes ; we saw a copy of a letter in the lock hospital. At Mean Meer we saw the copy of a letter signed by the European surgeon.

736. Dated ?—Dated the 1st January, 1892, to the best of my recollection ; it is so noted. This is the copy as we made it : "1st January, 1892, Mean Meer Hospital. Has the honour to inform cantonment magistrate that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requests that they may be made to appear on the 8th instant," and these four names followed,; it was signed, "B. Grainger, Surgeon, M.S."

737. Do you recollect the title of the book ?—It was a book that was not labelled, and there were copies of letters in it, many addressed to the cantonment magistrate, and this recent one we took a copy of it.

738. Well now, Rawal Pindi. Did you see the native doctor. Did he tell you anything ?—Yes ; he was a graduate of Calcutta, an M.D., and talked very intelligently in English ; he said there were 45 women who attended there for examination, about 35 being for European soldiers.

739. For the European soldiers ?—Yes, for the European soldiers, and he said that those who consorted with European soldiers were obliged to be examined, and registered with the cantonment magistrate.

740. And what about those who consorted with the native soldiers only ?—He said those for the native soldiers came when they pleased.

741. Now, at the artillery bazar chakla, in the same cantonment. What did the mahaldarni tell

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you ?—We asked the mahaldarni what would happen if the women did not go to the examination. The women were speaking of their feeling, in regard to that, of hatred. She said the police would come after them, and order them to go next time, and if they were not present next time they would be fined, and if the fine were not paid, then they would get one month's imprisonment. We asked if any of her girls were ever fined, and she answered "No." She said if it rained or hailed, or even if they were ill, they all went.

742. So that her impression was that they might be fined or imprisoned if they did not go, and as a matter of fact they never dreamt of disputing the order ?—No, and she saw to it that they went.

743. At Peshawar, what did the native physician of the lock hospital say ?—We asked him if the women were compelled to come to the examination, and he said "yes"; if they were not compelled, they would not come; and we said to him, "but suppose they do not come," he said, "I send for them."

744. And what did the women themselves in the same cantonment say ?—They said they were compelled, the women in Peshawar were compelled to come.

745. Were those the women in the hospital or in the chakla ?—We had interviews twice. The women in the lock hospital said all the girls had to go to the examinations. The women in the bazar chakla said that they were compelled to go to the examination and we said, "but what would be done if you did not go." They said, "If not, the police would come after them, and then if they did not go they would be expelled from the cantonment."

746. And what else was said ?—And at this same time they went on to speak of the hardship of expulsion, and we said to them, "But why is it such a dreadful thing, could you not go out ?" and they said, "Where would we go; we are prostitutes; no one would give us work." They said it meant starvation, no one would give them work.

747. What did the women at Amritsar tell you ?—They said that if they did not attend they would be turned out of the cantonment, and the mahaldarni confirmed it.

748. That was the women at the chakla ?—That was the women at the chakla ?—Yes.

749. Now, the women at Umballa at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla, what did they say ?—They said they would be turned out of the cantonment unless they submitted to the examinations, and fined if they left the lock hospital before being discharged as cured, and they said that if they did not pay the fine then they were imprisoned.

750. That was the impression on their minds ?—Yes, that was what they said.

751. But at the Gordon Highlanders chakla at the same cantonment, what did the girls say ?—They said they would be imprisoned or fined if they did not go to the examinations, and they would be punished more severely if they were troublesome, but still more severely if they left the lock hospital without being discharged as cured, and the dhai at the lock hospital at Umballa said that if the girls did not go to the examinations they would be taken before the cantonment magistrate and talked to severely, and be made to go. Then she added, "if they left the hospital without permission they would be imprisoned," and we asked if this had ever happened, and she and the women looked very significantly at one another, and she replied, "No, the girls all go," in a most decided tone.

752. She said that in English, did she ?—She spoke in broken English, not very clearly; but she said this in such a decidedly significant tone, that we asked that it might be told us just what she had said in that place, "the girls all go."

753. At Bareilly, at the Sudder bazar chakla, what did the women say ?—They said that unless they went to the examinations they would be turned out of the cantonment.

754. At Sitapur ?—At Sitapur, in the chakla, they said the examinations are voluntary, but if they did not go to the examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment.

755. At Benares ?—At Benares the women said they would have to leave the cantonment unless they gave regular attendance at the examinations, and that they would also be expelled from the cantonment if they left the lock hospital without being discharged as cured.

756. Will you look at the letter from the Indian Government to the Right Honourable Viscount Cross, Secretary of State for India, of the 4th August, 1890, with an enclosure No. 1, entitled "Government General Order," dated 4th July, 1890 ?—Yes.

757. Will you put that enclosure in ?—Yes.

GOVERNMENT GENERAL ORDER No. 617, JUDICIAL.

In continuation of the notification of the Government of India in the Military Department, No. 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following rules, under section 26, clause (21), and section 27, sub-sections (2) and (4) of the Cantonments Act, 1889, and to direct that they be put in force in all cantonments in British India :

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the local Government under section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till To-morrow, at noon.

THIRD DAY.

Saturday, April 15th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,
Secretary.

MRS. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and DR. KATE BUSHNELL called in, and MRS. ANDREW further Examined.

758. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) WILL you turn to Question 333 of Sir James Peile; have you that question before you?—I have it.

759. "You say you saw the register of the women at the bazaar?—Yes; we saw the register. (334.) Where was that?—(A.) At the Lock Hospital." And then further down (Question 339) "The register of cases?" — You say: "The register of names; there were 56 the total." (340.) "But it was a register of women who had been treated in the hospital;" and your answer, unless you have corrected it, is: "Yes; the register." (Question 341.) "Of cases"?—(A.) "Well, of the women. It was an ordinary hospital register, and it was of the women." Now, I want to know whether the register in this case was a register of patients who had been treated in the hospital, or a register of registered women who had to resort to the examination room to be examined, and treated, if necessary?—I meant the register of women who had come there for examination—come to the Lock Hospital for examination.

760. Was there any other register; was there what may be called a hospital register as distinguished from a register of prostitutes?—We did not see the register of patients received for treatment in the Lock Hospital at Peshawar. We saw only, I think, the registration list of the women who came for examination from the Sudder Bazar, and the annual report for 1891.

761. You have not got a copy of the annual report, have you?—No; I have not.

762. In this Cantonment Hospital or Lock Hospital at Peshawar, for how many patients was there accommodation?—There was a capacity for 12 beds.

763. And how many names were on the register?—There were 56 names.

764. Therefore that register could not be a register of the patients under treatment at the hospital at that moment?—Yes; that was the way we reasoned about it.

765. That was your inference?—That was our inference.

766. In fact, it is evident from the face of things?—Yes; was evident, certainly.

767. On the other hand, then, the conclusion which you drew was that this list was the list of the women who had gone up for examination?—It was; and there were two patients in the hospital at the time—only two.

768. Only two patients at the time?—Yes; only two patients.

769. Can you illustrate this matter further from your experience?—Well, I might from the Meerut Lock Hospital, I think. We saw there the list of the patients; the records of the in-patients as well.

770. And that was a separate record?—That was a separate record. It was the record of the in-patients that had been admitted into the Lock Hospital from the beginning of the year. That was 5th February when we were there, and there had only been five recorded as admitted since the 1st January; I called the attention of the native physician to this. I said: "You have only had five patients here since the 1st January," and he said: "Yes," and then he called my attention to the examination book, which we were also examining at the same time, and the register of the women, and spoke of their being registered under the different regiments to which they belonged: the Lancers, the Sudder, the Artillery, the Lancers and the Infantry. There were nearly 100 women recorded.

771. And at Meerut you saw two registers?—Yes.

772. One containing the list of five women who had been treated?—Who had been admitted as in-patients to be treated.

773. From the beginning of January to the 5th February?—From the beginning of January to the 5th February. Yes.

774. And the other a list of 100 women who had attended examinations?—Yes, nearly 100; and it had been corroborated by his word.

775. Is there anything you wish to add?—Well, only this, that at Umballa we also saw the registration list, and it was headed. There were six regimental lists of the women who came to be examined regularly.

776. One moment; did I understand you at Umballa the registration lists of the prostitutes were under the headings of various regiments?—They were. Yes, there were six of these lists containing from five to 14 women each, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words: "Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections."

777. Is there anything further you wish to add upon this head?—No; I think not, at present.

778. (*Chairman.*) We have heard, of course, very often in your evidence, about Lock Hospitals. Now, the places which you so described, I understood you to say, were generally called by that name; that was the ordinary term by which they were described?—They were generally called so by the people; by

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the women and the cab-drivers. The native physicians sometimes said "Cantonment Hospital"; but then, in talking, they would soon say Lock Hospital, involuntarily. It was this sort of involuntary evidence. Then there was another term which was frequently used, and that was generally by the cab-driver. When we asked him to take us to the Lock Hospital he would look astonished, and he would immediately remonstrate with us and say, that is the Rundian-ki Hospital, bad women's hospital or prostitutes' hospital. Well, that made it only the more clear.

779. Well, that is enough on the term; the use of the name. Then, as a matter of fact, are they not hospitals in the sense that people who once get into them cannot get out of until they are well?—The testimony bore that out so far as we were able to get evidence regarding it.

780. You mean that the women spoke as if they were virtually detained there, or prisoners there?—Yes, they did; and the native physicians corroborated that. The native physicians, in several instances, corroborated that, as you may remember I have given evidence.

781. Then did you find that these hospitals, whether called Cantonment Hospitals or Lock Hospitals, practically contained no provision for people who were suffering from other contagious diseases than this particular one. I mean were they small-pox hospitals or fever hospitals as well, or were they very specifically hospitals for this kind of cases?—Do you mean the diseases treated there, or do you mean the character of the patients, may I ask you?

782. I meant patients suffering from what kinds of diseases were taken in there; were they suffering from all sorts of contagion, or only this particular sort?—Well, it was sometimes claimed by the head physician, in our talk with him, that all were; that the character of the hospital had been changed, but as we examined the records, we found that they were practically for venereal diseases.

783. Did you find cases of small-pox, and so on, and fever and other like contagious diseases under treatment at the time when you went?—We never did.

784. You never were told, even in one case, "there is small-pox in that room," or "in that ward"?—Never; on the contrary, finding it on the record in more than one case we found it so; at Bareilly, for instance, we found one case of leprosy, and one case of small-pox recorded, and we asked the native physician were these treated here, and he said: "No; they were not treated here. There is a small-pox hospital in Bareilly, and there is a leprosy hospital in Bareilly," and we could corroborate the latter statement, for we had visited the leprosy hospital in Bareilly.

785. Well, I think we understand that the theory of these cantonments at any rate is, that any person suspected of suffering from any contagious disease can be required either to submit herself for examination, or else leave the place; that alternative is put before them, is it not so?—You mean that is the theory?

786. The theory, yes, is it not so, that they claim the power in the cantonment to warn anybody who is suspected of suffering from contagious complaint of any kind to submit to be examined, or to be cleared out?—Yes.

787. And that, you add, was very often put practically into force in regard to women suffering from this particular complaint; I mean constantly. That is the state of things, is it not; that they are required either to submit themselves to examination, or to clear out?—They are required; yes.

788. But did you hear that the same system was, as a matter of fact, actually in force in regard to all other contagious diseases, that if a person looked as if he had scarlet fever, do you know that he was equally required to submit himself for examination or clear out for that?—Not at all.

789. I put that question to you because it is claimed by those who uphold the present system that all the contagious diseases are treated in the same way; that the persons affected by them are required to be examined or cleared out, but that did not come under your notice?—We did not see that ourselves, nor did we find such records in the annual reports. I say we neither saw such cases nor did we see them recorded in the annual report, save in very exceptional instances, such as I have mentioned regarding Bareilly, which we explained not to have been treated there.

790. And you did not hear it as matter of common knowledge that a person suspected of suffering from small pox or anything of that kind would be ordered out in the same way or required to submit to being examined?—Oh, no.

791. So that you gathered that, in practice, whatever the theory might be, there was an entirely different system at work with respect to these complaints, and with respect to other contagious disorders?—We did.

792. There is another question. You gave us yesterday the excessively shocking tariff of charges regulated according to the rank of the men in the army. Did you hear of English officers having recourse to the same women, or is it entirely a matter of non-commissioned officers and privates?—We heard on several occasions that the officers sent to the bazar for other women, and we heard also of women living in bungalows for the use of the officers.

793. And did you hear that they received higher rate of pay?—Yes.

794. I suppose not a graduated system, as in the other case, but just what they chose?—Just what they chose; that was the impression that we received. Will you permit me to add as to the 4 annas, I think the sum has not been brought out here as to the value of the rupee which during our investigations was only 1*s.* 4*d.*, not over that, and when we left India only 1*s.* 3*d.* and a fraction, making the four annas, which was the sum that the women received more often than any other, as from the private soldiers, not more than 4*d.* according to that. We spoke of it in our first thought as less than 6*d.*, but it is not more than 4*d.*

795. Another question I want to ask you is with regard to the nationality of these women. You spoke generally in your evidence of native women. Do you draw any distinction. Did you find that they were all, to all outward appearance, people of the same race?—No.

796. They were from various races?—No; I said native for the reason that that was the term that would cover the ground best, but in reality we found women from many different countries and different parts of India. We found them from Cashmere and from Afghanistan and from Egypt; native women.

797. But, as far as you had an opportunity of judging, were they of unmixed Oriental blood or were any of them, any considerable proportion of them, Eurasians, or partly white?—I remember at this moment only one Eurasian woman, except the Eurasian woman to whom I referred yesterday, who owned a girl. I only remember one case of a Eurasian woman who seemed to be leading this life.

798. Did your researches bring you in contact with any purely English women who had gone to live there for that purpose. I mean is there an appreciable number of English prostitutes?—Not an appreciable number. I saw one in a Lock Hospital.

799. But still a very large preponderance of those whom you describe were of unmixed native blood of one kind or another?—As I say, there was only the one English woman that I saw in all these investigations as living within the cantonment and having practised prostitution within the cantonment.

800. *(Sir James Peile.)* I understand that you say what you called the lock hospitals were always separate hospitals, and not wards of general hospitals?—Separate hospitals.

801. Would you look at Bareilly, what you have recorded about Bareilly. I want to ask about that one particularly; I am speaking of the Bareilly lock hospital?—Page 5 of the proof, question 93. May

answer you that I have recorded here as wishing to have a correction, or an explanation of that. I have answered you "we never found the men in any lock hospital in the women's division." The way I wish it to read is, "We never found the men in any lock hospital save at Bareilly. As I said, the men were in the out-door dispensaries and outside, but never in the lock hospitals proper, with this one exception. It occurred to me after we had left the Committee the other day that Bareilly was the one exception where we saw two or three men in the mens' ward, but of all the ten hospitals we visited that was the only one where we saw any men.

802. Suffering from venereal disease, do you mean as patients?—They were there as patients, I do not know for what, I did not inquire.

803. What I wanted to ask was this, that at that Bareilly hospital are you clear that there were not cholera and small-pox wards, as well as a venereal ward?—Well, the lock hospital was not a large hospital. We were taken to two wards, the women's ward and the men's ward. There were only two or three men there, as I say; I know not for what diseases.

804. But there might have been cholera and small-pox wards?—I have recorded of Bareilly none but venereal diseases recorded in the annual report, except one leprosy and one small-pox, which the native physician assured us were not treated there. We saw the annual report for 1891.

805. But was the venereal building standing by itself without other wards adjacent?—Yes, this was standing quite by itself.

806. Was that the report of the hospital, or the report of the venereal hospital?—We saw the annual report for 1891, apparently the same form as others we had seen; it was in writing. These reports in every case that we saw them, I think, without exception, seemed to be perfectly alike, exactly alike, all that we saw. They were written, and at the head of the page were these words: "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for contagious and infectious diseases for————cantonment for the year ending—" and then the year inserted. We made a sketch of the form.

807. Did you on any occasion place the information you obtained from the women and others before a European medical officer, a cantonment magistrate, or a commanding officer of any cantonment?—Do you mean the whole of it?

808. I mean any information you obtained of the kind which appears in your evidence?—Any part of it?

809. Yes?—I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell in that, because there was a case in which she did place certain information which she had received before a cantonment magistrate, but I must leave that for her. It is not permitted for me to give because I was not present on that occasion.

810. Did you show the ticket obtained at Peshawur to any British authority?—At Mean Meer, we got the ticket at Mean Meer. We did not.

811. Nor seek any explanation about it?—We did not.

812. (*Chairman.*) I asked whether you found any appreciable number of European women, or Eurasian women, among the unhappy class you visited, and you said, "No." I think we may infer that you gathered this, that if English officers out there wanted people of this description they had recourse to the same races and classes of women as the private soldiers?—Very largely, yes.

813. Indeed there was no English or Eurasian class of that kind that they could deal with?—We did not find them in the cantonments.

814. And you never heard from the women that they had what I may call English rivals in their profession, English women or half-race women of the same line?—No; we heard of just one instance.

815. Yes, exactly; but not at all as a general rule?—Not, as a general rule.

Dr. Kate Bushnell Examined.

816. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are a native of Illinois in the United States?—Yes.

817. And you reside at Evanston, Chicago, when you are at home?—Yes.

818. Are you a graduate and M.D., of the Women's Medical College at Chicago?—Yes.

819. And have you practised medicine principally in China as a medical missionary in connection with the Methodist Episcopal Church?—Yes.

820. Did you for some years hold office in the Women's Christian Temperance Union of America?—Yes.

821. What office?—It was evangelist of the Social Purity Department of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

822. How have you been engaged since the year 1890?—With Mrs. Andrew in visiting various countries as a world's evangelist of this same society.

823. Or of an extension?—An extension of this society to other countries.

824. The society is an American society, and it has become a world's society?—Yes.

825. Since February 1891 you have worked with your friend and companion Mrs. Andrew?—We were first here in England holding meetings for the most part in connection with the British Women's Temperance Association, and we also paid a short visit to South Wales; then we proceeded to South Africa.

826. And your work in England, if I follow you, was in the first half of the year 1891?—Yes.

827. And you proceeded to South Africa in July 1891?—Yes.

828. And when did you reach India?—We reached India the latter part of December 1891.

829. December or November?—Of December; we sailed in November from South Africa; we reached India the 21st December 1891.

830–31. And you went to India with the views and purposes detailed by Mrs. Andrew to this Committee?—Yes.

832. In addition to that general investigation in respect to degraded women in Indian cantonments had you, before commencing your tour, been asked to undertake some other work?—I had. Previous to leaving my own country, the women physicians of Chicago asked me if I would prepare a paper for the forthcoming congress of women physicians in Chicago at the time of the World's Fair on some professional subject, especially something that would occur out of some investigation or observation that I would make during my world's trip.

833. In consequence of that undertaking, what did you do when you arrived in Calcutta on the 21st December 1891?—Well, I was induced to commence an investigation into the relation which is supposed to exist, particularly by the natives of India, and in other parts of the world too by other people, that there is a close connection between leprosy and syphilitic disease. I think Sir William Moore holds that theory very strongly, and other physicians of considerable prominence.

834. We need not go into that I think; there is nothing you wish specially to say upon that subject is there?—No, nothing; except that I made a little study along that line in connection with the other work that I was doing in India.

835. Pursuing that study, occupying a certain time with that inquiry, you proceeded with Mrs. Andrews to Lucknow?—Yes, Sir.

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836. Was that on the 20th January ?—It must have been about that time.

837. And it was there and then that your investigation as narrated in Mrs. Andrew's evidence commenced ?—Yes.

838. You have heard Mrs. Andrew's evidence ?—Yes.

839. Do you corroborate it generally ?—I do.

840. You, perhaps, could say more than that you generally corroborate it ?—I think in every detail; nothing occurs to me.

841. I understood that you travelled together, and that you were almost always united upon every occasion of investigation ?—We were, with one or two exceptions, trivial exceptions.

842. There were a few exceptions in which you conducted separate enquiries of your own ?—Yes, one or two.

843. And at a later period of your examination you will give us particulars of those special enquiries ?—Yes.

844. You confirm her evidence in respect of the cantonments visited, the number of cantonments, and their names ?—I do.

845. The persons interviewed ?—Yes.

846. The books inspected at the several Lock hospitals, and chaklas, and other places ?—Yes.

847. You have some further evidence on your own account to give on some of these headings, I mean not only records of separate investigations, but will you have something personal yourself that you desire to say with respect to some of these points ?—Yes, Sir, perhaps having a more distinct memory of hospital records, and matters of that sort.

848. You paid special attention to those; you had an opportunity of seeing them ?—Well, they more naturally and more easily fixed themselves upon my memory.

849. The books and records of the various hospitals that you visited ?—Yes.

850. You verify Mrs. Andrew's account of those numerous chaklas which you both saw and the conversations with the occupants, and you guarantee the accuracy of the sketches of three of those places; perhaps you made those sketches ?—I made those sketches; they are approximately accurate. Of course I took no measurements, or anything of that sort.

851. First, as to Mrs. Andrew's account of the chaklas, having heard her description of these buildings and of the several cantonments, and of the conversations held with the occupants, you confirm those statements of Mrs. Andrew's ?—I do.

852. Now with regard to the registration of the women at the Sudder Bazar chakla at Lucknow on January 25th, did you gather some information on that subject, did you see an old woman there, and what did she tell you ?—Well, it was not there that she told me anything about the registration; it was not at that place; it was not at the lock hospital; I think, perhaps it was the same day.

853. Not in the lock hospital, but in the chakla ?—In the neighbourhood of the chakla; we were standing out on the street.

854. What was it that she said ?—She told me that when a girl was a candidate for a life of shame she went to the mahaldarni first, and that then the mahaldarni took her to the cantonment magistrate, and she paid 9 pice to be registered.

855. To whom did she pay that ?—To the cantonment magistrate, I understood.

856. You are not quite sure of that, are you; you understood that ?—It does not say so. I see that the journal does not say so, but that was my understanding at the time.

857. It struck me the other day, in regard to the answer of Mrs. Andrew, that the 9 pice of which we have heard before, would probably have been paid to what you called a "pleader" for writing out the application; I don't know whether that is so ?—Well, that is it. That is exactly what I said, only it was in my mind that the cantonment magistrate would write that out, but it would be another person who would write it. The girl pays 9 pice to get the application written out, and my impression was that the cantonment magistrate wrote out the application.

858. We will have it, if you will accept that term, that she pays 9 pice not to a "pleader," but more correctly to a petition writer to write out her application ?—That would be it.

859. What did you understand was done with that application ?—That then that application is turned over to the inspector.

860. By the cantonment magistrate ?—I don't know.

861. The application is made to the cantonment magistrate ?—The application is made to the cantonment magistrate I suppose; Yes.

862. But is not that your evidence: Did you or did you not understand that when she gets this application written out, the application is handed to the cantonment magistrate ?—I would simply infer so from what I know of other places. It is not very clearly expressed here.

863. But you say is handed to the inspector; now what does the inspector do ?—Then he sends the girl to the lock hospital.

864. This is the evidence of that mahaldarni ?—Yes, it is.

865. And then ?—And then, if the result of the examination is satisfactory, she is turned over to the mahaldarni of the chakla.

866. She is sent back first to the inspector, is she not; was not that the evidence ?—Yes, she is.

867. Who hands her over to the mahaldarni ?—Yes.

868. And the latter then does, what ?—Takes her into the chakla.

869. I see the phrase is, "enters her into the chakla." Does that mean record her name in a register ?—The journal here says: "Takes her into the chakla."

870. Do you also confirm Mrs. Andrew's evidence as to the houses of the women in Peshawar bearing a register of the number of the women, as well as of the numbers of the tenements ?—I do. I think that Mrs. Andrew said that the smaller numbers were written in English and Hindustani. I see our journal says English and Urdu. I don't know whether it makes any difference; it is the same thing.

871. And I think there were other places named where there were numbers of two kinds upon the houses, and you confirm her evidence with regard to that ?—Mrs. Andrew spoke of Bareilly, but at the time she was questioned about that I was occupied with something else, and paid no particular attention to it.

872. At what lock hospitals did you see the registration lists of the women ?—At Meerut, at Peshawar, at Benares, and at Umballa.

873. When the phrase "registration lists" is used, I refer rather to the lists of the women; I do not mean hospital lists ?—No, I mean the lists of the women who are examined periodically.

874. And will you have something hereafter to say upon this subject, bye-and-bye, under the head of hospitals ?—Yes, Sir.

875. As to the mahaldarnis and the continuance of their work now, as before the repeal of the Act, I want to put it to you in this way: We have had some evidence from Mrs. Andrew about the method of business of the mahaldarni anterior to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts in India, and the enactment of the new Cantonment Acts, and I want to know whether you have anything to say as to the continuance of their work on the same lines now, as before that period ?—Well, the mahaldarnis that held those certificates for the most part told us that they had had 11 continuous years' service under the Government, all those certificates being for a term of years. I should

have to study individual cases to see which mahaldarni said which.

876. Did any mahaldarni that you can remember give you any reason to understand that any change in her functions was produced by these legislative changes?—None of them.

877. Were they, generally, conscious that there had been legislative changes?—Well, the women and the mahaldarnies together, in several places referred to the fact that these things were now forbidden by the Queen, and that other people were to blame for them, and not the Queen, so that they knew that much of the change.

878. That those things were now forbidden?—Yes, were now forbidden by the Queen.

879. Can you corroborate Mrs. Andrew as to the interviews with the mahaldarnies at the several chaklas, and as to the production by them of the certificates and other papers mentioned by Mrs. Andrew?—I can.

880. Now in Lucknow, on March 7th; did you take copies of any certificates?—I did.

881. Of which?—Of certificates held of the mahaldarni called Ameer and Ameeran, and of another one called Ameer.

882. Have you got those copies?—I have them before me.

883. Will you read us those two copies of documents?—"Ameer has supplied the 2nd Derby Regiment with prostitutes for the past three years, and I recommend her to any other regiment requiring her for a similar capacity. S. G. Miller, Quartermaster." That is the same one that we had yesterday.

884. (*Sir James Peile.*) That mahaldarni had been dismissed since you had been at Lucknow?—She had been dismissed a month previous.

885. Then that looks as if there had been some change in her position?—There had been a change within the month.

886. Yes; what month?—Well, it was between our two visits. We were there on the 25th of January and again on the 7th of March, and they stated she had been dismissed immediately after our preceding visit.

887. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) These certificates are old certificates, and the dismissal of the mahaldarni would not apparently have any relation to her conduct before the legislative changes to which I have referred, would it?—I do not think I understand your question.

888. I see her dismissal was in January 1892?—Yes.

889. Was it of both these mahaldarnis. Were they both dismissed?—They were both dismissed.

890. In January 1892?—Or probably in February; the 1st of February 1892.

891. Their dismissal would probably have no relation to these legislative changes, because they occurred long before January 1892?—They had taken place in 1888; no, certainly not.

892. Did it occur to you to note the fact that their dismissal occurred within a very short period after your visit?—Yes; and we specially noted the fact that Mr. Alfred S. Dyer had come out with some publications with regard to a personal visit to this place in the meantime.

893. We have not had his name before; Mr. Dyer; you had better tell us who Mr. Dyer is, without reference to the name. Mr. Dyer is a gentleman who has also been interested in this subject, and has been resident in India for some time. Is not that the case?—Yes.

894. And you mentioned his name in this case, because he published some results of these visits shortly before the dismissal of these two persons?—Shortly before this publication there was a large meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, on January 12th.

895. And that was between your two visits, was it?—Yes, it was. Mr. Dyer's meeting did not come in between our two visits, because it was January 12th and we were there on January 25th. The news had probably come in the meantime.

896. (*Sir James Peile.*) With regard to that, might I call attention to Question 472 and Mrs. Andrew's answer. Then what was the hypothesis in her mind? apparently that these houses were to be closed?—Yes; it seemed to be so. And then, later in the day, when we saw her, she did not state who said this to her, only 'the authorities.' And then we said, 'Who dismissed you?' She said she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate; that an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up; had to close up." That would look as if her dismissal was the result of the order of the Queen, would it not?—That was what we were told at the chakla.

897. That she was dismissed by the cantonment magistrate after an order had come from the Queen, and that they had to shut these houses up?—Yes.

898. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I will go a little more particularly into this case. I have Mrs. Andrew's evidence here. In Mrs. Andrew's evidence she told us that this mahaldarni said she had worked for the Government at Lucknow for 10 years. You saw that mahaldarni with Mrs. Andrews?—I did.

899. And did she say that she had worked for the Government in Lucknow cantonment for 10 years?—She did.

900. When did she say that her pay had stopped?—She said her pay had stopped one month ago.

901. Just after your visit?—Just after we had visited her; that is, just after our first visit.

902. Then she did not state to you explicitly why her pay was stopped?—No; she did not.

903. Did any one else make any statement on that subject?—There was a statement made on 2nd February. I think I stated that it was on our second visit. It must have been, then, the first time that we were in Lucknow that it was said. A group, consisting of three women, two boys, and a young man—that was in the smaller court-yard of the chakla; Mrs. Andrew was not present; I was there with two little children;—they all assured us and insisted that the three other chaklas that had existed in three other bazars had all been closed up, and the girls put in this one; that the mahaldarnis had all been discharged, and the doctors were not going to examine the women any more, because word had been sent from Simla that the Queen did not like it, and it was all to be done away with. Neither of the mahaldarnis was present when this was stated to us. It was a remark on the part of these women and one half-grown boy some sixteen or seventeen years old.

904. Had you been the same day, whatever day that was—you say it was 2nd February, I think—to see the second mahaldarni belonging to the Lancers Regiment?—That was on 7th March, that you refer to now.

905. That was the second visit, was it?—Yes, that is our second visit when we saw the second mahaldarni.

906. And what did she say about the authorities?—She said the authorities had promised the mahaldarnis that when they should open the chaklas again the mahaldarnies should have the first places.

907. (*Sir James Peile.*) Who had promised?—The authorities. We asked her afterwards who made this promise to her, and she said "the authorities"; because we thought it would not do to leave it simply as "the authorities said so"—we asked her particularly, and she said that the Cantonment Magistrate said so—Captain Campbell. She mentioned his name.

908. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Therefore as far as the evidence of this mahaldarni is concerned, it goes to the effect that they were dismissed. I am not sure that I followed you exactly; I thought you said just now that her evidence went to this effect, that they stopped some of the chaklas, and lodged all the women in one?—No; that was in relation to what these three women and two boys told me; not the mahaldarnis; they were not present.

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909. And what those three women said, if I understand you rightly, was, that all the chaklas were not shut up, but that the women were transferred from some chaklas to another chakla; is not that so?—They said the other chaklas about Lucknow; I think we were asking to find out if there were any other women that we could visit, and they said, "No;" the women were all there at that chakla in Sudder Bazar; that the chaklas in connection with the other regiments had been closed up, and all the women brought there.

910. So that at that very time that you interviewed these two mahaldarnis there was a chakla in the Sudder Bazar containing prostitutes?—There was.

911. For the use of European soldiers—There was.

912. (*Sir James Peile.*) That the regimental chaklas had been closed?—So they said. We did not ask when they had been closed; they simply said they had been closed.

913. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Therefore did you understand that all the women that were in the regimental chaklas were taken into the Sudder Bazar chakla?—I did.

914. Therefore you did not understand that there was any reduction of the women?—No reduction in the number, as I understood it.

915. But you understood from this second mahaldarni of the Lancers' regiment that when they reopened these chaklas again the mahaldarnis should have the first places?—Yes.

916. Did they tell them how to occupy their time in the meantime?—They told them to take five or six girls, and take a share of their earnings.

917. And had they done so?—They proceeded to do so about this time.

918. (*Sir James Peile.*) Then I understand that the mahaldarnis had been dismissed before your first visit?—No.

919. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Immediately after?—They were in charge at our very first visit, but the rumour that they had been dismissed came before we left Lucknow the first time.

920. At Rawal Pindi, what did you see at the Highlanders' chakla? Did you see a scrap-book there? We saw a scrap-book there in hands of the mahaldarni, containing certificates.

921. What was the date of those certificates?—The date of the last of them was November, 1891.

922. And what was the nature of this certificate?—The last certificate in the mahaldarni's book was signed by the surgeon, and was for three years' service.

923. Signed by a surgeon with an English name?—Yes.

924. And certified for three years' service ending in November 1891?—Yes.

925. At the Infantry Bazar of the old cantonment at Rawal Pindi?—Yes. There are two cantonments at Rawal Pindi; and this was at the old cantonment, the Infantry Bazar was.

926. Did the mahaldarni produce any certificates?—She did. There were seven or eight, ranging in date from 1875 to 1888.

927. What was the date of the last?—June 1888.

928. And what did they call her in those certificates?—They called her various titles: "the head woman of the brothel"; "the superintendent of the brothel"; "the woman having charge of the brothel"; and "the woman in charge of the regimental brothel"; one said, "of the Fourth Battalion Rifles."

929. During a certain number of years?—Yes.

930. During three years?—I do not quite understand your question.

931. What did the certificates purport to be; certificates for three years' service?—Well, they said that she had taken several other such positions during the last three years, and had given good satisfaction.

932. And had given satisfaction?—Yes,

933. Who were they signed by?—They were signed by colonels, majors, and surgeons.

934. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Colonel surgeons?—No, military colonels.

935. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How long had she been in this service?—For 14 years. She had been out-of-work in that 14 years three years. These were not the three years previous, however, the certificate showed that, and she said so, but the term of three years had come in during the past 14 years.

936. Had she then relinquished it, or been dismissed, do you know?—She had relinquished it; she said her conscience hurt her.

937. And what did she say as to her future intention?—She said the regiment was going away in six months, and she would give up this.

938. Give up altogether?—Yes.

939. Have you any information about her?—I have not.

940. Now what can you say to us about the proportion in number between the registered women and the troops; do you confirm Mrs. Andrew's testimony?—Yes, sir.

941. And with regard to the uniform rate of pay?—Yes, Sir.

942. You confirm her evidence and the table she produced?—I do; we made it out jointly.

943. Now, as to the indigent condition of the women, do you confirm her evidence in that respect?—I do.

944. As to the women accompanying regiments?—Yes, Sir.

945. Were you present on every occasion mentioned by Mrs. Andrew when information on this subject was obtained?—So far as I can re-call now, I was.

946. And you believe that you were present at every interview?—I think I was every time.

947. And you corroborate that evidence in all its details?—I do.

948. Now as to the periodical examination of the women; you shared the labours of Mrs. Andrew in the inquiries in the collection of the information on this subject?—I did.

959. The results of which were given in her evidence?—Yes.

950. And particularly in the table which she handed in?—Yes, Sir.

951. The table showing, does it not, first of all the fixed times of examination?—Yes.

952. Secondly, the persons by whom, and in whose presence the women were examined?—There is no statement in the table that I can see in whose presence it was done.

953. Take these tables, you have got the table, have you not, at page 22?—I have.

954. I want you to explain to us all that that table shows?—It shows the cantonment and the place of obtaining information in the cantonment; that means, whether at the hospital or at the chaklas, and the number of women or others who gave evidence; the number of dhais who gave evidence on it, and the number of mahaldarnis, and the number of native physicians who gave evidence on the point, and then the time of the examination.

955. Well, now, besides the table there was Mrs. Andrew's evidence. She gave us an account of the persons by whom and in whose presence the women were examined?—Yes.

956. Do you confirm that evidence?—I do.

957. She described to us the nature of the examination; do you confirm that?—I do.

958. And she described also the women's abhorrence in their own words?—I heard those words.

959. And the results of the examination that if the women were not found to be diseased they had liberty to continue their profession, but if they were found to be diseased they were detained in hospital with a view to cure?—That was repeatedly stated to us.

960. But they were also detained during their menstrual period ?—Yes.

961. That they also had a money allowance while so detained ?—Yes.

962. And do you know or only presume for what purpose that money allowance was made ?—Well, the clause in the Cantonments Act, which relates to the confinement of patients in the Contagious Hospital, would provide for that.

963. Subsistence allowance ?—Subsistence allowance, yes.

964. She gave us evidence, also, which you heard, on the special examination of particular women, on the report of soldiers resorting to them, that they were not in a healthy condition ; do you confirm that ?—I do.

965. And she described the nature of the compulsion enforcing their attendance at the examination. That you confirm ?—I do.

966. And the penalties for non-attendance at the examination, and other breaches of the contonment regulations ?—I heard the evidence.

967. And you confirm all that evidence ?—I do.

968. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Can you speak Hindustani ?—No ; only just a few words that we picked up while we were in the country.

969. How did you communicate with the women and the other natives whose statements you have given us ?—The women, very many of them, understood a little English ; and we had always with us an interpreter.

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970. What kind of an interpreter ?—It was usually a woman whom we employed for the purpose. We had several different women in different places.

971. Had you any reason to suppose that these were good linguists ?—Yes ; in every instance they had been in the country a great many years, some had always lived in the country, and if they had made a mistake in translating to us what the women had said, for the most part the women themselves would have corrected them, as they did several times when they did not quite understand what the women had said, for they understood a little English and would sometimes break over and try to explain in English. Then again, of course, we went over the same ground repeatedly with the women, and in the course of time we came to understand more Hindustani than we could have spoken at all, so that we understood to some extent, even when they spoke in Hindustani. Yes and no, and some of these things, of course, we would understand.

972. In the course of conducting your inquiries did you write down these statements at the time, or afterwards from memory ?—We wrote down our statements immediately after we had paid a visit to the place, immediately, very often going no further than the Gharri, and sitting in that and writing it down. We did that always for numbers and things of that sort that it was difficult at all to hold.

The Witnesses withdrew.

Adjourned till Tuesday at noon.

FOURTH DAY.

Tuesday, April 18th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,
Secretary.

MRS. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and Dr. KATE BUSHNELL called in ; and MRS. ANDREW, further Examined.

973. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) MRS. ANDREW, you have your corrected proof of the second day, have you not ?—I have not it by me.

974. Have you struck out of your corrected proofs —I forget whether it is the first or the second day—all the names ?—I have so far as I have gone, all of this first day.

975. Believing that the conclusion of the Committee was that all names were to be omitted ?—I understood that the ruling of the Committee was that all names should be omitted, names of persons.

976. Well, now, as to your sketches ; have you any wish to express as to your sketches of buildings ?—I feel that they are a part of the testimony. Those sketches, although they only purport to be rough sketches, and were not taken by measurements, yet I certainly feel that they are part of the evidence, and were so offered.

977. And you desire that they should be inserted on the Notes if it can be done without inconvenience ?—Yes.

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978. And you would desire by preference that they should be inserted in the Minutes on the margin of the question which refers to them ?—I have so expressed it on these proofs, requesting that the sketch plan of the chakla of which I was then giving testimony, should be inserted at the place where it was produced.

979. Have you got the sketches ?—I can produce them.

980–1. For the printer ?—Yes, for the printer.

982. And the question beside which you wish them to go ?—Yes. I have just indicated a place, and said, "Insert sketch plan"; and then I thought on the sketch I could put the number of the question which they were to follow, if that met the wishes of the Committee.

Dr. Kate Bushnell, further Examined.

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983. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Dr. Kate Bushnell, you have confirmed generally, place by place, and subject by subject, the evidence of Mrs. Andrew ; and I now come to a portion of your evidence, which will either be evidence exclusively of your own, I understand, or confirmation where you desire to go a little more into detail ; and I will begin with what is headed in my notes, "An illustrative case." Now, have you in mind the case of a girl which bears upon several points in the evidence of Mrs. Andrew ?—Yes, sir ; it is the case of Itwaria, a young girl that we found in the chakla at Lucknow.

984. When did you first see her ?—We saw her first on 25th January on our first visit to that establishment.

985. And where at Lucknow did you see her ?—In the Sudder Bazar chakla.

986. Did she look like a girl who had been long leading that life ?—Well, she did not have the appearance of hardness that some of them had ; she looked rather more like a recent girl ; prepossessing in appearance ; rather the best looking of any that we saw there.

987. You thought there was a certain modesty about her ?—Yes ; an unusual degree of modesty, and she seemed to be very much ashamed of being found there.

988. Was she at all differently dressed to the rest ?—Not that I remember.

989. Was she less gaudily dressed ?—Well, she was neatly dressed ; not so disorderly as some of them ; neat in appearance.

990. Did this girl address herself to you ?—She came to me as we were talking together—as there were some 35 girls about us, and two mahaldarnis,—and she came and motioned to me, and took me aside round into the smaller courtyard of the chakla, to her own private room, and said she wanted to talk with me ; she could talk English.

991. Was she a native of India ?—She was a native of India ; she may have had some European blood ; I am not sure ; she might have been entirely native.

992. (*Chairman.*) Did her appearance suggest to you that she was one of those I asked about the other day ; not quite a native ?—Not wholly a native by blood.

993. Did her appearance suggest to you that she was Eurasian ?—We did not question her about the matter at all ; I only spoke about the possibility, by her being nice looking, that there might have been European blood, but I am not quite sure that she was not entirely native ; she was not one that you would say at a glance was Eurasian ; she was too nearly native.

994. (Mr. *Stansfeld.*) And when she took you to her room, what did she say to you ?—She began to cry, and said that she wanted to leave very much, and wanted us to take her away. I tried to get her to tell me something of the circumstances, that is, under which she was living, but she would not talk very much ; she simply seemed timid, and clung to me and cried, and said to me to "take her away."

995. And when the time came for your leaving ?—Then there were some three or four girls who said they wanted to go with us, and they talked about the matter together ; and then they seemed to come to the conclusion, all of them, that they had better wait till after the next day, which was examination day, and that it would not be possible for them without trouble to leave until that day. So Itwaria said she would leave it till after the next day, and then come with me.

996. What was the day of the week on which you were there ; was it a Monday ?—25th January.

997. Was the examination day Tuesday ?—The examination days were Tuesdays and Fridays. I think this must have been Monday that we were there. I know it was the day before examination day. It was Monday.

998. When did you see her next again ?—Well, we saw her next again on 2nd February, when we called at the chakla.

999. You did not see her next day, which was examination day ?—No, we did not ; we did not see her until 2nd February.

1000. That was a Tuesday ?—That was a Tuesday.

1001. That was an occasion when you were again at the chakla ?—When I was at the chakla with an interpreter.

1002. Did you put any question to her ?—Well, we asked her why she had not come. She had seemed to think she could come by herself ; and she said she had not because, in the meantime, she had gone to the Lock Hospital on account of her *menses*, and that, being examination day, she had now been allowed to come away.

1003. Therefore, according to her account, she had been kept, because of that condition, in the hospital for the week ?—Yes.

1004. Did she then prepare to go away with you ?—Yes ; she was very much delighted when she found we were willing to take her, and went and dressed herself, and combed her hair, and came away with us as far as the cab ; and then she hesitated, and said it would be necessary to go first and ask the cantonment magistrate.

1005. What followed ?—Well, we drove with her then to the magistrate's office ; that was some distance away ; and we did not find him there. The native police standing about in the yard told us we could not see him until 12 o'clock.

1006. What time was it then ?—It was then perhaps 10 or 11. Then I took her with me to my stopping-place, while I had my breakfast. Mrs. Andrew will remember my bringing the girl in. At that time Mrs. Andrew was not with me, but she saw Itwaria at that time when I came in for breakfast.

1007. Well, then, when you returned after breakfast, was it to the magistrate's office ?—We returned then to the magistrate's office.

1008. Were there any native police about ?—There were half-a-dozen. I see here : "There were six policemen there, and also other men and boys ; but the magistrate had not yet come. So the girl, being personally acquainted with one of the policemen, told him what she wanted."

1009. What did she tell him she wanted ?—She told him she wanted to get her name taken off the register, so that she could leave.

1010. What did they say ?—They told her that she could not do it till after the following Friday ; that the following Friday would be an examination day, and then, if the European surgeon thought fit, she might be allowed to sign a petition to go away.

1011. Did you put any question to the police ?—I asked the policemen which were examination days, and they replied Monday and Friday. This "Monday" I knew was incorrect, because we had abundant evidence that it was Tuesday and Friday ; and I suspected they told me Monday, thinking I might say there was no objection to her going away because she had just been examined.

1012. Well, I see in the table showing the times of periodical examination, at page 18 of the second day : "Lucknow ; number and character of informants, six native police ; days of examination, Monday and Friday." And opposite "Monday," you have put in inverted commas, "False, or inaccurate." They may have had some motive in saying it ; at any rate it was inaccurate. You had previously ascertained that the examination day would be the day following your first visit, which was on a Monday ?—Yes, we had obtained it from no less than 40 or 50 witnesses,

that Tuesday and Friday were examination days, and not Monday, as the policemen stated.

1013. That was the girls themselves?—The girls themselves, and the dhai of the Lock Hospital, and the mahaldarni of the chakla, too.

1014. Did you ask where the European doctor was to be found?—Yes, I told them that I was not willing to wait till Friday, and asked them to tell me where to find the European doctor, and I would go immediately with the girl to him. They refused to tell me; and I had to talk to them very sternly before I could induce them to tell me where to find the doctor; rather to tell the cabman. I wanted them to tell the cabman in Hindustani, as I could not speak Hindustani.

1015. Did you threaten to report them?—I threatened to report them if they would not give the proper information.

1016. And they gave some information to him?—They gave information to the cabman, and we started out to find the European doctor. They said the physician I wanted was at the Tenth Native Infantry Regiment, so we drove several miles along the cantonment to that place, in search, as we supposed, of Dr. Hamilton; it was Dr. Ranking really that was wanted.

1017. How did that drive affect the girl?—Well, she seemed to lose a great deal of courage, and on the way there I questioned her very closely, for my own information, rather, at first, why she could not leave without getting permission; what they would do if she left without getting permission. She said, "What do you mean? Steal away like a thief; why, the police would bring me back again." Then, from that she seemed to get an idea that I would help her to "steal away like a thief," as she expressed it; so she asked me if I would not, and she began to fail in courage about pursuing any other course, except to run away.

1018. Did you find the doctor?—We did not find the doctor we were after, but we went to the native doctor of the small hospital, I suppose, connected with this Tenth Infantry Regiment, as we were in that neighbourhood.

1019. Did he speak English?—He spoke very good English.

1020. What did he tell you?—We explained to this native physician what we wanted, and that this girl wished to leave, and wanted to get permission to go away. The native doctor explained that we must take the girl back to the cantonment magistrate, and that we must see the cantonment magistrate first, not the doctor first, as the native policeman had told us; and he further said that the cantonment magistrate would give us a written permit, and that we might convey that to the surgeon of the Tenth Infantry, who was Dr. Ranking, and that he would allow the girl to go, "if she was all right," as he expressed it; that is, free from disease.

1021. Then what did the girl say?—The girl was very much disheartened by this time, and she told the native physician that there was a fine of 20 rupees against her that was not yet paid, and if she saw the cantonment magistrate, she did not think he would let her go at all, because she had nothing to pay it with.

1022. Did she give you any explanation about this fine on your drive back?—Yes, she did, not a very clear explanation; I got the whole story later, yet what she stated did not contradict it in the least. She said she had lived with a soldier at Havelock-road, out in the civil lines.

1023. That she was living with him at that time?—That she was living there at the time she was fined; that she had been before the cantonment magistrate and been fined 20 rupees.

1024. What was she fined for?—She did not say then, but afterwards I learned this very clearly from the one who had made the complaint against her; that she was fined, not twenty, but fifty rupees, and that the fine was for keeping drink for this soldier. She was not accused of buying drink for him; but he had brought it to her place, and it was found there with her.

1025. And they fined her, and not the soldier?—Yes; she was taken to the cantonment magistrate, and fined for furnishing drink to the soldier.

1026. What was the house in which she was living; was she placed there by the soldier?—She was placed by the soldier on Havelock-road outside the military lines, in the civil lines.

1027. She was what they call a "kept woman" at that time?—She was a "kept woman" at that time; and when she was fined she said the mahaldarni paid her fine.

1028. Did she pay it, or did she become surety for it?—Became surety for it. I should say she was taken into the chakla in the cantonment. This was further corroborated by a gentlemen who told me he was living next door to her on Havelock-road at the time this happened, and he knew it was just after this trouble that she went into the chakla; though he could not say about the mahaldarni paying the fine, only that he knew that it was then she went into the cantonment and into the chakla.

1029. Well, then you returned to the magistrate's court; was he sitting?—He was sitting when we returned, and we went into the court, and he received us very politely, and gave us seats.

1029*. Did you ask for the required permit?—I asked for the required permit.

1030. What did you say to him?—We told him very plainly that this woman we had with us this morning as an interpreter represented a Mission there, and we explained very fully to him that we wanted to place this girl in this Mission, in a "home," and gave him every assurance that she would be taken immediately to this Mission and taken care of.

1031. Did you say anything about the police?—These same policemen that we had been talking with, and others with them, were gathered round in the court-room, or came in when we went in; I am not sure which; and the cantonment magistrate said we were labouring under a mistake if we supposed it was necessary to get a permit; that it was not. But I said to him, pointing to these policemen, "These are the policemen who told us an hour or two ago that it was necessary for us to get a permit." And then we told him, too, that the native physician at the Tenth Infantry had told us the same thing, that it was necessary to get this permit to leave before she could leave. Then the cantonment magistrate exclaimed that the policemen knew nothing about the matter; did not know that the law had changed, and that the old Contagious Diseases Acts had been done away, and that the girl was free to go if she wanted.

1032. Did he add that he would give her a permit, if desired?—Yes; he added then that he would give the permit, and he wrote it out.

1033. Have you got that document?—Yes; I have it here, as he put it in my hands. The first word is, "Rund"; "Rund Itwaria"; that is "prostitute." I want to explain here that he made a mistake by one month in the date; he has dated it 2nd January, instead of 2nd February.

1034. You say she was not in the chakla at that time; was she at that time the mistress of this soldier?—No, not then; she had been in the chakla for some time. What did you say was written in this document?—(*Document handed in as follows*: "Rund Itwaria is permitted to leave the cantonment. A. W. D. Campbell, Major.—Cant. Magt., Lucknow.—2/1/92.") There was a mistake in the date. It was impossible for it to have been 2nd January, because it was February when he handed it to me. It was simply a mistake in the first figure; it should have been "2—2," instead of "2—1." It is immaterial, only I thought the inconsistency might be shown some time.

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1035. And he would give her the permit. Did he say how that would affect her right to enter the cantonment again?—He said, "I will give you the permit; but I want it distinctly understood that she cannot enter the cantonment again under any circumstances." He repeated this again and again.

1037. Then you asked that her name should be taken off?—Yes; I asked for her name to be taken off the records, and he said he would have that done, and asked the clerk to do it.

1038. Did he look at her name on any of the records in possession of the court?—Her name was hunted for in some sort of records, I could not just say what.

1039. Did you then tell the magistrate of Itwaria's fear about the fine?—I did.

1040. Did he appear to know anything about it?—He seemed to know about it; and he explained that it was some criminal charge, and that it was a writ of cognizance. I cannot explain this in lawyer terms very well myself.

1041. That it was what?—A writ of cognizance.

1042. Had this lengthy proceeding in the meantime affected the girl?—It had. Twice she ran crying out of the court, and I went out and persuaded her to come back. The cantonment magistrate spoke very sternly to her.

1043. Did she say she had a mother and a sister in the cantonment?—When he repeated that she should not under any conditions return to the cantonment, she said her mother and sister lived in the cantonment, and she would want to see them.

1044. Did the presiding magistrate advise her to see them at once?—He advised us to go and talk the matter over with the mother and sister, and see what they said about her going away.

1045. Did you follow that advice?—We followed that advice.

1046. Did you find the mother and sister?—We found them, to our amazement, in the chakla. We did not know then that they were disreputable, that they were in the chakla themselves.

1047. What did the sister say to you?—Both the sister and the mother declared that she could not go away. The sister said she owed her money, and she would not let her go away; and then she began to beat the girl, but I stopped that.

1048. You stated distinctly, did you not, that her sister said that she owed her money?—Yes.

1049. And could not go till she had paid it?—Yes.

1050. This was an elder sister who said that Itwaria owed her money, and that she could not go away till she paid her the money. Then she struck her?—Then she struck her.

1051. And ultimately did you feel compelled to leave the girl for the time?—We did. A British soldier came up to them, and took the girl off on one side, evidently to persuade her not to go; and so her resolution failed her, and she gave up any thought of coming away then, and sat down hopelessly.

1052. You re-visited Lucknow on 7th March?—Yes.

1053. Did you see Itwaria again? What distance of time was that?—That was a little over a month; it was from 2nd February to 7th March.

1054. Did you see Itwaria this second time?—We did. Mrs. Andrew was with me this time; Itwaria had been ill almost ever since.

1055. Was she greatly changed?—She was greatly changed; she looked very badly, and she said she had been compelled to see too many visitors; that her sister had compelled her to; and that she was suffering in consequence.

1056. Who told you that?—A girl there, a friend of hers, told us that.

1057. In Itwaria's presence?—In Itwaria's presence.

1058. She said her sister had made her receive soldiers during what period?—When she was menstruating; and compelled her to take cold injections afterwards. As a consequence she had fallen into fever, and was suffering a pain in her bowels. There was at this time a British soldier lying on the charpoy, the bed, in her room. We sat out on the verandah, outside of it.

1059. Was there anything in Itwaria's appearance which seemed to confirm this story?—She certainly looked very ill; and when it was explained to us that she had flowings very badly, she showed us stains that confirmed what she said, stains on her dress.

1060. Did you hear anything more about this poor girl from anyone that you saw?—We saw a girl at the Sitapur chakla who spoke of her, knowing our interest in the girl, and she said, "She can never leave a life of shame; she has more debts than the hairs of her head; and if she tried to go away the police would catch her and bring her back."

1061. (Sir *James Peile.*) This case of Itwaria, when you went to see the cantonment magistrate, is the case referred to by Mrs. Andrew in her evidence, Question 809. "(*Q.*) Yes? (*A.*) I will have to refer to Dr. Bushnell in that, because there was a case in which she did place certain information which she had received before a cantonment magistrate"?—That was the case.

1062. You did not place information on any other occasion before any cantonment magistrate or doctor?—No.

1063. (Mr. *Stansfeld.*) I will bring you now to the hospitals. You visited the hospitals established in ten cantonments for the treatment of contagious diseases. In Lucknow and Benares what name does the hospital bear?—At Lucknow, on our first visit, there was a sign outside the cantonment, "Cantonment Hospital." This was in both English and Hindustani. On our second visit the sign had been changed, "Cantonment General Hospital, Female Ward." At Benares the sign of the hospital was 'Cantonment Hospital."

1064. What did you find was the name by which the hospital was publicly known?—The hospital was known universally by the girls and mahaldarnis as the Lock Hospital; the dhais universally, so far as I can recall, called it the Lock Hospital. The native physician usually called it the Lock Hospital.

1065. (*Chairman.*) Did they call it in these words in English or in some Hindustani equivalent?—Usually in English. Sometimes they said the Rundian-ki Hospital, the bad women's hospital, the prostitutes' hospital. But if our cabman did not understand the term Lock Hospital when we told him, or was not quite sure, then we told him the Hindustani name, Rundian-ki. Then we never had any difficulty in the cabman understanding what hospital we wanted, from either the English or the Hindustani name.

1066. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then these hospitals were not female wards of the larger hospital?—Well, we might have said so in one case, perhaps. At Bareilly there was a ward for women, and a ward in which there were two or three men; that was the only exception.

1067. Now, when arrived at the cantonment, you told the cabdriver to convey you to the Cantonment Hospital; what did he say to you, or what would he say to you?—He usually remonstrated with our going there, and said, "No, we were making a mistake; that was not for respectable women at all."

1068. But when you asked him to drive you to the Cantonment Hospital, did he always apparently know the building to which you wanted him to drive?—He never understood Cantonment Hospital; he would say, "Which one in the cantonment?" There were perhaps a dozen hospitals in every cantonment.

1069. But if you said the Lock Hospital, or the Rundian-ki Hospital?—He always knew then which hospital of the hospitals in the cantonment we wanted.

1070. What did the dhais, the hospital nurses, call the hospital?—They called it the Lock Hospital.

1071. The native doctors?—The native doctors almost universally; if they did not in their first sentence, they did in their second or third. They very soon dropped the name of Cantonment Hospital as soon as we called it the Lock Hospital, and called it the same as we did when we were talking.

1072. In the official documents that you had an opportunity of inspecting, how did you find the hospitals were called?—The name was different in different places. At Meerut, in papers in the hospital, it was called the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases. At Mean Meer, it was called the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, and also the Cantonment Hospital, in official papers. That was on the order for tickets. It said, "Give so-and-so a ticket, for she is enrolled to appear at the Voluntary Venereal Hospital," and it was signed, "——, surgeon of the Cantonment Hospital." So that the two names appeared on the papers at Mean Meer. At Rawal Pindi, and at Peshawar, both those hospitals were called the Hospitals for Contagious and Infectious Diseases. At Amritsar, we did not get any official title for it; the dhai called it the Lock Hospital. At Umballa the records called it the Cantonment Hospital; at Bareilly, the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases; and at Sitapur, it was called the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases.

1073. For what purpose did you find that each Lock Hospital was used?—We found in every station the hospital was used almost wholly for the venereal diseases of women.

1074. Of what women?—Of degraded women.

1075. Of registered women?—Of registered prostitutes.

1076. Did you find that the Lock Hospital was used for the purpose of their periodical examination?—We did.

1077. Invariably?—In every instance.

1078. Did you find any instances in which the hospital was utilised for the treatment of other cases, or of similar diseases in other persons?—At Lucknow, we found there respectable women who were ill. One was a case of syphilis; the other two cases, one was dropsy, and one dysentery; these in addition to the venereal diseases of prostitutes.

1079. Were they in the same room as the diseased prostitutes?—They were in the same room, but there was a mat curtain between them and the other patients, making a separate ward for them.

1080. Have you any other instances to name?—At Bareilly, as I have said, there were some cases; a few male patients there; I do not know what their diseases were; in a separate ward from the women.

1081. Those were the only instances that you remember?—Yes; those were the only instances of others, except prostitutes in the hospital, that I remember.

1082. And they were, therefore, quite exceptional cases?—They were exceptional cases.

1083. Will you give us a seriatim account of your visits to each of these hospitals, and the information you obtained as to the use of the cantonment hospitals at Lucknow?—We visited Lucknow Lock Hospital on 25th January, 29th January, and 7th March. On 29th January we went through the hospital with the native physician, who explained the various cases to us. The hospital has a capacity for 10 or 12 patients. I have drawn a sketch of the building, a ground-plan.

1084. Well, then, will you just explain it?—Where is that hospital situate?—That hospital is situate a short distance from Sudder Bazar, in the cantonment of Lucknow.

1085. Is there anything painted on the outer gateway?—There was a sign at our first visit; that sign read, "Cantonment Hospital." At our second visit, "Cantonment General Hospital; Female Ward."

1086. Was that the only description or the whole of the description of the building on the exterior of the building?—That was all on the exterior of the building.

1087. There was no part of the building with a different title affixed?—None whatever.

1088. Now will you give us some description of that building?—Well, it was a long low building, close to the roadside, excepting at one end, where it was two storeys high; and I understood the native physician lived in that part of it. It was doubly enclosed. There was quite a large garden, enclosed with a high wall. Then we went into the first enclosure, and turned to the left, and found a second enclosure, and within this second enclosure was a ward for the women.

1089. A long wall; were there several smaller buildings?—There were several smaller buildings about; by the gateway the watchman's lodge, just inside the gate; a little further on was the examination room of the hospital, and then, off to the right, was a small temporary grass house, where there were two or three men patients. It was outside of the enclosure which enclosed the Lock Hospital,—the women's hospital.

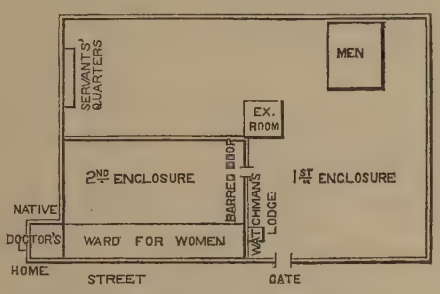
1090. Do you know what the nature of their illness was?—One of them had eye trouble; there were no contagious diseases among them. We went in there and saw these three men.

1091. Now, the women's rooms opened into what?—They opened into an inner court, I may say.

1092. And did their rooms open into the inner court?—The doors did; the windows opened out on the street; the barred windows opened out on the street.

1093. Were the windows barred?—They were.

1094. Now, will you produce that sketch?—I have it here; I have it also on a separate sheet; there is a copy of it on the separate sheet.—(*See* Plan annexed).



Lucknow Lock Hospital.

1095. What is that room in the centre; the small room?—That is the examination room.

1096. How is that lighted?—This large enclosure is just an open court.

1097. How is the examination room lighted?—I think, from a window behind and at the side.

1098. (*Chairman.*) Not a skylight?—No, not a skylight, as I remember we stood at the door at the time.

1099. (Mr. *Stansfeld.*) Who did you see there?—We were in company with the native physician; we saw six or seven patients.

1100. Did you see the dhai?—We saw the dhai at an earlier visit; we did not see the native physician; at our first visit we saw the dhai and six patients.

1101. Well, now, at this first visit, what happened?—We were not allowed at the first visit to go beyond that inner gate that barred the enclosure for the women. We stood there, and talked with those patients and the dhai. We asked what diseases were treated there, and they told us. We asked if any but prostitutes were taken here; they said sometimes soldiers' wives were admitted. We asked what diseases were treated; we asked, for instance, in order to make it plain, "Would you take in a case of measles or small-pox, or anything of that kind here?" and they laughed and said "No;" and then they

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said, "We will tell you the diseases," and then they mentioned on their fingers the various forms of venereal disease. They said those were the only forms of contagious diseases they would take.

1102. They said, "You must not go further?"—They said they thought the native doctor would be angry if we went further.

1103. If you went further without him, I suppose?—Without his permission.

1104. Why did they think he would be angry?—I do not think they said why they thought he would.

1105. Would it have any relation to his idea of the object of your work?—Well, our interpreter said she wanted to sing to the girls, and the dhai said we could not come in to do Christian work.

1106. Had they many patients? Did the dhai tell how many there was room for?—She said for 10 or 12 patients.

1107. Not more?—Not more.

1108. How was she paid?—She said she was paid 12 rupees a month by the Government.

1109. For doing what?—For taking care of the girls.

1110. When did the girls say they were examined?—They said they were examined on Tuesdays and Fridays; and, if they were ill, they would have to stop in the hospital.

1111. Did that mean if they were diseased?—If they were diseased.

1112. Did you ask them if they went voluntarily?—Yes; and they said voluntarily and involuntarily. They said if they did not go they would have to leave the cantonment.

1113. I think you said that soldiers' wives sometimes came there?—They said so.

1114. Was the statement as to examination days and detention in the hospital subsequently confirmed by other girls?—It was in the interview that we had with 35 girls at the chakla; and the two mahaldarnis, they stated the same thing.

1115. And did they tell you anything about their visitors, who they were?—They said that only Europeans were allowed to come to them.

1116. Did you afterwards have a conversation near this chakla with an old woman whom you saw at the Lock Hospital?—We did.

1117. What did she tell you?—She told us that the girl whom she owned, that is, the girl whom she kept, and who earned money for her, had gone to the hospital on account of her *menses*.

1118. Gone that morning?—I think so; yes, that morning, and that was the morning of the same day that we had been there, and we saw her come and bring a napkin to the girl in our presence.

1119. On Friday, 29th January, you again visited the hospital; then you saw the native physician?—Then we saw the native physician.

1120. How long had he been there?—He said for one year.

1121. Did he speak English?—He spoke English.

1122. Did you tell him that you were yourself a physician?—I told him I was a physician, and he asked if I would like to see the hospital.

1123. And see the patients?—And the patients; and he took us through the wards, and explained to us each case as we came to it.

1124. Now, in the first ward, what did you see?—In the first ward we saw three or four women, and he said they were there because of their *menses*, and added that that was done for safety; and when I asked him to explain further, he said to prevent women giving disease or getting disease at that time.

1125. Did you see patients screened off there?—We did; one was a case of ascites-dropsy, one of dysentery, and one of syphilis.

1126. You have already referred to these cases?—Yes; I have referred to them already.

1127. Well, he said these women were not disreputable?—These women were not disreputable.

1128. The syphilitic one was what?—Had contracted disease from her husband.

1129. Did he say whether any women but soldiers' wives would be admitted under these circumstances?—He said that any woman would be admitted, as it was for diseases in general.

1130. But confined to the cantonment?—For cantonment women generally.

1131. Did he show you other cases of primary syphilis?—He did.

1132. Were they all primary syphilis?—They were all excepting one, primary syphilis; one was a secondary case.

1133. Did he say that the decent women are separated?—From the others, because "the others are ashamed to be seen by them"; that is the way he expressed it.

1134. Did the other class of women pay anything?—He said it was all charity.

1135. What did he say about the Government?—He said, "I suppose you know about the other place, the chakla; and the women come from there, that is, the women of the Government." He said, "They are detained here when they are sick, for treatment," and then he added quickly, "That is, they are glad to come here for treatment."

1136. Did you recognise one of the women for one you had seen before?—We did.

1137. Where, and when?—We had seen her at the chakla before, on the Monday previous. The doctor also spoke of several patients that had come in that day; he said, "They came in to-day." This was Friday; so that that confirmed the statement of the girls, that Friday was an examination day.

1138. You revisited Lucknow on the 7th of March?—Yes.

1139. Was what you call the sign of the hospital replaced by a new one?—It was. This time it read, "Cantonment Hospital, female ward."

1140. Cantonment General Hospital?—"Cantonment General Hospital, female ward."

1141. I think you referred to the grass-house for male patients, did you not?—I did.

1142. In the enclosure?—That was within the first enclosure in this large garden; not within the second enclosure, that enclosed the women.

1143. Did the native doctor tell you anything about two other military hospitals?—Yes; he pointed to two others in different directions.

1144. At a distance, and separate from this?—At a distance, utterly separate from this.

1145. In the direction of any European Military Hospital?—No; this was in another direction, referring to hospitals for natives, as I remember.

1146. Did he say what they were?—He said they were hospitals for natives. He said there were two other military hospitals for natives, pointing in an opposite direction to the European Military Hospitals, and distinctly declared these were quite differently placed from those in the neighbourhood where we knew the European hospitals to be.

1147. Well, now, Meerut. You were there on 5th February?—Yes.

1148. You visited the hospital?—We did.

1149. How is that built?—Well, it looks very much like an ordinary Englishman's bungalow; a large square building with a verandah, enclosed in a garden.

1150. With a high wall?—Yes, a high wall, excepting in front, where the wall is lower.

1151. One entrance, or more entrances?—One entrance, near the police station.

1152. Is there any sign on the gateway?—There is no sign.

1153. Is it near the bazaar?—It is close to the Sudder Bazar.

1154. Whom did you see there?—We saw the native physician, and his assistant, and the dhai, and some patients.

1155. Did you ask the women and the dhai who owned the building?—We did, and they said, "The Government."

1156. How did the dhai say she was paid?—She said she was paid 15 rupees a month, and they said they were all paid by the Government.

1157. Did you ask the native doctor what the hospital was?—I did, and he said it was the Cantonment Hospital. I think I ought to explain here that Government documents will show that formerly the Lock Hospital was called the "Cantonment Lock Hospital," and latterly it is spoken of as the "Cantonment Hospital," simply; a change in dropping out one word as far as the title is concerned.

1158. He could speak English, could he not?—He could speak English.

1159. Did he take you to the office?—He took us directly to the office, and produced the records.

1160. On hearing you were a physician?—On hearing I was a physician.

1161. What did you see that was noteworthy?—The first thing that we noticed on the table were little square pieces of paper: memoranda, evidently for the admission of women as patients, or for their examination. Those were rather blindly expressed. They were headed "The Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," and there were spaces for the name, the address, and the date of admission and discharge.

1162. Then you saw the records of the in-patients, and registry of the prostitutes, and the visitors' books?—We saw those three sets of books.

1163. These are three separate documents?—Yes, sir.

1164. One a record of in-patients who are prostitutes?—Yes.

1165. One a registry of prostitutes?—Yes.

1166. Those who come there for examination?—Those who come there for examination.

1167. Giving particulars of their names, and the purpose of their examination?—Yes, sir; and the regiments to which they belonged.

1168. And there was a visitors' book?—Yes.

1169. Did he tell you what diseases were treated there?—He said that only venereal diseases were treated there.

1170. Did you find any traces in the books of any others?—We did not. No; except in one case that was entered leucorrhœa, and one case of pregnancy that was mentioned; the others were entirely venereal.

1171. For how many cases was there accommodation?—There was accommodation for 12 or 15 patients, so the native physician said.

1172. And how many were there there at that time?—I think there were six there at that time.

1173. Did you ask him how many girls came there for examination?—I did; and he said a hundred—sometimes 96 and sometimes 98—every Monday.

1174. Did he tell you about their coming?—He said they came on Mondays.

1175. You have told us of some hospitals where the women were sent during their monthly period. Did that apply here?—We asked if it was the case here, and he said no, that was no disease; that they did not take them for that.

1176. And the examination book? — That, of course, is the same as the registry of the prostitutes.

1177. Did he point out to you how the women were classified?—We asked him where the women lived, and he pointed out to us that they were classified in the book as living in the Sudder Bazar, the Infantry, Artillery, and Lancers Bazars. I afterwards got the figures in regard to the numbers who lived in these various bazars.

1178. The greater number in the Sudder Bazar?—The larger number in the Sudder Bazar.

1179. Did he tell you what the women received while in the hospital?—Two annas a day.

1180. Subsistence money. Did you remark to him that there were none but venereal diseases recorded?—I did; and he said "Yes, they are all venereal." This was the second time that he said this.

1181. Was it here that you said there were two cases not venereal?—Well, there were two cases; one entered as leucorrhœa, and another case of pregnancy, which of course is not properly a case for hospital at all.

1182. Did he show you a visitors' book?—He showed us a visitors' book. It was so labelled, and it contained complaints, commendations, and instructions from various official visitors and others; one of them was the Inspector of Hospitals, I suppose.

1183. Did one of these entries refer to the women having come in?—Yes, there was a complaint that two or three women had been coming into the cantonment to practice prostitution in the cantonment; that they must be dealt with severely by the cantonment magistrate.

1184. Coming in independently?—Coming in from the city into the cantonment.

1185. And not resident in the cantonment?—And not resident in the cantonment.

1186. But coming in in the daytime and practising prostitution?—Yes.

1187. Did you visit the hospital again on the 6th February?—We did.

1188. Did you ask the native doctor to produce the books again?—And he did so.

1189. What did he show you?—He showed me first a book that was labelled "Diary and Visitors' Book;" it was different from the other one.

1190. And what did you find in that book?—Well, we found a diary, record of work, in the handwriting of the European physician in charge, Dr. B. Langley Mills.

1191. Recording what?—Well, it was a record of the entrance and discharge of patients. There was also an occasional note from Dr. Boileau; I do not know what his connection with the hospital was; I simply noted that he made occasional visits; and other officials.

1192. Was there any note about any women leaving the hospital before being cured?—There was a note made that a certain patient named —— had left the hospital before being cured; this was in January 1892, on 11th January. She had been sent to the cantonment magistrate to stand trial for this offence under Section 4, 617, of some law. Doubtless it refers to this law we were speaking of.

1193. That is under the document which we have already upon our minutes of evidence?—Yes.

1194. Were you informed whether she suffered any penalty?—We were informed afterwards by a woman who knew her personally that she suffered imprisonment for two weeks for the offence.

1195. Did you see any entry as to a woman being brought in by the police for examination?—I saw an entry, 31st December 1891; a woman had been brought in by the police for examination; and on 23rd January 1892 a woman was sent to the cantonment magistrate because suspected of disease.

1196. You saw the register book?—I did.

1197. What did you learn from it?—That there were nine prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar; five in the Lancers.

1198. Is this the register of prostitutes?—This is the register of prostitutes which we saw at our previous visit; I saw it again.

1199. That was in the hospital?—That was in the hospital.

1200. Would that be the register of prostitutes coming up for examination, or the register of all the prostitutes in the chakla?—It would be the register of prostitutes coming up for examination. Whether it included all in the cantonment or not we did not verify.

1201. What did you find as to numbers?—There were nine prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar, five in the Lancers'.

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1202. Wait a moment. Did that read as if it meant the total number of registered prostitutes in the Artillery Bazar chakla was nine, or that nine of such women had come up for examination?—It would only show that nine came up for examination.

1203. And there might, therefore, have been more than nine registered women in the Artillery Bazar chakla, for aught you know?—For aught we know. This was, of course, those that were registered for periodical examination.

1204. But your assumption would be that the whole body, with some few exceptions, would regularly come up?—Would come up.

1205. Well, in the Lancers', how many?—Five in the Lancers' regiment.

1206. How many in the Infantry?—Thirty-two.

1207. How many in the Sudder Bazar?—Thirty-eight.

1208. What did the native doctor say upon the subject of women coming or not coming up for examination?—He said that if the women would not come to the examination they would be expelled from the cantonment.

1209. Now I have asked you about these numbers exactly what they meant, did you take notes at the time or only immediately after?—I took notes. I went right out, and got in my cab, and put the figures down. It would not have done, I did not think it would, to take them down there; but I did not wait to get home to my stopping place, but put them down in the cab. There might possibly be an inaccuracy, but I think they are perfectly correct, because I fixed them perfectly in mind, and put them down just as soon as I was outside the hospital.

1210. On the following Monday, 8th February, did you go to the Sudder Bazar?—I did.

1211. And did you see the girls assembling for the purpose of examination?—We did. We were told that they assembled at 8 o'clock in the morning. We went down at 7.35, about half-past 7, and we stood about and watched them coming to the hospital.

1212. About how many did you see?—They came in groups of half-a-dozen at a time. We saw nearly all the time perhaps about 20 out on the public street sitting by the gate, and a number equally large sitting inside nearer the hospital.

1213. Were there policemen about?—There were policemen there. The police station was right opposite, and there was one policeman who seemed to be there to guard the girls; he was standing with them, by them.

1214. Did you see any woman waiting for a girl who had gone in?—We saw an Eurasian woman who brought a girl there, and who waited while she went in, and then when she returned, led her away as though she were a prisoner.

1215. Then these girls were continually coming, and after examination going away?—Yes; they were coming and going as long as we were there.

1216. You were there how long?—An hour and a half, at least. We watched them until 9.30. We were there two hours lacking five minutes.

1217. I think I asked you just now if you saw a woman waiting for a girl?—Yes.

1218. Now at Lahore, 16th February, did you visit the Lock Hospital at the Cantonment Mean Meer?—We did.

1219. What kind of a building is it?—That is a square building, a red building, inside of a high wall, an unusually high wall.

1220. Is there a large gateway?—There was a large gateway.

1221. And a watchman's house?—A watchman at the gate.

1222. Is it near the Sudder Bazar?—It is close to the Sudder Bazar.

1223. And how did everyone of whom you inquired know it; by what name?—They knew it as the Lock Hospital.

1224. You went in and saw the books?—We did.

1225. Well, now tell us what you saw?—In a book that was not labelled, we saw copies of letters.

1226. Addressed to whom?—These were for the most part addressed to the cantonment magistrate. There was one recent letter noting the fact that Dr. Hudson had that day taken charge of the Cantonment Hospital, in place of Dr. Grainger; I speak these names because their initials appeared on the examination card G and H and the card will show the change from the initial G to the initial H as corresponding with this note.

1227. Did you you see any copy of documents; they would all be copies, would they not?—They were all copies of letters.

1228. Did you see one?—There was one dated 1st January 1892, headed "Mean Meer Cantonment Hospital," and it read, " has the honour to inform the cantonment magistrate, that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requests that they be made to appear on the 8th instant", and then there were four names given. This was signed B. Grainger, Surgeon, M.S.

1229. Did you see a book of blank forms with counterfoils addressed to the cantonment magistrate?—We did, and this requested the cantonment magistrate to give prostitute ——, a ticket enabling her to pursue her avocation, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspections at the venereal hospital of Mean Meer Cantonment. Signed , Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital.

1230. Did you see tickets made out to that effect?—We saw tickets of registration, several of them that had evidently been in use for some time.

1231. Were these tickets similar in form to the one which you produced before this Committee?—They were.

1232. Have you got that ticket?—I have it here.

1233. At the back of that ticket there are certain letters; have you any idea what they mean?—Well, we secured this at the Artillery Bazar, from an Artillery Bazar prostitute. These letters are A.B.P., S.B., M.M.; and we concluded they meant Artillery Bazar Prostitute, Sudder Bazar, Mean Meer, from the punctuation. That is evidently three groups of words.

1234. How many women in-patients did you see there?—We talked with six women; I think they were all patients; I am not sure that we asked.

1235. Did you see the husband of the dhai?—The husband of the dhai was there, but not the dhai.

1236. Did they tell you anything about the European physician?—They said, "the European physician was there, and examined the girls yesterday."

1237. Did they say what the dhai received from the Government?—The dhai received 10 rupees monthly from the Government.

1238. Rawul Pindi you visited on the 20th February, and visited the Cantonment Hospital?—Yes, there we saw the annual report which called the hospital, the Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases.

1239. Will you tell me first with whom you visited this hospital?—We visited it in company with a mahaldarni of a chakla for native soldiers.

1240. Did you see the native doctor?—We saw the native doctor.

1241. Was he professional?—He was an M.D., a graduate of Calcutta.

1242. Was he a Hindoo?—He was a Mahommedan.

1243. What did he tell you as to the cases admitted?—He said that only venereal diseases were admitted there.

1244. Only women?—Only women: only venereal diseases were treated.

1245. Did he point out to you the examining room?—He did.

1246. Did you examine the medicines kept there?—We examined the medicines kept there. They were disinfectants and washes, and local applications such as would be used for venereal diseases, but not for general medical cases.

1247. Did you or Mrs. Andrew read the hospital report for 1891?—We both read it.

1248. And examined the record of patients for the year?—We did.

1249. Was there any case of contagious or infectious disorder except venereal?—None at all but venereal that were contagious.

1250. Did the report give any case which was called by some other name than venereal?—Well, there was one case of rheumatism, but the native physician said it was rheumatism complicated with syphilis; that it was syphilitic rheumatism. There were 10 injuries and a few ulcers. Of course these ulcers were suspected of being venereal.

1251. Had any women or children been treated during the year?—None.

1252. Or any case of secondary syphilis recorded?—None; and we asked the reason why, and he said that all such were expelled from the cantonment.

1253. How was the page for surgical cases marked?—The page for surgical cases was marked "none;" surgical report for the year.

1254. Was the report written or printed?—It was a written report on three sheets of paper of foolscap size.

1255. Did all these reports that you saw appear to be written?—We saw three or four reports, and they were all exactly alike in form. These annual reports were all written; none of them printed.

1256. Can you describe to us the form of that report?—I have a sort of a sketch here which would indicate quickly, if any one wished to see it, how the report looked. It was headed, "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases for —— Cantonment, for the year ending ——," and then there were parallel columns down. These columns were headed with various diseases, beginning with small-pox, cholera, leprosy, and other diseases, then coming on to syphilitic diseases, venereal diseases. This was the first page of the report. The second page of the report was a scheme made out to report the surgery of the hospital, and the third was the financial statement.

Sketch Plan of Annual Reports of Cantonment Hospital.

	Small Pox.
	Cholera.
	Leprosy.
	"
	"
	Dysentery.
	Bronchitis.
	Rheumatism.
	"
	Fevers.
	Ague.
	Hepatitis.
	"
	"
	"
	"
	P. Syphilis.
	Secondary Syphilis.
	Gonorrhœa.
	Ulcers.
	&c., &c.

Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases for —— Cantonment, for the Year —— &c.

1257. Then, on the first page, you saw no cases that were not venereal except one rheumatic case; is that so?—Yes, and this was explained.

1258. And on the second it was marked "none"?—It was marked "none."

1259. And the third page is financial?—The third page financial.

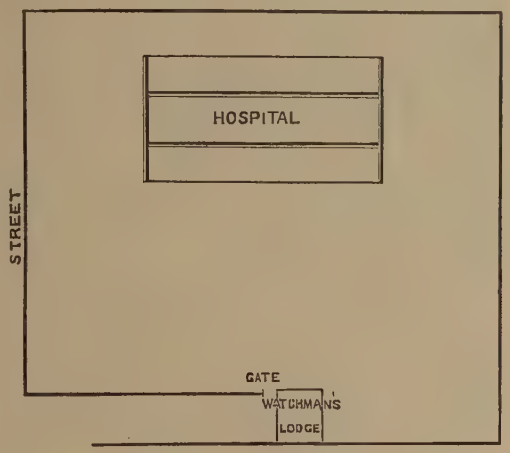
1260. Did you ask what the expenditure for the establishment meant?—There was the phrase "expenditure for establishment," and we asked what it meant, and he said it was the wages of the dhobi and the bhisti, and the matron and all those.

1261. How many women were examined there, regularly?—He said 45 were regularly examined, and that 35 of these were for the Europeans; that those 35 were obliged to come, and with the others it was optional.

1262. Did he tell you anything about the necessity of women consorting with European soldiers being registered with the cantonment magistrate?—He said they must be registered and regularly examined if they consorted with European soldiers.

1263. And the examination is every Friday; did he tell you that the examination was every Friday?—The women told us that.

1264. Did you visit the Lock Hospital again on the 26th February?—We did.



Raualpindi Lock Hospital.

1265. Did the dhai show you any of her certificates?—The dhai showed us some of her certificates.

1266. Of satisfactory service?—For satisfactory service for a number of years; 14 years.

1267. What was the date of the latest certificate?—The latest certificate was dated 14th February 1892.

1268. Did she tell you how many girls had been examined?—She said 26 girls had been examined that morning and that the English doctor came every eighth day. And, if I may explain here, as we drove up to the hospital this morning we saw the native physician whom we had met before in company with a European man come out of the hospital, and so we drove past, not wanting to encounter a European there, and came back in a few minutes, and the dhai told us that the European and native doctor had just gone off in company with each other.

1269. Did you visit the Lock Hospital at Peshawur on the 24th February?—We did.

1270. What kind of a building was that?—It is a large building with a high wall about it and a strong gate.

1271. Only one entrance?—A large gate, only one entrance. There were two large wards in it, and then two smaller rooms, the examination room and the drug room.

1272. Did the dhai show you the place?—I think we saw the native physician immediately. We went

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in company with the dhai. She took us to the place.

1273. Did she tell you what pay she received?—She said she received at present 5 rupees a month. She had formerly received more.

1274. Had she formerly received 10 and 12?—She had formerly received 10 and 12, but now she only received five.

1275. Did you see the usual instruments and appliances in the examination room?—We went into the examination room and we saw there the instruments for examination, the speculum, syringes, sponges, &c.

1276. How many patients did you see in the hospital?—There were two patients there; I think we only saw one of them, I do not remember the other. The hospital had a capacity for 12 beds.

1277. Did you see what was written over one bed?—Over the small bed that was made up was a printed form for the record of the case, such as was usual in hospitals; under rank was written "prostitute;" under regiment, "Sudder Bazar;" age "26;" date "15/2/92."

1278. Did the women whom you saw tell you that all girls had to come up for examination every week?—They did.

1279. Twice a week?—Once a week. Well, let me explain, that formerly there had been women with regiments, and then women in the Sudder Bazar; they had now all been transferred to the Sudder Bazar, and yet the distinction of separate days for examination was kept up, and the Sudder Bazar patients came on Monday, and the regimental women, as they were called, came on Tuesday.

1280. You saw the register?—We saw the registration list.

1281. How many names did it contain?—It recorded 56 such cases.

1282. Besides the regimental cases?—We inferred besides the regimental cases.

1283. You mean by cases names?—Names, a roll of 56 names.

1284. Did you hear what subsistence money the girls received while in the hospital here?—They received three annas daily.

1285. And afterwards you saw the native doctor, I think?—We saw the native doctor, who came up then.

1286. To what purpose did he tell you the hospital was confined?—He said the hospital was wholly for venereal diseases; that he would not be allowed to treat any others, and that it was a hospital for women only.

1287. If a case of small-pox or cholera occurred, did he say what would happen?—He said they would open another place for that; he would not treat them there.

1288. Did he show you the annual report?—He did. This was a report very similar to that which we saw at Rawal Pindi, made up in the same form.

1289. Was it printed or written?—It was a written report, not printed.

1290. Did he explain why it was written instead of being on a printed form?—We asked him. I referred to the fact that in other hospitals they had printed forms to fill out for these annual reports, as I had seen them for successive years in civil hospitals. I had taken pains to look into the matter, and he said that this hospital was not strictly under the Government, and therefore that the report was not printed, but only written; that he himself wrote out three copies, one to keep in the hospital, one to go to the head surgeon, and one for a third person.

1291. Did you understand in what respect it differed from other hospitals, and was less strictly, to use the ordinary phraseology, a Government hospital?—He said that the hospital was not strictly under Government rule, and that it would not be included with the other hospital reports, and therefore that it was just written, and that he kept it. I will say that these reports were signed always on each of the three pages by a European physician; in this case by a surgeon major.

1292. Did you see any entries of any diseases except venereal diseases?—There were no cases but venereal here, excepting one case of small-pox that had been recorded, but he said it was sent right away, and not allowed to stay there.

1293. The page for surgical cases was marked "none"?—Marked "none."

1294. The financial page showed the expenses?—As paid out of the cantonment hospital funds, and the statement that the patients received 3 annas daily.

1295. The financial expense page shows the expenses as paid out of the fund?—The "Cantonment Hospital Fund" it was called.

1296. What did these pages show the rate of allowances for the patient to be?—Three annas daily.

1297. How many patients had been treated during the year?—The report stated that 200 cases were treated during the year.

1298. Was there any case of secondary syphilis recorded?—No, there were no cases of secondary syphilis, and I asked, "Why?" "Because," he said, "we send them out of the cantonment to the civil hospital"; that they had no provision for treating them there.

1299. Did you ask him if the prostitutes were compelled to come to the examinations?—I did.

1300. And what did he answer?—He said, "Yes, they would not come unless they were compelled to come."

1301. Did you ask him what was done if they did not come?—I do not remember that I did. Yes—he said, "I send for them."

1302. Did you visit Amritsar on 1st March?—We did.

1303. Did you find the hospital open?—We found the hospital locked up; there were no patients there; the dhai opened for us and took us in, took us through the building.

1304. What pay did she tell you she received?—Fifteen rupees a month.

1305. And how long did she say she had worked for the Government?—She said for a long time.

1306. Did she say she had good certificates?—She said she had good certificates, but that they were at Lahore; she formerly was at Lahore.

1307. Did you see the examination room?—Yes.

1308. The usual arrangements and appliances?—Yes, we saw the usual equipment, table and instruments.

1309. Did she tell you of any recent examination there?—The examination had taken place that morning, and she said the European physician had locked up all the books; so we saw nothing but a book of expenses, a record of expenses there. This was signed by the European physician.

1310. Did she tell you the number of girls who had been examined that day?—She did; five girls had been examined that morning.

1311. How often did you understand from the girls in the chakla that the examinations were?—Bi-monthly, I believe.

1312. You visited Umballa on 2nd March?—Yes.

1313. You visited the Lock Hospital; where is that situate?—The Lock Hospital is situated, I should say, in the Sudder Bazar; it is not far from the Sudder Bazar chakla.

1314. Does it consist of two old brick and plaster buildings?—There are two buildings enclosed in a high wall, with a very strong gate; they are brick and plaster; one is one storey high, the larger building; the other two storeys high. The upper storey of the smaller building is the examination room.

1315. Was anyone on guard there?—There was a native policeman at the entrance of a very strong gate.

1316. Where is the examination room there?—The examination room is on the second floor of the smaller building.

1317. A separate building?—A separate building from the one where the patients are; they ascend to it by an outside staircase.

1318. Was it on this staircase that the pieces of paper having reference to the two regimental girls which have been produced to us were found?—Mrs. Andrew states so. I saw the bits of paper as I passed; but I did not stop to get them.

1319. Did you see the usual appliances in the examination room?—We did.

1320. Was the table specially constructed?—It was.

1321. How was it constructed?—Well, it was peculiar. The other tables were of the ordinary sort, for the most part; that is, a level top.

1322. A horizontal top?—This was an inclined plane; the top of the table arranged so that the woman would lie with her head several inches below her hips.

1323. And the higher end was near the light?—The higher end was towards the light.

1324. What else did you note there?—We saw some books there of interest. There was a printed diet list on the wall, and we saw the register.

1325. A printed dietary?—Yes, a printed dietary; and we saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them.

1326. Coming up for examination, is that?—Yes, the women coming up for periodical examination. There were six lists of them, and they were headed with the name of their regiment.

1327. How many names in each?—There were from five to 14 in each list.

1328. How were they headed?—They were headed Queen's, Infantry, Royal Horse Artillery, Hussars, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; and then there were some Guards; but I forget the first word, and then another that we did not recall.

1329. What did the daily journal record as to the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February?—It recorded that there were 28. At the last inspection in February, 28 women were examined.

1330. Did you see the correspondence book?—We did.

1331. Did you see a copy of any letter to the cantonment magistrate?—There was a letter to the cantonment magistrate dated 21st December 1891. This letter named six girls that were supposed to be diseased, and requested the cantonment magistrate to order them for inspection.

1332. And how was it signed?—It was signed by Dr. Wardrop, surgeon in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

1333. Did you see another copy letter dated 18th January 1892?—We did. This was addressed to the cantonment magistrate, saying that the prostitute named in the margin of that letter had been indicted by a soldier of a certain regiment named as having given him disease, and requesting that that woman be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

1334. Did you see any similar letters about other women?—We saw at least half-a-dozen letters of the same import, I think within the month. These were all written in January and February 1892, and they were all addressed by the surgeon in charge of the hospital to the cantonment magistrate.

1335. What was the heading of each page of the registration book?—"Prostitutes attending Voluntary Inspections."

1336. What did the dhai of this hospital tell you?—She told us her name, and that she received 10 rupees a month, and that she had an assistant a mahaldarni, who received 8 rupees a month.

1337. Did she say what the native women received while in the hospital?—Ten pice; that is $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas.

1338. Any European girls receive more?—She said that there had been European girls there, and that they had received 8 annas daily.

1339. Did the dhai speak English?—She spoke a little English.

1340. Did she tell you whether any cases but venereal cases were treated there?—She said that none but venereal cases were treated there, and when I questioned her about this, I pointed to a girl standing by, and I said, "But this is a case you say of abscess on the liver." She said, "Yes; but the doctors have pronounced it venereal." This she said in English to me.

1341. How many years did she say she had been a Government employée?—Twelve or 13 years.

1342. Did she refer to any European women who had been in the hospital for any considerable period?—I think she spoke of a sergeant's daughter.

1343. She would not belong to that class, would she?—She said there had been a bazar serjeant's daughter in that Lock Hospital at one time for treatment, 3 months.

1344. She did not say she was a prostitute?—I think she said, when we asked her about the European girls, that they mostly lived in bungalows with officers or officials. She told us plainly she was a prostitute, I think.

1345. (*Chairman.*) I think I elicited the last time we met, that as a rule the English officers, as far as your observations went, consorted with native girls; but now I think you speak of European girls, do you not? (*Mrs. Andrew.*) May I make an explanation as you asked me. I said there was one case which I could mention, where European women were spoken of as officers' women. This was the very case, the case that I offered to give, but you said it was not necessary.

1346. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did the dhai say what would happen if the women did not go to be examined. (*Dr. K. Bushnell.*) She said they would be taken to the cantonment magistrate and scolded severely, and be made to go.

1347. And if they left the Lock Hospital did she say what would follow?—She said they would be imprisoned for it.

1348. If they left without leave?—If they left without leave.

1349. Now, as to the girls being compelled to go, did she say whether they were ever punished for not going?—We asked if any of her girls had been punished, and she said "No, girls all go." We asked if any of these girls—I meant the patients around her—had been punished, and she said 'No, girls all go."

1350. Did she refer to cases of girls who were detained for the monthly period in the hospital?—Yes, she did. We saw several such cases there.

1351. You visited the Lock Hospital at Bareilly on 3rd March?—May I, before we turn to Bareilly, make one more remark here. When we visited the tents of the girls with the Argyll and Sutherland Regiment we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us, and asked if we wished to see it. It was exactly like the page in this book that referred to the Argyll and Sutherland girls. It was evidently the same thing, in the same handwriting, in charge of the mahaldarni of this chakla: the registration of her girls, and entries made of the date of their examination, and all that. It was exactly similar to this registration list that we saw in the hospital, as far as it related to one regiment, the Argyll and Sutherland regiment.

1352. Did you hear how that was kept? Was this a mahaldarni?—This was a mahaldarni who had this book; it was kept in the same handwriting that we saw in the Lock Hospital; evidently by the European physician.

1353. I do not think I have asked you this question before: Did you ascertain whether the mahaldarnis went up to the examination rooms with their girls, to take them there?—I think we have some-

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thing on that point. I know we generally inferred that they did; that they went with their girls, but I think we have something definite on that. It does not come to my mind just now; Mrs. Andrew might be able to answer that question.

1354. Did you visit the Lock Hospital at Bareilly on 3rd March?—We did.

1355. And saw the native doctor and the dhai?—We did.

1356. What did the dhai tell you she received?—She said she received five rupees a month.

1357. Did the doctor show you the visitors' book? He did.

1358. Recording the visits?—Recording the visits of various physicians, Dr. ——, and Dr. Jones, and the visits of the cantonment magistrate, Major Annesley, and also of a doctor with a hard name to pronounce; he was evidently the one who had immediate charge.

1359. Was that a native doctor? — No, I think not; Geoghegan, or some such name as that, the native doctor was called Karim Bux.

1360. Did you see the register of patients?—We saw the register of all the patients that had been admitted into the hospital.

1361. All those admitted to the hospitals, I suppose, during that year; the first two months of that year?—Yes.

1362. Did it contain any other cases save venereal?—Yes, it contained a good many cases besides venereal; cases such as rheumatism and ague, dysentery, hepatitis and other diseases.

1363. Did the doctor say whether there were any cases of secondary syphilis?—He said they had no such cases, but there were recorded in the books, that is in the annual report, there were 16 cases reported.

1364. You saw cases recorded attributed to secondary syphilis?—We did.

1365. Or which seemed to be attributable to that?—I saw a number of cases which undoubtedly were attributable to secondary syphilis, such as bubo, the names of secondary syphilis cases.

1366. But the doctor had overlooked these cases?—Well, he denied their being there. The question in my mind was why he did it.

1367. You called his attention?—I called his attention to the fact that 16 cases were recorded in the annual report, and asked him what it meant. He simply refused to answer my question.

1368. Did you see the annual report for 1891?—I did.

1369. What cases did you see recorded there besides venereal cases?—I saw one case of small pox and one of leprosy, but the native doctors said they both had been treated elsewhere.

1370. They had been sent away?—He said there were small pox and leprosy hospitals.

1371. Was it there you saw this case of secondary syphilis recorded?—It was in this report that we saw these cases of secondary syphilis recorded.

1372. They were not under the heading of secondary syphilis?—They were in the report.

1373. Were any surgical cases mentioned?—There were a few minor surgical operations.

1374. Did you see the correspondence book?—We did.

1375. Did you ask if the women were examined there?—We did, and he said yes; but it was voluntary.

1376. The old woman; the dhai was present, was she not?—Yes; and she was very suspicious, and kept remonstrating with the native doctor for showing us anything. She kept saying "Bus, bus," "That is sufficient," "Put up the books," and things of that sort.

1377. Did she subsequently follow you on a visit to the matron of the hospital?—She did. There was a matron; they called her that name, Mrs. Barrett, the matron of this Lock Hospital.

1378. (*Chairman.*) An English woman?—She said her mother was Portuguese, her father Scotch; she was living in the immediate neighbourhood, and she was connected with the hospital in some way. The girls said she examined them every other day. We went over to her home, and interviewed her; but this dhai so interfered with us that we did not get a great deal of information. She said she received 15 rupees a month.

1379. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did she say how long she had been in service there?—For 14 years; she was living with a Mr. Hyland, the clerk of the cantonment magistrate.

1380. Did she say that respectable women ever came to the hospital?—She said they sometimes came to the hospital to have their diseases diagnosed; but they never would stop, because of the other women there and the men.

1381. You visited the Lock Hospital at Sitapur on the 5th March?—Yes.

1382. Where is that situated?—That is situated not far from the Sudder Bazar, out in a field. The back part of the building is enclosed in a high wall.

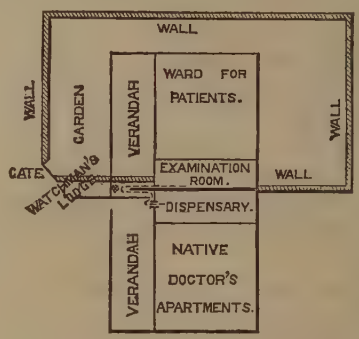
1383. I suppose there is a gate?—Yes, there was a gate with heavy doors and a lodge right at the gate, and a couple of watch-dogs inside.

1384. Did you see the native doctor?—We did.

1385. Did he live on the premises?—He lived on the premises in the unenclosed part of the hospital.

1386. Did he admit you to see the hospital?—He did. We have a plate here of the hospital, if any wish to see it.

1387. Will you put this in?—Yes. (*The same was handed in.*)



Sitapur Lock Hospital.

1388. How many patients did you find there?—There was one patient there the day we called.

1389. Did you see the examination room?—We saw the examination room.

1390. And the dispensary?—And the dispensary. There were no medicines there, excepting those that would be suitable for venereal cases.

1391. Were the premises at all of a peculiar construction?—We thought the examination room peculiarly situated.

1392. Will you describe the premises?—As I stated a moment ago, the front half of the building was unenclosed; the back half was enclosed by a high wall. The dispensary was in the front and unenclosed part; the examination room was at the back of the dispensary, and was enclosed.

1393. Then the examination room must have been lighted from the ceiling?—I think it was lighted from a window at the back end.

1394. Opening into that court?—Opening into the court. You went from the dispensary out on the verandah, and then in a sort of roundabout way into the examination room. There was no connection between the examination room and the ward of the patients that I can remember.

1395. Did the doctor tell you what diseases were treated there?—He did. He said that the in-patients were only venereal cases of women, the women who were at the chakla; it was for them only. There

were a few patients, outdoor patients, connected with the outdoor dispensary, but all the in-patients were prostitutes only, and that no other women would be kept there.

1396. Did you ask if soldiers' wives would be treated?—We did, and he said they would not. He spoke about a change that might take place, and that it would be changed into a followers' hospital. Then he said that men and women both would be treated in the unenclosed part, and that the enclosed part would still be reserved wholly for the prostitutes.

1397. You saw the dispensary?—We saw the dispensary.

1398. What kind of medicines were there there?—There were washes and disinfectants, and such as would be used for treating venereal cases.

1399. And instruments for the same purpose?—That go with an examination room of this nature.

1400. Did you see the examination table?—We did; we asked if it was an examination table, and he said it was.

1401. Did you see the annual report for 1891?—We did.

1402. Was it in writing or in print?—It was in writing, exactly similar to those I have already described.

1403. Under the column headed with names of diseases, was there any record, except for venereal?—No contagious diseases, except venereal. The report included, however, the outdoor patients who are not confined under the roof at all; the patients connected with the out-dispensary.

1404. Did they include all kinds of complaints?—They did.

1405. But I thought you told us there were no medicines in the dispensary suitable for other complaints?—There were not, and I do not understand how to explain that point; I only noted the fact that there were not.

1406. The page for surgical cases was marked how?—Was marked "none."

1407. And the financial statement, what did it show as to the receipt of funds?—It said the funds were received from the Government; that was the expression.

1408. That was the phrase used?—That is the phrase that was used in the report.

1409. That the payments shown——?—Were for salaries, medicines, and supplies, and the average allowance for patients was put down as 2 annas.

1410. Was it put down as the allowance or cost?—The daily cost per patient.

1411. What was the capacity of the hospital?—For 12 patients.

1412. And was the report signed by an English physician?—It was, each page of the three pages by Dr. MacRobin.

1413. How many women were there on the register at that time?—There were 15 on the registration list.

1414. Was that what the doctor told you?—The doctor told us so.

1415. Did you ask him what would be done if there were too many?—I did. He said they would send some away; and we asked if there were too few what would they do, and he said, "Send and bring more."

1416. You visited Benares on the 12th March?—Yes.

1417. Is the Lock Hospital close to the chakla?—It is just across the street from the chakla.

1418. Is that surrounded by a high wall?—It is surrounded by a high wall, and the watchman at the gate.

1419. What was the inscription over the gateway?—"Cantonment Hospital."

1420. Who accompanied you there?—The dhai. As you will remember, there was one woman acting both as mahaldarni of the chakla and dhai of the hospital.

1421. Then at Benares the mahaldarni, or superintendent, of the brothel was the same person who was the dhai or hospital nurse?—Of the hospital.

1422. Were there any patients?—There were none.

1423. When the women are there as patients are they allowed two annas daily?—They are allowed two annas daily.

1424. Is there a dispensary for out-patients?—There is.

1425. Did you see the registration list?—We did.

1426. How many names did it record?—It recorded the names of 16 women.

1427. Going up for examination?—Going to examination.

1428. Did you see the list of indoor cases since the 1st of January?—We did; these were all women.

1429. Were they all venereal?—I think so; they were all venereal.

1430. Were there 34 names?—There were 34 names, and 25 of them were for *menses*.

1431. And their duration was for an average of how many days?—From three to seven days.

1432. Were the remainder all venereal?—I do not think I quite understand your question.

1433. Were the remaining cases not menstrual cases, mainly venereal cases?—I think they were; but I see no record here; I think the other nine were venereal.

1434. Was there also a record of outdoor patients?—There was.

1435. Did that include male cases?—That included male patients; but there were no contagious diseases among these male cases excepting ringworm, if you want to call that contagious.

1436. Were there cases of rheumatism, dysentery, cholera, and ringworm?—Rheumatism, dysentery, cholera, and ringworm.

1437. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You were telling us about the case of Itwaria, and how you went to different places to see the native doctor, and the magistrate, and the police, and so on. Have you any idea how long that took altogether?—I think in all we were from 9 or 10 in the morning until four in the afternoon. It was about four, I think, when we returned home.

1438. And did I understand you to say that the magistrate to whom you applied, said that the police did not know the change of law?—I said so; he said so to me. He explained to me that in the old days, when the Contagious Diseases Act of 1868, as he explained it, was in force, it would have been necessary for a girl to get permission to sign an application to leave, but he said all that was changed now, and I said, "But your policemen, these policemen here told us that it was necessary still;" and he said, "But these policemen did now know that the law is changed."

1439. (*Sir James Peile.*) Do you think that generally speaking there was a great deal of ignorance of the intentions of the Government among the women?—Among the women themselves?

1440. Yes?—I think that the women for the most part had a clear notion that the Queen had forbidden the compulsory examination.

1441. And why did you gather that they thought it was continued?—They knew it was continued because the law had been brought down on them.

1442. Then what is their idea; that it was done contrary to the orders of Government?—We have a record of several conversations, in which they said, "The Queen is not at fault in these things; it is the officers here."

1443. Did they understand that if they were sent for to the hospital it was because they were supposed to be diseased?—I do not believe I quite understand your question.

1444. Did they understand that the order of Government was that they would not be sent for to

Dr. K. Bushnell.

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the hospital unless it was supposed they were diseased?—They told us at Meerut, for instance, that a native policeman came for them every Monday morning, and compelled them all to go up to the periodical examination.

1445. All of them?—All of them. Of course they knew they were not all diseased.

1446. Was that at Meerut?—That was at Meerut.

1447. Was that the case generally?—At other places they clearly distinguished being compelled to stay in the hospital, and being compelled to go to the periodical examination; they told us the difference in the penalty in the two.

1448. Do you mean that they were not compelled to go to the periodical examination?—They were compelled to go to the examination or leave the cantonment; so they told us plainly, and almost universally, whereas for the most part they told us that if they left the Lock Hospital they would suffer fine or imprisonment.

1449. I think you said in one case, the native doctor told you that the attendance for examination was voluntary, did you not?—At Lucknow the native physician told us.

1450. I think you said it is entirely voluntary; I think that was the expression you used in one case?—Yes, that was the native physician at Bareilly, Dr. Karim Bux said that they came for examination, but he said it was voluntary, but the women did not say the same.

1451. Did the women understand that it was voluntary?—No, the women said that unless they submitted to the examination, they would be turned out of the cantonment, and this was said in the presence of the mahaldarni, who did not correct them when they stated it.

1452. And which do you think was right?—We think the women were right.

1453. (*Mr. Stansfeld*). Am I right in having understood from your evidence and that of Mrs. Andrew, which you heard, that you met with no evidence that the periodical examination was regarded as voluntary by the women who had to submit to it?—We got no evidence from the women of that sort.

1454. That it was voluntary?—That it was voluntary.

1455. They all treated it as compulsory?—As compulsory.

1456. The effect upon their minds was that it was compulsory, and that they had no choice?—They stated so universally.

1457. I think, in several cases, your joint evidence was to the effect that they said, "Girls all go; it is voluntary, but it is compulsory at the same time;" language of that kind?—Yes, that was contradictory. There was but one case in which they said, unqualifiedly, that it was voluntary, and that was the chakla for native soldiers at Rawul Pindi; but that was for native soldiers, not for Europeans.

1458. And there was a distinction drawn between the case of the women who were for European soldiers and those who were for native soldiers?—There was.

1459. And in regard to the women who were for European soldiers, was not the testimony universal that if they did not attend regularly the periodical examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment?—The testimony was universal on that point.

1460. And then besides that, here is a paper which I put in your hand, the Government General Order, No. 617, Official, which reads as follows: "If a medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment, that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder; the cantonment magistrate, may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in, or re-entering it, without the written permission of such medical officer." That is the rule laid down in this Government General Order. Does that accord with the facts and observations which you have intended to produce before us to-day, as the result of your visits?—It does. At Meerut in the diary and visitors' book, there is a case entered there, of who on 11th January, 1892, was sent to the cantonment magistrates' court, to stand trial under these rules, No. 617, Section 4.

1461. Well now, Section 5 goes on in these words: "If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment, without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days for every breach of the said prohibition." Are you conscious of that rule?—I think I had seen this rule, but it had made no impression on my mind until after our return to England. I think we may have seen it before.

1462. But you would now say of it that that is evident compulsion, would you not?—Yes, evident compulsion.

1463. And the existence of that rule would largely account to your mind for the feeling of the girls that they had no option?—It would. They universally stated that if they remained in the cantonment after leaving the hospital they would be fined or imprisoned, or if they were caught after leaving the hospital they would be fined or imprisoned.

The Witness withdrew.

[Adjourned till Friday, at Noon.

FIFTH DAY.

Friday, April 21st, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

MR. JOHN HYSLOP BELL, ex-Journalist, and Justice of the Peace, called in ; and Examined.

Mr. J. H. Bell.
21 April 1893.

1464. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) YOU are and have been a journalist, and you reside in Darlington ?—Yes.

1465. Were you for many years editor and proprietor of two newspapers published in Darlington ?—Yes ; I originated the "South Durham and Cleveland Mercury" weekly newspaper, and the "Northern Echo," a daily newspaper ; the latter in 1869, the other about 20 years before that.

1466. Are both those papers now published by a Limited Liability Company, of which you are a director ?—Yes, that is so.

1467. Let me take you back to the movement, some years ago, in this country, for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act ; did you, both as a journalist and personally, take a deep interest and a somewhat active part in that movement ?—I did ; from very shortly after the commencement of it. At the commencement I was much prejudiced against it.

1468. But you took part very shortly after the commencement of that movement ?—I was strongly interested in favour of it ; at the first I was much prejudiced against it.

1469. You are a justice of the peace, I think, of Darlington ?—That is so.

1470. Of the Borough of Darlington ? — That is so.

1471. Have you taken a similar interest in the dealings by Colonial and Indian authorities with similar questions ?—Yes ; so far as I could obtain information.

1472. Are you familiar with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888, on the subject of the Cantonment Acts in India ?—Yes, I remember it well.

1473. Now, in the beginning of November, of last year, did you receive any communication from what is called the British Committee of the Federation for the repeal of all such laws, the British and Continental Federation ; did you receive a communication from them on the subject of the investigation which has been made by two witnesses who have preceded you into this subject in the Indian cantonments ?—Yes ; I did. I was asked if I was willing to go out there, and try to see with my own eyes the existing state of things in some of those cantonments.

1474. With the object of obtaining confirmatory evidence ? — If the facts confirmed the evidence ; yes.

1475. Confirmatory evidence, of course, of a later date ?—Yes.

1476. Their evidence was taken in the three first months, January, February, and March 1892 ?—Yes, I had the advantage of reading it carefully on the way, going out to India.

1477. On the way out to India, you had the opportunity of reading their journal, as I understand ?—That is so.

1478. And when did you leave London ?—I think on the 11th of November 1892.

1479. And their inquiry came to an end in March of that year ?—In March of that year.

1480. Where did you land in India ?—At Bombay.

1481. And you reached Bombay when ?—On the 27th November.

1482. On the voyage out did you prepare yourself for your task by reading anything else except their journal ?—I think I read what one might describe as the whole official history of the present state of things ; that is to say, I read all the public papers that I could discover immediately before leaving had been published by Government authority on the subject.

1483. Did you study any Indian newspapers ?—When I got there I read back some of the press articles, saw what one would call the journalistic view of the controversy.

1484. Did you read both medical and general papers ?—Oh, yes ; and I sought interviews with medical men—both military and civil.

1485. (*Sir James Peile.*) Did you read the rules under the Indian Act ?—Yes.

1486. Published in July 1890 ? — Would you kindly assist me by a perusal of it before I quote the date of a printed paper.

1487. It is the rules under the new Act of 1889 ?—No, I encountered, as I will tell you a little later on, a copy of a reference to that statement at one of the cantonments and copied it.

1487*. You have a copy of it ?—I think so, here.

1488. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You heard of this General Order, No. 617, when you were in India, and you read it afterwards ; is that what I understand ?—Well, I am not quite sure that I said that. What I do remember about No. 617, having read it, is that I read a reference to it, which reference I found in one of the cantonments.

1489. (*Sir James Peile.*) In India ?—In India ; yes.

1490. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, when you were in India, did you interview a considerable number of people of various positions upon this subject ?—Yes, necessarily, I conversed with doctors and military men, and civilians ; a good many

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natives—but especially natives who took an interest in public questions.

1491. And a considerable number of people?—Yes; judges, barristers, vakheels.

1492. Members of the Civil Service?—Yes.

1493. Of the Bombay Municipality?—Some members of the Bombay Municipality.

1494. And missionaries?—Yes; fewer of these than one would have expected on a question of this kind. I early formed an opinion that I should seek information chiefly in other directions.

1495. Well, you landed in Bombay on 27th November 1892?—Yes.

1496. And how long did you stay in India?—I left the Hooghly on the 14th of January of this year.

1497. During your stay in India you visited four cantonments; and will you name them in the order of your visits?—In the order of the visits, first, chronologically, was Ahmedabad.

1498. On December the 7th?—Ahmedabad; yes.

1499. Second?—Meerut; on the 17th of December.

1500. Seventeenth or 18th?—Well, the time I arrived was the 17th. If I come to the narrative of what took place, I think I visited the cantonment on the 18th.

1501. Third?—Afterwards Lucknow, and Agra.

1502. Does not Agra precede Lucknow?—Agra, on the 21st; Lucknow, on the 25th of December; I arrived at those two dates.

1503. But the date of the visit to the cantonment, was it December the 23rd?—I think so. Yes, that is so; 23rd December.

1504. And the visit to the cantonment at Lucknow, was that December 26th?—Yes, that is so.

1505. Now, which of these cantonments had been previously visited by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, whose visits have been recorded in their journal?—I think, Meerut and Lucknow.

1506. And the other two were not visited by them?—I think there is no reference in their journal to the other two as having been visited.

1507. Now, will you refer first to those which they had visited, to Meerut and Lucknow; I understand that on the 18th of December 1892 you visited the cantonment of Meerut?—Yes.

1508. Were you accompanied by somebody?—Yes; the Rev. E. S. Busby, who has resided for sometime at Meerut, and whom I met at Delhi, and asked to accompany me there.

1509. What is the Rev. E. S. Busby?—He is a minister of the American Methodist Episcopal Church.

1510. And he was living at Meerut?—He was living at Meerut, and was at Delhi, on the occasion when I went there to meet him, at a Missionary Congress.

1511. And did he undertake to act as your guide and interpreter?—He did.

1512. Well, now, what place did you first visit; did you go to the Lock Hospital?—We went direct to the hospital on the ground of the cantonment at Meerut, generally called in the neighbourhood the Lock Hospital, and straightway entered the doctor's room.

1513. There was no difficulty of admission, was there?—No. There was a person in charge, an assistant native doctor; and he was very civil, and opened the hospital room at once.

1514. Then the man whom you saw was the native medical assistant there, was he?—That is so.

1515. And were you permitted to see the register of cases treated in the hospital?—I asked him if I might see the hospital register, and he at once handed it to me, and I opened it, and examined it.

1516. Are you familiar with the nature of the information given from the year 1887 down to the date of your visit, or do you gather it from your inspection there?—I had at the moment no source of information on that subject excepting from looking at the registers; I found that from the year 1887 up to the moment at which I was present, there had been no change in the form in which the daily and monthly registration proceeded excepting one; one alteration in that period of time.

1517. What was that alteration?—That alteration was that the words "Cantonment Hospital" were substituted for the previous expression, "Lock Hospital."

1518. This document that you inspected—of what nature were its contents?—It was a register such as would be kept for entering, in the columns provided for the purpose, the number of the case, the name of the patient, the alleged disease of the patient, and other details of that kind.

1519. And what was the nature of the cases?—They were all of one character.

1520. All venereal?—Yes.

1521. And the character of the persons?—Well, the change in the register was the only change that had taken place from the time that there was a lock hospital; and, on asking—of course one asked questions of the gentleman in charge of the register—on asking him, he said it was used exclusively for venereal and syphilitic diseases.

1522. You saw no record of any other cases than venereal, did you?—He said it was supposed to be open to patients of both sexes, it is fair to say; but, during the time he had held his position there, only women—and only native women—had been admitted.

1523. Did he say the native prostitutes?—Yes; I think the book itself described the patients as prostitutes.

1524. Did he describe them by any number?—I have taken no special notice of the number column in that book. My impression was that it was simply a serial number adopted for their own purposes in the hospital.

1525. Was this a register of patients treated in the hospital, or a register of women examined in the examination room?—It was the only register of patients kept there, according to the native assistant; and they were all native women.

1526. Was it a register of examinations, or of treatment as patients?—In the column of the register headed "Diseases"—which was parallel with the column headed "Name of the patient"—the diseases were such as "ulcerated vagina," "syphilis," "leucorrhœa," "gonorrhœa"; those were the entries.

1527. And did you notice the length of their stay in the hospital, in those cases, at all?—I did not.

1528. But you inferred, I take it, that such columns stated the disease; that they were diseases under treatment, that these were patients being treated in hospitals, and not a mere record of prostitutes sent up for examination?—Oh, yes; especially as each register, complete in itself, was the register of a month's experience in the hospital; so that, for instance, when a month's record had lapsed, next month it would commence afresh. When February finished, the next month, March, would commence; and they would put in all the names again.

1529. That, in your mind, was a register of the patients, I understand?—Yes, so I understood.

1530. Not of persons simply examined, but of patients under treatment?—That is so.

1531. What did you find this hospital was now called?—The Cantonment Hospital, instead of Lock Hospital.

1532. Did you hear that it had been formerly designated by the latter name?—Yes; the register showed that it had.

1533. The register showed that?—Yes.

1534. It was still reserved exclusively for venereal cases; would you say that?—Yes; during the time of the native doctor's official connection with the place, only women, and only native women, and only for diseases of that kind, had been admitted.

1535. That was what he told you?—Yes.

1536. How long had he held his position?—I think he had only been there six months.

1537. That, of course, was the six months immediately preceding your visit?—Yes; the register went very much further back; back, as I said before, to 1887.

1538. Well, how many patients were there at the time you went?—There were 13 patients, inmates of the Lock Hospital department, when I was there.

1539–40. And their names would be in the register for the day you went there; and, therefore, the register would be a register of the patients?—Yes.

1541. And not of the women submitted for examination?—Yes, and they were all native women.

1542. Did the native assistant tell you who was the English medical man in charge?—Yes; that the English doctor in charge of the native hospital was Dr. O'Connor. He said that he visited the hospital daily, and sometimes on alternate days, and added, in his own phrase, "whenever he pleases, in fact."

1543. And the assistant was certain that none other than venereal diseases were treated?—That is so, excepting what he called syphilitic diseases.

1544. Excepting what he called syphilitic diseases?—He was quite certain that no other diseases, as matter of fact, except those of a syphilitic order, were treated there. That is the note that I took from his lips. He added that other contagious diseases were treated outside, and said that he meant that those suffering from these were out-patients; all other non-contagious cases taken in were treated at the general hospital. He added that to his statement.

1545. Did he say anything about infectious diseases?—Yes; that all that were non-contagious were taken to the general hospital.

1546. All that were non-contagious, and all that were non-infectious?—Well, yes, I suppose; I have no note of the distinction between these terms having been mentioned.

1547. When you entered the ward were there 13 patients there?—There were.

1548. Did you put any questions in the ward to the patients?—Yes; through the interpreter, and I took a note of the answers.

1549. Well, now, was there a very young girl there?—There was a young girl, apparently about 14 years of age.

1550. Did you ask her how she came to be there?—I did; and she stated that she was brought to Meerut with two other girls "by the regiment"; and, on my asking another question, through the interpreter, to make sure of her meaning, he replied, Yes; there was no doubt the girls were brought for immoral purposes.

1551. She did not say that?—That was the interpreter's explanation to me, after rather a pressing examination of the girl.

1552. Had the regiment been some time in camp?—It had been some months in camp, and returned to its quarters some three weeks before, and those girls returned with the regiment.

1553. It came back from the camp to its quarters?—Yes.

1554. Did you address questions to any other of the patients?—Yes; there were two of the young women to whom I addressed questions through the interpreter, and, in reply, they stated that they well remembered the visit, in February last, of Dr. Bushnell and Mrs. Andrew and another married lady. I asked that question; it was rather a leading question, but it did not affect anything more than personal interest.

1555. Whose name they did not know?—They did not know the name of the other married lady. They asked if I knew anything about them, and said they "could not but love these women." That is one of the many expressions of pleasure they used.

1556. Did they refer to the evidence they gave to these ladies?—Yes; in answer to a question as to whether they had made statements to them, and whether those statements were true, they said what they had said to those ladies was true. There was eager corroboration of that statement, by two or three others, who had evidently understood it well.

1557. Did they tell you whether they had come voluntarily or unwillingly to the hospital?—There was a general declaration that they had come unwillingly to the hospital.

1558. Why did they come?—In fact they said they were compelled to come; and, varying the answer—the question was put in two or three forms—that they were commanded to come by the doctor; in another form, that when they showed reluctance, they were generally told by the officer, "Well, you must either come to the hospital, or leave the cantonment, or get married."

1559. Did you ask them whether they could not leave the hospital of their own accord?—Yes, I did.

1560. And what was their reply?—No, they could not; they would be brought back by the police, was one of the answers. They spoke with apparent honesty of manner.

1561. And did they generally appear to corroborate by their expressions the evidence which any one of them gave?—Yes; sometimes they would do so simultaneously, three or four at a time, and then there would be an eager corroboration on the part of the others standing round. I think the word eager may be understood as describing my own impression of their manner.

1562. And then after this visit to the ward and interview with the patients, I understand you left the hospital?—Yes, that was so. Just after I had left I turned back again to the entrance of the hospital, Mr. Busby with me, of course; I was under the impression at the moment that the note I had taken of the conversation was not satisfactory on one point, and that was to ask, if these women are ordered to leave the cantonment, and do not leave, are they punished. That question was put by Mr. Busby to the women on the door-step, so to speak, of the building, and the reply was that of course they would be punished.

1563. (*Chairman.*) Did you say punished, or banished?—Punished. The native assistant doctor was there; he answered the question really, and he said of course they would be punished, but during the time that he had been there there had been no such case, and therefore no such punishment.

1564. Do you know what sort of punishment he meant; fined?—I cannot speak for it in connection with that particular case, but it does come out in another visit elsewhere; I asked that question and got an answer to it.

1565. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you note on coming out of the premises as described by Dr. Kate Bushnell, an external wall which she mentioned?—Yes; I had a Kodak with me, and took a flash at it, because I recognised exactly from the description in her journal the locality I was in. Then immediately after getting out of the gateway we turned to the right, and round an angle of the road and reached the Sudder Bazar.

1566. Have you got that?—Unfortunately it has not developed satisfactorily.

1567. And that came to nothing?—No.

1568. A short distance from the building did you come to the Sudder Bazar?—That is so.

1569. Did you see several of the public women there?—Yes, there were several when we went into the place.

1570. And whilst you were there standing some little time?—Yes.

1571. Did some person go towards them at the same time that you approached them?—Yes. I had got surrounded, so to speak, by a small party of these women, and had not observed that there was a man present until one suddenly spoke from the ring of the women. He was approaching close to the ring when

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I saw him first. I was afterwards told that he had been there all along, but I had not observed him.

1572. Who did the women say he was?—That he was Ali Bakhs' chaukidar, "Hira's chaukidar," I think was the expression they applied to him.

1573. And what did that mean?—Well, Ali Bakhs was the servant of a Mahommedan of the name of Hira, and this Hira, the Mahommedan, was the owner of the premises in which I then was. I put some questions to the chaukidar.

1574. What was the relation of the chaukidar to Hira, the Mahommedan?—He was Hira's servant for the purpose of collecting rent and so forth.

1575. You said he was Ali Bakhs' chaukidar, and that Ali Bakhs was the servant of Hira?—I immediately corrected that slip of the tongue. The women said "he was Hira's chaukidar."

1576. (*Sir James Peile.*) Ali Bakhs is his name is not it?—Yes; Ali Bakhs' employer they said was one Hira.

1577. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Ali Bakhs is the name of the chaukidar?—That is so.

1578. Did Mr. Busby at your request address some questions to the chaukidar?—Yes; in reply the chaukidar said that the rooms within the cantonment were all let to the women we saw around us. I asked about the rents, and he said the rents of the rooms were from two rupees to six rupees a month.

1579. Were the rents charged to the women themselves?—Yes; and the rents were collected by him, the chaukidar, and regularly accounted for by him to the owner.

1580. Did he say anything about the income tax on the amount of the rent?—He volunteered a statement on that subject. I did not ask the question, but he volunteered an additional statement, to the effect that income tax on the amount collected was regularly paid to the cantonment authorities; and he seemed very anxious to contradict some rumour I had never heard of before, but that he seemed sensitive about as prevailing in the neighbourhood, and so added that "only in this way could it be said that the State participated in the revenue from prostitution." Of course I had never suggested any such idea.

1581. The Sudder Bazar, what kind of a place was it?—A most repulsive looking place; but one does not look for much more. It was a mud building, mud road, mud everything.

1582. Did you look into any of those rooms occupied by the women?—Yes.

1583. And can you describe their general appearance?—They were low cottages, flat-roofed mud-built apartments, open to the front, with a mere aperture for a doorway, that was all.

1584. Did they open to the street, or to an inner court, the doors and windows?—There is a kind of court, but really the court and the street are very much like each other.

1585. Well, then, what furniture did they possess? Little more than a pallet inside. Floor, and footway and roadway, were all sunburned mud, as well as the cottage.

1586. You have said the women crowded round you?—Crowded round; listened to every word that was spoken to them, with intense attention, apparently; they would answer sometimes all at once, and sometimes the person specially addressed would answer, and there would be a ready chorus of approval right round.

1587. Did they in that way speaking together say that they went to the hospital willingly or unwillingly?—They all said they went to the hospital unwillingly; that they hated inspection; that they were obliged to go or leave the cantonment.

1588. Did they tell you themselves that they paid rent?—Yes, they all paid rent for their rooms, each of these women.

1589. And they had no other place to go to?—They said there was no other place for them to go. That the magistrate had caused the rooms to be built for their special accommodation, and they hated the life they led. They meant the cantonment magistrate clearly.

1590. Did they say anything with regard to the life which they led?—They hated it. Some of them explained with a downcast look that they led that life for mere subsistence; they were ashamed of it.

1591. And that there was no other?—There was no other way open for them. One of them rather pathetically said, "Who would ever look at us after we have led a life like this? There is nothing else in the world for us."

1592. Did they say whether they were still ordered to undergo examination?—They said they were.

1593. They were ordered?—Yes.

1594. And that they hated it?—Yes, one of their expressions was that it was ordered by the doctor.

1595. (*Sir James Peile.*) If they were diseased?—Presumably.

1596. Ordered by the doctor to go to be examined; I wanted to know if that is because they were diseased; he would not order them if they were not supposed to be diseased?—I suppose it would be only by examination that it would be settled whether they were.

1597. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you understand that only those soldiers' native prostitutes who were reasonably supposed to be suffering from venereal disease at the moment were sent to examination, or that they all were sent to the periodical examination?—I cannot say that they were all sent to the periodical examination, I cannot say that at that particular place I put a question that would bring out that distinction; I am sure that at another place I did so.

1598. And whenever you have put it what has been the answer?—Would you allow me to postpone that until I come to the exact place where it occurs.

1599. If they refused to comply what happened then; did they tell you?—Yes, they stated that that place had been specially built for them, was the only place in the world that they could go to, and that they would be expelled from the cantonment if they did not go.

1600. (*Sir James Peile.*) Did not go to the hospital?—Yes.

1601. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Do you mean to the hospital as in-patients, or to the examination room for this examination?—I think to the hospital as in-patients.

1602. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Suppose they refuse to comply with what they call the doctor's order to go?—If they refuse to comply, one of the statements was this—"then the policeman either forces them to go to the hospital or reports them to the cantonment magistrate, and well they knew there was no other place in the cantonment in which they would be allowed to live but that one place."

1603. What they felt was not merely that if they left the cantonment they did not know how to get a living?—Oh, no.

1604. But that they did not know where they would be allowed to live?—That is so; that comes out frequently in their statement, that "it is the one place set apart for them"; that "there is no other place in the world for them."

1605. Was there an old woman present whom you noticed particularly?—Yes; just outside the circle of where these women were I saw an old woman crouching over a small charcoal fire under the shaded footpath of the street. She rose from her crouching position when that last-mentioned answer which I have just quoted was being given, and asseverated loudly by the many others round about, who were repeating the answer and approving it; this old woman came forward and said that it was quite true, and that she ought to know; she had lost three daughters in the same life and had only one now left, pointing to a young woman in the crowd, who was very profusely adorned with anklets and bracelets and gewgaws of that kind.

1606. Did they say whether native soldiers came to visit them?—I asked the question distinctly, and they said no native soldiers came to these quarters—only Europeans; and, in answer to a further question, and "only European soldiers." I also remarked that they meant private soldiers, of course; and they said they meant private soldiers, but two women added that European officers had also come sometimes, when "they had been drinking at their club," was their expression.

1606*. Did they say whether native soldiers would be allowed to come?—They said that no native soldiers would be allowed to come; that they were forbidden. And, following that, I asked another question just touching it, to which the reply was that there was no such thing as solicitation of women there; for the women were there, and the men came there to them.

1607. Did they say whether any people visited them except the European soldiers who visited them for that purpose?—One answer was this,—seldom indeed did either a man or woman visit there, but only European men came; and these only European soldiers; and only for one purpose.

1608. Now shall we pass to Lucknow? You reached the Cantonment of Lucknow on the 26th December 1892?—Yes.

1609. Had you a companion with you?—Yes, I was accompanied by an English resident who had lived in the country for over 30 years.

1610. And did he converse freely with the natives?—He spoke to them with great fluency. I had visited the cantonment hospital with him.

1611. At what hour of the day did you arrive?—It was a little after eleven o'clock in the forenoon when we arrived at the entrance.

1612. You have seen the ground plan sketch given in Dr. Kate Bushnell's journal?—Yes; I recognised the locality at once from my recollection of what that ground plan shows.

1613. Did you enter the building?—Yes, I entered by the front gate into the enclosure. I found the door of the inner premises was fastened, and that entrance was not to be had there.

1614. Did you see a native watchman?—A native watchman appeared in the triangular enclosure that is described in Dr. Bushnell's journal, coming from the angle furthest from the gate, and, in an excited way, lifting his hands and shouting against anyone coming in. He seemed as if he were afraid that I was going to force the entrance, because within that enclosure was the door leading into the Lock Hospital, the Lock Hospital forming one side of the enclosure.

1615. And what was the other side?—On the same side as the Lock Hospital presented one side to the roadway was the gateway leading into this enclosure; and from the angle of this enclosure furthest from the gateway the man came seeming as if afraid I was going to enter into the rear of that building.

1616. And did he point to you where you ought to go?—Well, he said that no one could be allowed to go into the hospital without written permission from the doctor.

1617. And did he point out the doctor's house?—Yes, by waving his hand towards the gateway.

1618. The English doctor's or the native doctor's house?—Before that he pointed out where the assistant doctor lived; and the assistant doctor turned out to be a native gentleman.

1619. And his house, was that in the position in which it was placed in Dr. Bushnell's sketch?—Exactly; that is outside the enclosure I had previously entered by the gateway. I had come back through the gateway, and round past the building containing the women; and at the further angle from the gateway of the enclosure was the assistant doctor's house.

1620. Did you go in search of the assistant doctor?—Yes; I went in the direction indicated; and had got to the door of the house which was said to be his residence, and had knocked at the door, when my attention was called to two figures coming from the direction furthest from the gateway—the direction opposite to that I had pursued in getting to the point at which I was; and one of these was a man who was excitedly calling, and pointing to his companion, to indicate to me that he was the doctor that I was in search of.

1621. What did you understand to be the name of the native doctor?—Dr. Buxh, that spelling was his own spelling.

1622. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) He must have had some other name?—That I cannot speak to yet.

1623. There must have been some other name besides Buxh?—Buxh. Yes.

1624. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did he speak to you?—Before reaching him, I had passed the building where these women were, one window of which was crowded by them. The window was crowded with the faces of the inmates. They were in animated conversation with the interpreter as I was going towards the native doctor's residence, which was well within hearing distance. I repeated to the women some of the inquiries which the interpreter told me he had just been putting to them through the open window. I asked him to put the questions again, and I took a note of the replies.

1625. Will you give us those answers now?—The answers were to this effect: That Dr. Mollah Buxh (that is where the first name comes in, I had it from himself), was the resident assistant doctor; that he visited the inmates, as a rule, every morning at 5 and every evening at 6.40; that he was not then in the place; was probably at the general hospital, which was a long way off.

1626. Did they tell you that he spoke English, or did you understand that afterwards?—Afterwards, when I came to him. I am now repeating the replies I got to questions addressed through the window to these women. This building, outside of which we then stood, was formerly called the Lock Hospital; it was now called the female ward of the cantonment general hospital. The inmates were 15 in number, and they were all young women, with one exception, and that was a child born in the Sudder Bazar. In answer to further questions, they said that, when out of hospital, the Sudder Bazar was the only place in which they were allowed to live. Remembering what I had seen in Dr. Kate Bushnell's Journal, I asked if they knew a person whom they called Itwaria, and several of them said that they knew Itwaria well. She was now to be found in the Sudder Bazar. They said they had all been forced to go into that place, the hospital. If they wanted to go away they might, but where else could they go, except back to the Bazar?

1627. Well, then you passed round, did you, to the door of the assistant doctor's house?—Yes, as I have said; and when there the doctor himself, accompanied by another person, was seen approaching from the general cantonment hospital.

1628. And you introduced yourself to him?—Yes, and told him that the object of my visit was to see for myself what I could properly be shown.

1629. Then you found that he spoke English perfectly?—He spoke admirable English, quite fluently.

1630. And had you no need of an interpreter?—No, and his companion, as well as my companion, fell to the rear, and I joined the doctor, and walked with him to the general cantonment hospital, up the avenue from the place first visited.

1631. Did he tell you who was the chief medical officer in charge?—Yes, Dr. Hamilton.

1632. And he lived at a bungalow some way off, did he?—Yes; he said that Dr. Hamilton was medical officer for the native cavalry, for the Bengal artillery, and for that hospital; that his predecessor was Dr. Ranking, who had been recently promoted, and who he, Dr. Mollah Buxh believed, was now professor of chemistry and chief examiner for the Government in the Medical College at Calcutta. That was his belief.

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1633. Well, now, what did you see at the hospital?—I generally look for the register, but I didn't see one; but I saw a new-looking book, marked the "Visitors' Book," and numbered 13, and bearing on its first page the numerals of the current year 1892.

1634. What entry did you note in that book?—The principal entry in the book was this: "8th August 1892" (I copied it I should say). "I visited this hospital to-day in company with Surgeon Major Hamilton, the officer in medical charge; I was much pleased with the orderly and cheerful aspect of the hospital, and with the neat and tidy way in which everything was kept. W. R. Rice, Surgeon Major General."

1635. Now, what did the assistant surgeon tell you?—He stated that the hospital on its then present basis, was really commenced on the 1st of February last of that year.

1636. The present basis of management?—Yes; he said that, since that time, all the statistics were entered in one book. He meant by that the statistics of the Lock Hospital as well as those of the general hospital. He said, it might be said roughly that since the beginning of 1892 they had begun to work the hospital on the same lines as a civil hospital, eliminating compulsory examination and compulsory admission. The new system had virtually been introduced by Dr. Ranking, who removed hence to Calcutta, on 7th May 1892; I got the date there. I inquired whether such a thing could happen as that a person, suffering from an accident and having an open wound, could be carried into the female ward, which we had just left, for treatment there. Dr. Mollah Buxh replied that such an occurrence was quite impossible. They took the greatest care to keep such cases separate, that their antiseptic arrangements were carefully observed, and the instruments steeped in carbolic acid solution; they ran no risk whatever of that kind. Before I left, Dr. Mollah Buxh said, I must clearly remember, that since the hospital was placed on its present basis—the same expression again—no compulsion whatever had taken place. He also asked me to enter my name in the visitors' book.

1637. Did you do so?—I did, with just a sentence expressing my pleasure to hear that there were no risks of the septic kind at that hospital. I rejoined the interpreter outside after that.

1638. And you went with him to the Sudder Bazar?—That is so.

1639. Did you see any young women there?—Yes, several of the same class of women as I had seen before.

1640. Did you notice a very old woman there?—There was an old woman there, cooking something over a small charcoal fire, just outside the ring of the young women.

1641. And then did some of the young women answer questions put by your interpreter?—Yes. They gathered round just as they had done before at another place, and they readily answered questions that I put through the interpreter to them.

1642. As to inspection?—Well, I took a particular note of these questions and answers. Had inspection been abolished?—"No, no, no." Where does the inspection take place then?—"At the Lock Hospital." When?—"Every Saturday, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon." Who conducts the inspection?—"Sometimes the Native sometimes the European doctor." When did the last inspection take place?—"Last Saturday." How many native women were there?—"The whole of us were there, the dhai as well." About the persons who come here soliciting women; do any natives come?—"No, no natives; natives are not allowed." Who then come?—"The European soldiers." Is there any register of the women kept?—"Yes; they are all registered as before." Are you quite sure of that?—"Yes, yes, yes" (from many voices). Then where are your certificates?—"We have no certificates." How do you know you are registered then?—"We are told we must go as before, but we must go voluntarily." "We are not allowed to keep papers now; they are all in the hospital." How are you distinguished then; how do they know one from another?—"They know us by the numbers of the houses we live in." Is it correct, that you have no other place that you may live in but the Sudder Bazar?—"We have no other place but the Sudder Bazar and the hospital." But you go to the hospital voluntarily?—"We go to the hospital; we either must go or leave the Bazar." I also asked if any of those present remembered the visit of a lady doctor about a year ago? They answered, "Yes, yes" with brightened countenances. Some said they would send their salaams to those ladies; others that they were noble sisters, and that they told them all the truth when they were there.

1643. Did you ask for any particular person?—Having asked at the place I had just left at the window for Itwaria, I thought I would ask the same question here. I asked was there any one amongst them of the name of Itwaria? Two or three young women turned towards a member of the group, and with animated gesticulations told her that it was her sister I was inquiring about. Another young woman volunteered to go and fetch this Itwaria. In the meantime the collector of rents had come forward and joined in talking to the women while the colloquy was going on; and he made some remark to my interpreter. On my being informed by the interpreter who he was, and as to what the remark he had made was, I asked him, through the interpreter, a few questions, which he readily answered. He said there were 55 apartments lettable to these women. But eight out of the 55 were then empty, and that some of the tenants of the empty places were now in hospital.

1644. Of the 55?—Of the 55, yes. That the present owner of the property was Selig Ram. I took that down and asked particularly for the spelling of it. Selig Ram was the spelling given to me by the interpreter, and it was stated that he had purchased it from the Government. The landlord paid the taxes, but no ground rent; all land within the cantonment was free. Each woman paid the collector her rent. He accounted for it to Selig Ram, who paid income tax to the Government on the amount received, once a year.

1645. Well, now, after that did that young woman Itwaria make her appearance?—Yes, just at the point when I had had the conversation with this man, she arrived, surrounded by two or three of her companions who were telling her that she had been inquired about, and that her sister, one of the young women present, had explained to them (that is to say to the persons present, that the sister had prevented Itwaria from leaving them all and going away with the English ladies a year ago. This I had from the interpreter. The sister came forward, and vehemently confirmed the statement that had just been made, saying that she had nursed and loved Itwaria ever since she was so high, stooping down and indicating a very low stature with her hand, and how could she ever let her go? Itwaria herself spoke kindly to the girl, her sister, and to those round about her, and seemed to desire some kindly message to be sent to those ladies who had visited them before. She turned from the rest, who had evidently been telling her of the kind messages they had sent, and said would I send her salaam to those noble sisters. My interpreter before we left volunteered a question on his own account: Were they really obliged to live in the Sudder Bazar, and they again said they were.

1646. Well, now, we will pass to your visits to the two other cantonments not visited by those ladies who have given evidence already; on the 7th of December did you visit the City of Ahmedabad?—Yes.

1647. Did you drive over to the cantonment?—Yes; a little after noon on that day. I drove over from the railway station, Travellers' Rest, to the cantonment.

1648. Who was your companion on this occasion?—I was accompanied by a local native gentleman.

Might I be permitted at this point to say a single word about the use of names in a case like this.

1649. Names are not going to be put in the evidence.—Even a description pointing to the position of a native zemindar is perhaps undesirable. Of course, if he had been an Englishman I would not have thought about it twice; an Englishman can always hold his own in India; but a native is in a rather different position.

1650. You were accompanied by a native gentleman, a zemindar; where did he reside, in that neighbourhood?—In that neighbourhood. His is one of the most considerable families in that part of the country, and he is an owner of land in that neighbourhood.

1651. Did he speak English well?—He was an excellent linguist, speaking English better than the average Englishman. He held the degree of B.A., which he got before he became the responsible owner of his estate, from the college at Ghoozerat. I suppose that will be better known by Indians than it is by me.

1652. Did you make your way to the native infantry barracks?—Yes, I drove right up into the native barracks, as far as I could go.

1653. And did you meet——?—I met a private soldier there. After I got out of the gharri with my companion, a private soldier took us to a native sergeant-major, Subadar I think was his name, not his rank.

1654. You mean a native, or an European?—A native sergeant-major, a very intelligent looking man, a non-commissioned officer of beyond middle life; I would guess him to be between 45 and 50 years of age, and nearer 50 than 40.

1655. Did he direct you to the Lock Hospital?—Yes; we walked there over light sandy soil under a very hot sun. It is a small enclosure, surrounded by walls, having a gateway entrance, which was protected by a large dog, which barked loudly at our approach.

1656. Did anyone come to meet you at the gate?—A woman came out of the doorway of a small building on the right hand side of the gate. I asked her, through the interpreter, several questions.

1657. What did you gather from her?—Her name was Lalan Cusambi.

1658. What was her position there?—She called herself head nurse.

1659. Did you not say that a man came at the same time?—A man came from a building on the opposite side, the left hand side of the gateway, almost simultaneously with her coming out of the one on the right hand side.

1660. Did she tell you who he was?—She said he was the policeman.

1661. And did she say that they were the only officials there?—They were the only officials then on the premises. I was very sorry they were. I asked for the doctor, and the assistant doctor. She said the native doctor was Kisin Singh.

1662. Were two rooms pointed out to you on the right-hand side of the entrance?—Two rooms on the one side, and a room on the other side as well. The ones on the right side were said to be occupied by sick women.

1663. And the opposite one?—Was spoken of as the doctor's room.

1664. You did not enter those rooms?—I did not. Chronologically this was my first visit to a cantonment.

1665. Did you ask this head nurse, as she called herself, to explain to you through the interpreter how patients came to the hospital?—I did, and I took down at the moment the reply given through the interpreter to me. I asked her whence and how patients came there. Her reply was this: "Every week the doctor and his assistant inspect the European soldiers; their barracks are a considerable distance off" (with her hand pointed in their direction; they were not, however, at a distance visible to me). "When any European soldier is reported as suffering from a bad disease, the doctor asks him the name and number, either or both, of the woman with whom he has been. These are given. Then the doctor gets a written order to send for the woman. Then the policeman (the man that was referred to before as the policeman" stood forward at this point, and by both words and nods confirmed the accuracy of the nurse's statement)—"then the policeman is sent to bring the woman to the Lock Hospital. This statement refers to European soldiers only. It is the European soldiers only who go to these women."

1666–7. This is the evidence of the head nurse?—These are still the answers of the head nurse, yes. "As for the native soldiers, if any one of them is found suffering from such a disease, I suppose he is too much ashamed to give any report as to who the woman was, for no more steps are ever taken with them." The statement was made with an artlessness of manner, and was concurred in by the man so openly, that I believe they were both speaking the truth.

1668. And that closed your interview?—Well, yes; under the circumstances of the doctors being absent, I did not feel that I ought to go any further with that matter.

1669. On the 23rd December 1892, did you visit the cantonment hospital of Agra?—Yes.

1670. Accompanied by whom?—At noon of the 23rd accompanied by a member of the municipality of Agra, and part of the way by Pundit Nath, vakheel of the district court.

1671. What is that, pleader?—Yes, vakheel. I visited the cantonment hospital.

1672. Did you meet there the native assistant doctor?—The assistant doctor was present when I got there, and he volunteered a statement at the outset before I had asked a question at all.

1673. What was that statement?—That that hospital was now a purely charitable institution, and that its title was no longer the "Lock," but the "Agra Cantonment General Hospital and Dispensary."

1674. Did you see the official register there?—Yes, I opened and examined it.

1675. What did you read and take a note of in that official register?—I looked at the designation along the head lines of the pages of the book, to see what recent alteration had been made therein.

1676. And what changes with the dates did you make a note of?—Successive headings with the dates I copied as under. The first is, "Monthly list of prostitutes admitted into the Lock Hospital, Agra, for the venereal diseases during the month of September 1888." The first change that had taken place after that, was this: "Monthly register of voluntary prostitutes admitted into the Lock Hospital, Agra, for the venereal and non-venereal diseases during the month of December 1889."

1677. That was a change from the first heading?—Yes, and the next change (I do not mention the dates, because the dates are included in them) was this: "Monthly register of voluntary women admitted into the voluntary venereal hospital during the month of February 1891."

1678. And the fourth?—"Monthly register of voluntary women admitted into the Cantonment Hospital, Agra, during the month of March 1891."

1679. Did you come across any correspondence copied into a book?—Yes; I saw some correspondence, and got sufficient view of it to know what it was about. I was told by the assistant doctor that I must not go into that, but it was as to the diet which women admitted to the hospital should be kept upon during their treatment as patients, and as to the rents of the women's quarters. I noted the words used in describing it by the assistant, but the details I was not permitted to see, and, of course, can say nothing about.

1680. What did the assistant say to you as to the title of this portion of the Cantonment Hospital?—He

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said that, as a rule, this portion of the Cantonment Hospital, formerly bearing the appellation of the Lock Hospital, was still kept exclusively for venereal patients, but there was one patient in now who was of another sort.

1681. As a matter of fact, was this Lock Hospital part of a larger building appropriated to general hospital purposes ?—Not part of a larger building.

1682. I want to know whether this Lock Hospital was a building by itself, or part of a larger one ?—A building by itself.

1683. What did the assistant tell you as to the name and use of this Lock Hospital ?—He said that as to the official register of the hospital an old rule continued to be observed.

1684. Did the assistant tell you that this building was now called, or had formerly been called, the Lock Hospital ?—Touching the alterations which had been made in the name of the Lock Hospital, he handed me a book called the circular book, so marked.

1685. What did you gather from an inspection of that book ?—It contained a circular from which I took an extract, as it was a circular giving information as to changes that I had never seen in any of the other published papers before. I copied an extract at the time.

1686. Well, give us that extract ?—Shall I read it ?

1687. Yes.—

"No. 5301. D. Sanitary Cantonment Hospital,
Simla, 8th November 1892.

"From Major-General E. H. H. Collen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government, North-West Provinces and Oudh.

"Sir,—With reference to G. G. O., No. 617, dated "the 4th July 1890, I am directed to forward for the "information of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor "of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the accom- "panying rules in connection with the Cantonment "General Hospital, and to request that the necessary "orders may be issued so that immediate effect may be "given thereto.

"II. I am to state that the object of these new "cantonment general hospitals is to remove the idea "that hospitals of this kind are established exclu- "sively for venereal diseases, by rendering them "available for patients suffering from other infectious "disorders, such as small-pox, &c., and generally for "the treatment of all diseases. It is very desirable "the rules should be applied in such a manner as not "to give a legitimate cause of offence to respectable "persons suffering from contagious or infectious dis- "orders, or so as to lead such persons to believe that "they are likely to be used as a pretext for com- "pulsorily sending respectable persons and notably "'parda' females and children suffering from small- "pox or cholera to a public hospital.

"The present rules with regard to the treatment of "cholera or other epidemics appearing in the Sader "or regimental bazar of a station are, that arrange- "ments should be made for the treatment of all cases "seeking medical aid, and that a suitable hospital "accommodation should be provided for the patients ; "but that no persons should be forcibly taken from "their friends or removed to such hospitals under any "pretence whatever. The building for venereal cases "should be at some distance from the main building "and quite separate from the large hospital. It is "obvious, therefore, that the matter is one requiring "very careful consideration.

"III. I am at the same time to point out that the "new cantonment general hospitals, as originally pro- "posed, regarding which the general order, No. 617, "was published, inasmuch as they will be exclusively "reserved for the medical treatment of regimental "followers and other residents of military canton- "ments, and therefore His Excellency the Governor "General in Council, after consulting His Excellency "the Commander-in-Chief and the Surgeon-General, "with the Government of India, has decided that "management of the newly-formed hospitals should "be placed under the control of the military (medical) "department, and that consequently the responsibility "of appointing medical officers in charge of these "institutions should be entrusted to the general "officers commanding, subject to the approval of the "Commander-in-Chief."

1688. To whom was this circular addressed ?—The book was kept for the purpose of copying into it circulars received there, and it had been received there. That is all the information I have on the subject.

1689. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) It was addressed to the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces ?—No doubt.

1690. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you understand from the assistant whom you saw that the Lock Hospital which you had visited, though not now so called, was still kept exclusively for venereal patients ?—Yes, that is so.

1691. Was there any one patient there of another sort ?—Yes, I took a note of it as an exceptional case. It was a woman who had been there for nine days with a perforated wound in the back, a native woman ; and the doctor, on referring to it, mentioned that although she had been there nine days the pellet had not been taken out yet, and she was amongst the venereal cases.

1692. She had been shot ?—It was stated she had been shot accidentally by a sergeant in the lower part of the back.

1693. Was there any other case ?—Yes, the other cases were venereal cases.

1694. Was there any other non-venereal case ?—No.

1695. Did any non-venereal case come to your notice during these visits ?—Only one other beside that now mentioned.

1696. When was that ?—One at the cantonment I first described, with Mr. Busby.

1697. Was that at Meerut ?—At Meerut. After having had the conversation with the assistant doctor, which I have given to you, but before putting these numerous questions to the women, the questions and answers which I have detailed, this happened : there was a sudden noise outside the building, a crowd of people came towards the steps, and an English gentleman, half dragging, half carrying a native who had been injured, came up the three steps, and through the room occupied by the women, into the next apartment, which was the assistant doctor's apartment. The native who was brought along had just been run over on the left foot by a sharp-hooped wheel of a vehicle, which had cut him from the outer ankle to the joint of the big toe, and there was a deep gash. This man was carried through the two rooms into another room used for the purpose of bathing and washing patients, and there, on the floor, the native doctor got down on his knees, drew the lips of the wound together, and plastered it over. With that exception, and the case of the perforated wound, no other but venereal cases have been in the lock hospitals I have visited.

1698. I think you have at Darlington been connected with a hospital there ?—Yes, I have taken a very active part in connection with our hospital there, and was more impressed with this particular case, as I was alive to the enormous danger of carrying anyone with an open wound into a ward where contagious diseases were being treated. In fact, we should regard such treatment in this country as sentence of death.

1699. So that these were the only cases which were non-venereal, and, according to your judgment and experience, neither of these cases ought to have been admitted ?—Certainly not, I think.

1700. This document, No. 617, that is referred to here, can you identify it?—It is pretty well known now I think.

1701. Known as a general order of a certain date?—Yes.

1702. July 1890?—Yes, I understood an honourable Member asked a question about that before, and (as the document itself was not produced) I waited till this reference to it should come, as I wanted to have it clearly in my mind which paper it was.

1703. Well, now we will come to your visit to Calcutta, before leaving India; did you interview several official persons there on the subject?—Yes, I was very anxious to get hold of copies of any existing Government orders which would throw light upon the nature of the change said to have taken place in the management of the Government hospitals during a stated period, and I went to every department where I could possibly have got any light upon that subject.

1704. To what departments did you go?—I think, first of all, to the Government Printing Department; the same as one would in this country if wanting Government papers.

1705. And what did you ascertain there?—That the Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, I think that is the title, was not obtainable for the last three or four years; that, in fact, that one for the year 1885–86 was about the last we could see, and that had been withdrawn from official circulation; that is to say, that the Government Printing Department had instructions not to let it out even to anyone who wished to buy it at its published price.

1706. Did you obtain any documents from that department?—Yes, but not anything throwing any light upon the intervening period (1888–92). I got, for instance, the official copy of the first Cantonments Act, and so forth.

1707. What other departments did you go to?—I went to the Legislative department. At the office of the secretary to the legislative department, I met the assistant secretary, Mr. Wigley. Mr. Wigley said that, so far as his department was concerned, there was no difficulty whatever, that any papers or information that had originated in that department were perfectly at my service.

1708. Did you obtain any papers from that department?—Yes, Mr. Wigley also volunteered a statement. He said that if I cared he would give me a short history, he having the references at hand, a short and accurate history of what had taken place in the legislative department in reference to this particular matter, and that I would see from that history what were the only documents the legislative department could possibly have to throw further light upon it.

1709. Did he furnish you with that history?—Yes, and I took a note of it, with his permission.

1710. It was already in writing?—No, I took a note of it. He had the references at hand, and there could be no inaccuracy as to the dates and other particulars. He said the history naturally began with the year 1868. The Act 14 of that year (with a copy of which I was furnished), was intended to provide for the better prevention of certain contagious diseases, and was really the Act about which all this agitation, probably known to me, had arisen. That Act was followed up by the Act 26 of the same year, which was passed to enable municipalities in India to provide lock hospitals within the limits of their jurisdiction. These enactments had been in force more or less these 20 years. Then came the Act of 1888, which was passed by the Governor General in Council, acting in his legislative capacity, on the 5th September of that year. That enactment swept away totally Acts 14 and 26 of 1868. And that was all. That was all that the legislative of India had done. There had been absolutely no other Act of the Indian legislature, excepting those he had named, up to the year 1889. The Cantonment Act, 13 of 1889, section 26, clause 21, conferred upon the Governor General in Council, in his executive capacity, power to make rules for the prevention of the spread of various infectious or contagious diseases within the cantonments, and the appointment and regulation of hospitals or other places within or without the cantonments for the reception and treatment of persons suffering from any disease. And that was all. There had been positively no published correspondence on the subject, of an official character; but some regulations were made under the Cantonments Act last referred to; and these, no doubt, would be published—indeed, they were published—in the "Gazette of India," 5 July 1890, part I. As to any further details, respecting the working of the hospitals, &c., these could only be obtained at the Surgeon General's office.

1711. Now that last paper that he refers to, what paper was that?—That is the official "Gazette of India," containing the regulations made under the last Cantonments Act, and setting forth the regulations themselves. I got duplicate copies of that.

1712. Is that identical with what we call No. 617?—I cannot speak to that question without looking at the documents. I expect that No. 617 is an extract from the "Gazette of India," of the date now referred to, but I am not quite sure. I could not speak without having the two documents before me.

1713. What other departments did you go to?—I did not at all contemplate going to the Surgeon-General upon this subject, because of his peculiar relationship to the persons I had seen at some of the cantonments; but, as Mr. Wigley said that I could only obtain those papers that I had enquired for by going there, I went there. One of Mr. Wigley's servants went with me, and left me in the doctor's presence.

1714. What was the name of the Surgeon-General?—Dr. Rice.

1715. And what was the date on which you saw him?—On the 7th January I got the interview with Dr. Rice at his office, Government Buildings.

1716. Now will you give us an account of your interview with him?—Yes; I announced to Dr. Rice what was the object of my visit. It was to obtain the actual and well authenticated facts. He said with great alacrity that he would be most happy to supply any information in his power, and that if only the facts were wanted there would be some hope of fair play for the poor Indian Government. He said it would be to him a pleasure to explain the whole matter; it so happened that the general hospitals now in operation were the outcome of his own thought. Of course he said he did not wish to put that, which might to some people appear to be an egotistical aspect of the matter, prominently forward. With that reservation, however, he proceeded, "I wish just to tell you simply and plainly what has happened."

1717. Did you take down this statement of his which you are now beginning to quote, at the moment of the time that he made it?—Yes; I took it down in shorthand, having his full permission to make what use of it I choose.

1718. But that is another question; you took a note of it?—I took a note of it in shorthand and have my shorthand notes preserved—"In deference to the feeling at home—especially as expressed in the House of Commons Resolution, I do not know of what date, but that is easily obtainable—the Government of India determined to adopt a system of voluntary general hospitals, where women should not be compelled to go either for inspection or as patients. You probably know what was the state of things that was to be thereby superseded? After the new Cantonments Act came into force, and under the bye-laws or regulations framed under the authority of that Act, it was provided that any person suffering from any contagious disease, or suspected of being so suffering, should, on representation to that effect being made to the cantonment magistrate, be ordered to be examined, and if certified to be so suffering, then she was ordered to go to the Contagious Diseases Hospital, failing which she would have to leave the

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cantonment precincts. Under the former Act the person was required to remain in hospital until the medical officer should certify that she was free from disease. To put it shortly, if the person failed to do either of two things prescribed—first, to be examined by the doctor, or secondly, if found to be the subject of disease and yet refusing to go into the hospital and there remain until cured—for the first offence a fine was inflicted, and in the event of that not serving then would follow compulsory removal from the cantonment. That was in substance the system formerly in operation, and that was so much objected to. The next thing was, it was found that there were various contagious diseases of women, and of men as well as women, that came under no regulations whatever; and it was represented to the Government of India that a voluntary hospital might very well be substituted for the old Lock Hospital system, and that new hospitals, like the ordinary civil hospitals, should deal with all contagious diseases. So they established the Cantonment General Hospital, by which they completely wiped out all trace of dealing with disease with any specific purpose whatever; the new hospital being laid out on the lines of any ordinary London general hospital, which is established and worked without any reference to this specific question; that is to say, that all diseases, for man and woman alike, will come there. Separate accommodation for females will, of course, be provided, as in all hospitals. A free female ward, like a prostitutes' lock ward, is established, as is done in all hospitals in London—well, in nearly all—all of that general comprehensive character I have alluded to. The purposes of the lock ward differ from the old Lock Hospital in this, that entrance is free and voluntary."

1719. The entrance is free and voluntary; what about the register? Did he say anything about the register; whether a register of them was kept or not?—The quotation continues: "There is no register kept of them when they are diseased; they come and go, have recourse to the hospital or not, as they think well. There is no one to hunt them up for that purpose. There is no coercion exercised. They may remain as long in the hospital as they like until well. When well, they will be dismissed; even if before they are well they wish to leave they can leave, no hindrance is put in their way; none whatever. They are treated exactly as pauper patients would be treated in any other hospital. Well, now, what is the result? The end of it is, that in my very recent tour this autumn I visited some of these hospitals, I addressed the women and asked them whether they were there of their own free will, and they replied, "Yes." I asked them to state whether any restriction was placed upon their leaving the hospital for good whenever they wished to do so, and they said, "No, there is no restriction." I put these women on a solemn declaration, a form of asseveration as binding as an oath, as to whether what they said was true, and they declared that it was, so as to remove the objection of cavillers against the system. It might be said that they gave these answers just to please me. There are many people who will say so, but so far as they knew I was simply a stranger to the cantonment, and no authority whatever. The women's testimony may, therefore, be taken as conclusive. There is not a vestige of the old Lock Hospital system in operation now. For seven years, from 1870 to 1878, or thereabouts, certainly for a period of seven years, I was an active administrator of the old Lock Hospital system. Under that system every woman desirous of practising prostitution in a cantonment was bound under penalty to have a name and residence registered in the cantonment magistrate's office. The Lock Hospital was opened for the very purpose of protecting soldiers visiting these women. A copy of the register was furnished to the medical officer, and if a woman was told to present herself for examination and failed to do so, it became his duty to report the fact to the cantonment magistrate, who took such otice of it as the law allowed him—perhaps for the first offence an admonition, for the second a small fine, and so forth. Inspection was compulsory. Any woman found diseased at these inspections was compelled to remain in the Lock Hospital till she was pronounced well. If she left before, she was punished by the cantonment magistrate." Dr. Rice remarked incidentally that Lucknow was one of the largest and one of the most important cantonments, and the hospital there was one of the hospitals recently visited by him. In reply to a question as to when the various Lock Hospitals had been transformed in the manner he described, he said the changes had been effected for the most part during his Surgeon Generalship, and that it would be three years on the 29th of March next (1893) since his appointment. I told Dr. Rice that I had applied to the office of the Superintendent of Government Printing in Calcutta for the annual reports of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, desiring copies of the reports for the years 1885 to 1891 inclusive, and had been there informed that these reports were not now on sale, that they had been withdrawn from circulation, &c. Dr. Rice remarked that he had no control whatever over that department. He supposed he had a copy of his own, and he would gladly have lent his had they been available, but most of his official papers were at his chief office at Simla.

1720. Did you, after taking down this statement of Dr. Rice, inform him of your previous visit to Lucknow?—No.

1721. Or of what you had found there, or of what you had ascertained from the visits of Dr. Kate Bushnell and Mrs. Andrews?—No; I should like to state to the Committee why I did not. I felt, as soon as I was in the room, that as Dr. Rice had official control over persons I had previously seen, it was rather a ticklish question what one's duty was in reference to the information one possessed as affecting them. But I quickly, rightly or wrongly, settled that question in my own mind thus: "You are not at all bound to "communicate to him anything that you have heard "from his subordinates, and which you have heard "from his subordinates for the purpose of carrying "home information to England." So, on that particular point, I had my mind, so to speak, closed; and it was very well that I had. But after I had left it occurred to me as a question whether I was not bound to go back and say to Dr. Rice, "Well, really "and truly, this information which you have given "me is utterly opposed to details that I have from "my own observation." But then, again, I settled that question as I had settled the other. The first was a point of convenience; this was a point of principle, that I must not, on any account, give information to him which could lead to his at once asking where I had obtained it, and put him, the superior, on the back of inferior officials whose information had been obtained for a specific purpose by me—namely to bring home the facts in reference to a far superior question than any mere matter of social or military etiquette.

1722. I take it that you felt it would be perfectly impossible to reconcile this elaborate description of Dr. Rice of the change that had been operated in the system within the cantonments, with the evidence already in your possession?—Quite clearly; he contradicts the facts on various points, points of date, points of person, and actual occurrences.

1723. And, therefore, as far as you were concerned, you saw no use in pursuing the subject further with him?—No.; observe the main object I had in going to him was entirely frustrated. I went to get, if possible, printed documents, which would be documentary evidence of the change that had taken place. I obtained none of these, and none of any kind from him.

1724. (*Chairman.*) Early in your examination you spoke of the women being punished in the case of their not leaving the cantonment or going into the

hospital, and I then asked you in what way were they punished, and you said you would explain later on. If you did I was unlucky enough to miss it. Would you mind mentioning what the nature of the punishment would be, fine or imprisonment?—No; expulsion from the cantonment.

1725. I understood that all along; that if they would not go into the hospital they would be expelled from the cantonment. That was the form of punishment that you meant. I thought there was some other form of punishment?—There was something in my mind like this. At the cantonment reached when your question was put I specially asked the assistant doctor what would happen if they refused, and his reply was, "Of course they would be punished, but during the six months that he had been there there had been no such case and no such punishment." The women's statements have since been added.

1726. No; but by punishment you only understand that they would be turned out of the cantonment?—I see no evidence of other punishment in the existing system.

1727. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are not aware then that under the cantonment rules there is no other punishment?—I had it not in mind at the time I was there, or I should have named it.

1728. (*Sir James Peile.*) Have you in your mind the purport of the rules of July 1890; that No. 617 that we have spoken of, you said you had had a copy?—Yes; I have read it, but I would not like to answer any question as to its contents without reference to it.

1729. You have not it present in your mind?—No; it is the habit in a journalist's life that he has under his eye any documentary matter before he deals with it. This habit has an effect upon the memory.

1730. The purport of it is that if a person is suspected or known to have any infectious disease they must first go to the hospital; if they refuse to go to the hospital, or having gone they leave it before the medical officer has pronounced them free of this disease, the cantonment magistrate can order such person to remove from the cantonment; he does not punish them, but turns them out of the cantonment?—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1731. There is a punishment, however, of fine and imprisonment, when a person so prohibited comes back into the cantonment?—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1732. You see there is no punishment for simply refusing to go to the hospital or leaving it too soon; they are merely turned out of the cantonment?—In the absence of the document, I take that from you.

1733. But if they come back again and break that prohibition, they are liable to fine and imprisonment?—That is so.

1734. I wanted to ask, is that consistent or not consistent in your opinion with what the women at Lucknow and Meerut said?—When what they said is qualified by the statement of the fact that no such case had occurred.

1735. No such cases of punishment?—No such case as expulsion from the cantonment; when that is taken into account it is consistent.

1736. Did you on any occasion meet with any register of prostitutes simply as a register to give their names and residences as prostitutes?—The only registers I saw were the hospital registers. [Witness desires to refer to his description of these registers as showing the character of patients and diseases dealt with in the hospitals visited.]

1737. Did you find any evidence of regimental regulations or regulations by any authorities for the use of prostitutes in cantonments; any documents, I mean, or orders?—No, my great quest was to get hold of any orders which had been issued during those three years, but I was unable to obtain them from any department whatever.

1738. You met with no evidence that any such regulation was in force?—I was told that there were such regulations, but I have not seen them.

1739. Told by whom?—The first time I asked Sir Edwin Collen on the subject he said that he had not the slightest doubt that he would be able to present me with a *précis* showing the nature of the orders which had been issued to bring this new hospital system into operation, and the dates of those orders.

[The Witness withdrew.

Major General Newmarch, and General Sir Donald Stewart, Examined.

1740. (*Chairman.*) Perhaps this would be a suitable point to get on the Notes a precise definition of a cantonment?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) This is the definition which is in the Military Regulations: "A military cantonment is, as its designation implies, "a locality set apart primarily for military and medical "officers, chaplains, soldiers, subordinates attached to "the troops, and the officers and subordinates of all "departments connected with the housing and supplies "of the troops, for whom houses, situated within "such limits are by priority of right, available."

1741. That definition says nothing about the system of law in force?—The rules are all here, if the Committee would like to see them.

1742. Would you say in your own words what your opinion of the system of government there is; in what respect it is differentiated from the Government of the rest of India; in what sense is the government of a cantonment peculiar to a cantonment?—I do not know that I can answer that question off-hand; it is subject to these regulations, that is all. (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) The general law prevails in a cantonment as it does elsewhere, but for the good of the inhabitants in a military cantonment, under the Cantonment Act the commanding officer has certain powers to deal with breaches of what are called cantonment rules framed under that Act, such as the maintenance of roads and bridges, and conservancy regulations affecting compounds, bazars, water supply, and so forth. Inside the cantonment there are strictly defined regimental limits, and the commanding officer of the regiment is responsible for the cleanliness of his own lines and regimental bazaar. The Sudder Bazaar is under the cantonment magistrate and the officer commanding in the cantonment.

1743. (*Chairman.*) As respects our present inquiry, what is the difference between law in the cantonment and law outside it?—None.

1744. Do you mean, would it be possible anywhere, not a cantonment, for any official to order a woman to be examined or go away?—That I cannot say; in a city I suppose it would not.

1745. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Excuse me for a moment. When you say there is no difference in the law inside a cantonment and out, is that quite correct?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) None as regards the general law.

1746. Except the difference created by cantonment rules?—Issued under the Cantonment Act.

1747. Of course this also; but, as far as the soldiers themselves are concerned, they are under military law?—(*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Certainly.

1748. (*Chairman.*) These women, if they are living in a cantonment, are subject to a jurisdiction to which they would not be subject if they lived elsewhere in India?—Yes, in regard to cantonment regulations framed under a particular Act.

Major General Newmarch.

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1749. That is to say, if they live in the cantonment they place themselves under a system of rules which would not obtain outside a cantonment?—Yes; every civilian who lives in a cantonment must submit to cantonment rules.

1750. So I understand. You mean that a civilian man residing in a cantonment would subject himself to rules by which, if his conduct was considered detrimental to the interest of society in the cantonment, he could be turned out?—Only if he committed breaches of cantonment regulations.

1751. Then there is some difference between the treatment of a man and a woman, because a woman can be turned out in this case.

1752. (*Sir James Peile.*) Under this special regulation? — (*Major-General Newmarch.*) Under the rules issued under that Act, not under any other law.

1753. (*Chairman.*) I mean, does a woman residing in the cantonment subject herself to some more coercive jurisdiction than could be applied to a man residing in a cantonment?—No.

1754. I thought in the one case she could be turned out and a man could not?—A man could be turned out under that Act.

1755. Persons living in the cantonment place themselves subject to that Act, and are subject to certain coercive jurisdiction that would not apply elsewhere?—Yes.

1756. When I say "person," that applies to both sexes; a woman would not be subject to a more coercive jurisdiction than a man?—A woman would not be under any more coercive jurisdiction than a man.

1757–8. Then it does come to that, that the man could be turned out?—Under the rules issued under that Act. What I meant was that there were no general powers of expulsion from cantonment, except under this particular rule about the contagious diseases.

1759. And that a woman could not be turned out, unless she was suspected of contagious disease; and a man could not either?—(*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) No, you could not turn out either, except for breaches of the law affecting cantonments.

1760. Not for any other misconduct, what I call police misconduct, of any kind?—(*Major General Newmarch.*) No, that is the point.

1761. So far as they are suspected of disease, they are both on the same level, and subject to be expelled?—Certainly.

1762. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But differently treated, as matter of fact?—That is the point the Committee has to consider.

1763. You make no statement on that subject?—I make no statement but as to the law.

1764. (*Chairman.*) I merely asked these questions in order to leave in the minds of the readers of the evidence a fair notion of what a cantonment is, and how it is distinguished from any other place not a cantonment. Am I right in stating the case thus, that a person, man or woman, who lives in a cantonment in India, by doing so, subjects himself, or herself, to a coercion in respect of these contagious diseases, which he, or she, would not be subject to if he, or she, lived outside the cantonment?—I think so.

1765. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I ask if I understand rightly the land in the cantonment belongs to the Government? — (*General Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes.

1766. They permit houses to be built there, or other buildings, as it may be?—Yes.

1767. Subject always to the convenience of the military authorities?—Yes.

1768. That is to say, if any person builds a house there, it is really on the understanding that it is in some way to conduce to the general convenience of military purposes, and I understand that if a house is let to a resident, if I were to go and take a house in the cantonment, I take it subject to the understanding that I must turn out if it should be wanted for an officer for military purposes?—Yes, under the rules.

MRS. ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW and DR. KATE BUSHNELL called in, and DR. KATE BUSHNELL further Examined.

Dr. K. Bushnell.

21 April 1893.

1769. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Dr. Kate Bushnell, you sent to me a more detailed list, did you not, of the records that you inspected, and which you think, if they were produced before this Committee, would corroborate your evidence?—Yes, I did.

1770. The same as the original one, but in greater detail?—In rather more detail—rather more definitely defined.

1771. That is the only difference?—That is the only difference.

1772–3. (*Chairman.*) Only for the purpose of facilitating the reference this list is a little more specific?—Yes.

The Witnesses withdrew.

[Adjourned.

SIXTH DAY.

Friday, August 4th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

GENERAL LORD ROBERTS, V.C., G.C.B., called in and examined.

General Lord Roberts.

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1774. (*Chairman.*) My colleagues and I who have been conducting this painful inquiry consider ourselves very fortunate in the accident that we have in England at the present moment so distinguished an Indian official as yourself, and one whose evidence on this distressing subject must carry so much authority. We should probably in any case have asked the favour of your attendance here, but we were the more emboldened to do so because we saw that you had been approached on the subject by the editor of one of the newspapers, and had given your views. I should say, with regard to the time when we asked you to come here, that we were very anxious to consult your convenience. Of course, it is not an easy part of the year to get anybody together; everybody is tending in some opposite direction, and we could not ask you sooner because the evidence which we understood that you wished to have delivered before you were examined only arrived from India three or four days ago; and Mr. Stansfeld has very kindly come up, at some inconvenience to himself, from the country because we were anxious not to interfere with your movements in the direction of Scotland. All the questions I ask you will be of rather a general character, and I do not myself propose to ask you any very detailed question, but in the first place I may say this, as being a member of the Supreme Government of India, I suppose we may take for granted that everything in regard to cantonment regulations which was done in India would be under your official cognisance?—Yes, certainly.

1775. And it was on the strength of that official cognisance and official knowledge that you made the statements to the editor of the "Christian Commonwealth," or whoever he was. I mean you spoke from your official knowledge?—Yes. I do not remember what the questions were now, but what I told Mr. Stead I believe it was——

1776. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) No, it was not Mr. Stead; the "Christian Commonwealth"?—Mr. Stead did come to me at one time, and I said, I preferred not to be cross-questioned in these matters, as they had been referred to the Government of India, and as I had been a member of the Government of India I would rather wait till the Report was received from the Government of India, when I would be prepared to answer any questions which Mr. Russell's Committee might wish to put to me.

1777. (*Chairman.*) I had purposed to ask you, by way of shortening the examination, if you would allow us to take your answers in this printed interview in the "Christian Commonwealth" as being your evidence here, but you do not commit yourself?—No, I do not. Mr. Stead came to me first, and this gentleman came to me afterwards, and I prefaced my remarks to him by saying that I preferred to wait till the Report by the Government of India was received, as I understood from the India Office that it had been sent out to the Government of India for inquiry.

1778. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Mr. Stead has not published a report?—I told this gentleman the same as I had told Mr. Stead; I was not aware that anything I was talking to him about would be published.

1779. You are not familiar with the system of interviewing?—I was not.

1780. (*Chairman.*) Well then, Lord Roberts, without referring to the printed matter there, I will put a question or two that occurs to me, some rather general questions. Of course you were aware, officially aware, of the Resolution of the House of Commons on this subject, carried in 1888?—Yes, of course.

1781. And you were conversant also with the steps which were taken in India to carry that Resolution into effect?—Certainly. I was in India when the Resolution arrived, and in consultation with the Viceroy it was decided that we should look over the rules then enforced and see what orders were necessary for changing these rules to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and it was done. Almost immediately afterwards orders were issued, in the sense of the Resolution, and as far as I am aware those orders had the desired effect at the time. I have now read the Government of India's despatch, and I have also read the Report of the Committee, Dr. Cleghorn's Committee, and I have been much interested in reading both these documents. I agree with the Government of India's despatch; in fact, if I had been a member of the Government I would have signed that despatch. It entirely deals with most that I was cognisant of. I read it, I may say, with great satisfaction as regards the action in India in meeting the Resolution of the House of Commons, and no one can regret more than I do that in any way there should have been any shortcomings in carrying out the instructions which were issued immediately on receipt of the Resolution of the House of Commons to give effect to the Resolution. I think that the Government of India has explained in one of the paragraphs the reason why there have been sundry shortcomings; and as regards myself, I can say that when each of these came under my notice, orders were invariably issued in view to their being remedied. I travelled about every winter, and I always inquired

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how the rules were worked in the different stations and hospitals. The last winter I went round, in 1892–93, certain matters connected with the revised Regulations were brought to my notice; after the necessary inquiries had been made, I issued an order in July 1892. This was the last order I issued on the subject; and I am glad to find from the Report of the Committee that that order practically removed all the shortcomings that had previously existed. These shortcomings, I think, were chiefly the result of the orders being misunderstood or misinterpreted; or, as I found in some cases, these were owing to new regiments having come to the country, the officers of which did not understand what orders had been issued. The staff, too, in India, is very often changing, and officers have to be put into positions, as a temporary arrangement, who previously have had little experience in carrying out orders. I found that that was in a great measure the cause of the shortcomings. There was no great blame attaching to anybody. It was owing to circumstances which were scarcely under control. There was one other reason which, I see, the Government of India notices, and which is really, I think, perhaps the most powerful reason why there were at the commencement of the new order of things slight shortcomings. Natives of India live guided by habit and by custom, and this makes it very difficult to carry out any change. It was certainly not the case, as the Committee apparently imagine it was, that the local authorities did not wish, or did not intend, to carry out the orders issued in compliance with the Resolution of the House of Commons. I am sure throughout the country there was every wish to give effect to it, and I had, of course, myself quite determined that it should be given effect to. In fact, in the very last memorandum I ever wrote before leaving India I referred to that point. I have the memorandum in my pocket, and I will read the expressions I used if you will allow me. It is dated the 1st of April, and I left on the 8th. The paragraph I allude to runs as follows:—"Time will show whether venereal disease can be materially reduced by the establishment of cantonment hospitals where complaints of every kind are dealt with, and where efforts are being made by gentle and considerate treatment to induce the voluntary attendance of sufferers from this class of disease. At all events, it is our obvious duty to follow the policy which the Home Government has laid down, and on the score both of humanity and the well-being of the Army to try every means of lessening the disease and its terrible effects."

1782. What you have now said really forestalls the answer to the question which I was going to put to you, which was this: that, from your official position in India, and your experience, you are able to say that there was a full and *bonâ fide* intention, on the part of the Goverment of India, to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons, irrespective of what they might think of the wisdom of it?—Most certainly.

1783. And if any deviation from what the House of Commons laid down can be proved and established, you would say, I think, it is not due to any indifference to the subject on the part of the Government of India, and that it is still less due to a deliberate intention to defeat the House of Commons; but that it is due merely to a failure by subordinate officials to carry out orders from the Government?—Most certainly. On the part of the Government there was no doubt; there was no question. The Viceroy frequently spoke to me about it; and everybody was clearly of opinion that this was a Resolution, and whether we liked or whether we did not like what it embodied, that we were bound to carry it out. This was actually done. With subordinate officers there may have been shortcomings; but I should be very sorry to think that they did not intend to carry out the orders. As I have told you, I think the orders were misinterpreted or misunderstood; and from this cause, and from various causes connected with India, which it is almost impossible to explain, there were shortcomings at the commencement of the change; but from time to time, as these came to notice, they were always corrected without any delay.

1784. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Lord Roberts, I must premise by saying that, owing to unavoidable absence from town, I have not even read the Commissioners' report, and therefore I am at a disadvantage; and this meeting is a hurried meeting, therefore my disadvantage is double, and I may not be able to put my questions as clearly as I should wish; but I shall put them as well as I can. Now, with reference to a remark that you have just made, you referred to one explanation of the intentions of the Indian Government with reference to the Resolution of the House of Commons not being thoroughly carried out in some instances; you have referred to what you call the habits of the Indian people which render them averse to the conception of change; a thing once established they adhered to?—My reply is that it is very difficult to eradicate the habits of the natives; in fact, the whole country is a system of custom, of habit.

1785. Then, would you tell us, with reference to that proposition, what means were officially taken to inform the Indian people of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and of the new rules intended to give effect to that Resolution?—Orders were published in the same way that military orders are published, they go to the generals of divisions and districts, and from them are communicated to the officers in command of regiments and to the staff, and the people who are concerned. I do not say they are published specially to the people of India; I am only speaking of the people whom this subject concerns.

1786. Then to your own knowledge, were any special steps taken to make the Resolution known, and the proposed modification in the system consequent upon the Resolution to the women concerned?—The orders were issued in the usual way, and the people concerned must have been told what these orders were; that they were no longer to be examined; they were no longer to be made to go into hospital or to stay unless they wished; I have no doubt this was done.

1787. But as a matter of fact?—As a matter of fact, I believe the orders were generally carried out; why they were not always I have already explained. In some of the hospitals I visited, no women had been treated for venereal during the year.

1788. What date?—My last visits were made in December 1892 and January 1893.

1789. Are you prepared, on your own knowledge, to traverse any statements of fact of our witnesses. You have read, I presume, the evidence of the two ladies, the American missionaries?—Yes, I did look it through.

1790. Are you, of your own knowledge, based on your comparatively recent visitations, prepared to contravene any statement of fact on their part?—I can certainly say, that last year when I went round those things that they complain of did not exist.

1791. Those?—The complaints they made did not exist.

1792. What complaints; I do not quite follow you. What complaints may I ask?—I mean the complaints alluded to in the report signed by Mr. Ibbetson, Dr. Cleghorn, and Maulvi Sami-Ullah Khan. I did not, of course, visit every hospital.

1793. I will put my question in a more definite way to make it more understood; I am not now referring to hearsay evidence, to what they were told for a moment; I am speaking of facts which came within their perception, the places they visited, the chaklas, the hospitals; whether they found any patients in the hospitals or not. You have read their statements, have you not?—I have read the statements made by the ladies. No doubt in some hospitals women were to be found; in others, again, there were none.

I found some at Lucknow, and at Rawal Pindi I found none.

1794. Whatever the truth may be with regard to their evidence, as far as you are personally concerned I understand that you are not prepared, from your own experience, to controvert any statements of fact on behalf of these witnesses?—I do not remember the facts stated by the ladies sufficiently accurately to enable me to give a direct reply to your question; but taking the statements as enumerated by the Committee in the "summary of conclusions" of the report, I am prepared to say that I believe the replies to these statements to be correct.

1795. What paragraph of the Committee's Report is that that you refer to?—Paragraph 14 of the Report of the Committee, page 42.

1796. What paragraph?—Paragraph 14. They deal with all the statements made by the ladies, if you will look at that page.

1797. (*Chairman.*) Summary of conclusions?—Yes. They say: "We shall take the individual allegations therein contained in the order in which they occur, and affirm, contradict, modify, or explain each one, following, as far as possible, the language in which it is stated." All I can say in reply to your question is, that I agree with the opinions expressed by the Committee.

1798. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) General Roberts, I must refer you to the particulars of my question. You told us of some visitation of yours approximately near the time of these ladies' visits?—I am talking about 1892–93, my last visit.

1799. I thought you said 1891–92?—No, 1892–93.

1800. Your visit, then, was about a year later than their visit?—Yes, and in the meanwhile fresh orders had been issued in July 1892.

1801. What I asked you was whether, out of your own personal knowledge consequent upon those visits, you were prepared to refute any statement of fact upon the part of those ladies, to your own knowledge?—I have stated I agree with the opinions expressed by the Committee, and some of these, I notice, refute the statements made by the ladies.

1802. I understand you endorse the summary of the conclusions of this Commission consequent upon the whole of their examination?—Yes.

1803. But that you cannot base this upon your personal knowledge as to the period of visits to which you refer?—I beg your pardon.

1804. You could not possibly base that upon the mere strength of your observation during the visit?—No. I was reading this over; had I been a member of this Committee, from what I know, I should willingly have signed this summary of conclusions.

1805. Yes, but my question to you was whether you were prepared, upon the strength of your own observation, during those visits to which you have referred, to refute any of the statements of fact. I do not say the opinions, but the statements of fact laid down by the witnesses?—Where the Committee refute the statements, I would refute them.

1806. Lord Roberts, you cannot possibly, from your own personal knowledge of those visits of yours, justify supporting the summary of the conclusions of this Commission?—My opinion is, that the Committee has stated correctly the true state of the case, as regards the carrying out of the orders issued, consequent on the resolution of the House of Commons. I have not read the ladies' statements over for some time, but, as I have said before, I believe these statements have been correctly dealt with by the Committee. I could not answer that.

1807. From your own experience you cannot traverse any statement of fact on their part?—I cannot without having the fact laid before me.

1808. (*Chairman.*) You cannot at this moment, without having it laid before you?—No.

1809. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I do not want to commit you to an opinion from which you cannot withdraw at any time?—No.

1810. But at this moment you are not prepared, from your own personal experience, to refute any statement of fact, so far as they are concerned?——

1811. (*Chairman.*) Because you have not got the statements of fact that they make fairly before your mind?—That is my answer, yes.

1812. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, allow me, then, to go back a little. We know, and you have told us already, that, of course, you are as familiar as any man to-day with the state of things in regard to this question which we are studying before the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888?—Yes.

1813. I want you kindly to follow me through a number of questions which I wish to put with the view of enabling us clearly to understand what were the essentials, in fact, of the system at that date. Then after we have done that we will come, if you please, to consider the changes which have been since made. Now, as to the main features of the system before the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888, one was, I take it, was it not, the segregation, and residence in appropriate quarters called chaklas, of women reserved for the exclusive use of British soldiers. That was the system?—Certainly there was a place; yes.

1814. They were all segregated together, and residing in certain chaklas, and they were for the exclusive use of British soldiers; they were not allowed to be visited by native soldiers?—The women were, in all probability, visited by natives, though not by native soldiers; I much doubt if this could be prevented; but they were there for the use of British soldiers.

1815. But it would have been against the rules?—I am not aware of any rules. There was no doubt a regimental practice.

1816. It would have been against the practice?—Against the practice.

1817. And against the fact; as a matter of fact they were only to be visited by British soldiers?—I do not say that. I think the Committee's Report states that they do consort with natives as well as British soldiers, although that was not the reason of their being there.

1818. As I understand, the intention of the system was that they should be reserved for British soldiers?—There is no doubt they were there for that purpose.

1819. Well, then, another feature of the system was their registration?—Yes.

1820. They were registered?—Yes; I cannot say as to the details, but they were there for the purpose of being used by British soldiers.

1821. You can answer these questions just as easily as you can express your general concurrence in the summary of the conclusions of the recent Commission?—No, I do not think I can. If you take any point, and ask me, I will reply. I believe there was registration.

1822. I propose to take you point by point; well, there was registration?—Well, there was a certain number of women? I am not aware whether a certain number was always kept up or not; the women had, I believe, numbers; they were kept in that particular place generally for the use of European soldiers.

1823. And there were records of those numbers?—Well, I never saw any.

1824. You did not see them?—No.

1825. Did you ever see a registration ticket?—No.

1826. Well, we can show you one. You have no reason to doubt, have you, that the women were registered, and that registration tickets were issued to them?—I have not; very likely that is so.

1827. I do not wish to pin you to greater knowledge than you have. In your position you cannot have knowledge of every detail?—I never visited these places or saw them at all.

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1828. Then another essential of that old system was the periodical examination?—Yes.

1829. And what was the object of that periodical examination?—I presume to see whether they were healthy.

1830. To see whether they were healthy, free from disease?—Yes.

1831. And if they were found to be healthy, what followed?—I suppose they were let go.

1832. They were let go, and returned to the chakla?—Yes, I suppose so.

1833. And if diseased?—They were put into hospital.

1834. They were detained, because they would be examined, in all probability, in the same building?—Yes.

1835. They were detained in the hospital till cured, and then they were released?—Yes.

1836. Well, then there were penalties, were there not, for disobedience to the rules of this system?—I cannot say; I never heard of any penalties.

1837. You never heard of any penalties; I am referring to the old time?—No, I never heard of any penalties. I must tell you that before the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 came out, I never knew much about the details of this system at all. When the Resolution of the House of Commons came out, we examined the cantonment rules, but these had nothing to do with regimental arrangements.

1838. Well, now, that system was administered under certain rules. This is a return which Mr. James Stuart obtained in 1887, in fact before the Resolution of the House of Commons; and here is a copy of the rules in force under Section 19, clause 7, of the Madras Act of 1866: "Extract from Rules and Regulations for Military Cantonments in Madras Presidency, under Clauses 4 to 11 of Section XIX. of Act I. of 1866." The sections of these Acts dealing with the prevention of contagious diseases are, in substance, identical with the corresponding sections of Madras Act I. of 1866; that is, the India Act III. of 1880 (Cantonment Act), Bombay Act III. of 1867 (Cantonment Act). Therefore the Madras Act was the precedent, and we have here Rule 3 in Chapter 5, which was adopted under the Act of 1888: "The public prostitutes in every military cantonment to which these rules have been declared by Government to be applicable shall be divided into two classes, viz., 1st, public prostitutes frequented by Europeans; 2nd, public prostitutes not so frequented." So that there was that practice to which I have referred?—Yes.

1839. (*Chairman.*) But if I may interrupt you, as far as your general observation or information goes, you do not think that rule was strictly observed.

1840. (Mr. *Stansfeld.*) No, but before 1888; I did not understand Lord Roberts to deny that it was not strictly observed before 1888?—I say generally it was so, but I gather from this Report of the Commission, and I believe it is the case too, from my knowledge of the natives, that they did not strictly confine themselves to European soldiers.

1841. (*Chairman.*) Mr. Stansfeld is asking you about what has occurred since 1888, and I was asking you before 1888, before the alteration in the rules?—Yes.

1842. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) No, I was asking what was the state of things before 1888. Well, we get it here. Here is Section 9: "A register of public prostitutes shall be prepared in the form prescribed in Schedule A. in these rules, or in such other form as Government may from time to time prescribe, and shall be kept in the office of the cantonment magistrate, or the officer charged with the execution of these rules. The register shall, from time to time, be revised, so that it may at all times show correctly all public prostitutes residing in the cantonment. A copy of the said register, and of all the entries and alterations which may from time to time be made therein, shall be furnished forthwith to the officer in charge of the Lock Hospital, who shall at all times keep in his office a register corresponding in all respects with the register prescribed in the last preceding rule. When any public prostitute applies to be registered under these rules, the abstract of regulations prescribed for her observance, according to the form given in Schedule C. of these rules, or in such other form as the Local Government may from time to time prescribe, shall be read and explained to her; and if she shall signify her assent thereto, she shall be registered." And you have no reason to suppose, that that rule was not fairly observed?—No.

1843. Then there is Rule 14: "Every registered prostitute shall be furnished with a printed ticket, to be renewed annually, in the form prescribed in Schedule B. of the rules, or in such other form as the Local Government may from time to time prescribe. She shall also be furnished with a printed copy in English and inter-vernacular language of the abstract of regulations prescribed for her observance, and referred to in Rule II." You have no reason to suppose that that rule was not fairly observed?—I never saw the ticket; I suppose the rules were carried out.

1844. Rule 16: "Every registered prostitute shall present herself with her ticket for medical examination at the Lock Hospital or other place appointed for the purpose, at such times, not less than once in every fortnight, as may be appointed by the officer in charge of the Lock Hospital, unless she shall have been specially exempted by such officer, or by some person duly authorised by him, or by the sub-committee, from so presenting herself." You have no reason to suppose that that rule was not fairly observed?—I suppose it was fairly observed.

1845. You are not able to say that that rule was not practically in operation before 1888?—Yes.

1846. Well, now, that is an elaborate system which no doubt must have had a definite object; how would you define what was at that time the understood and accepted object of that system?—I suppose to preserve a certain number of women, that they should be available for European soldiers.

1847. And in a healthy condition?—Yes.

1848. (*Chairman.*) May I here again put my own question. The question I asked you was that I understood you to say that although the rule and theory was that they should be kept for European soldiers, you did not feel confident that that rule was always observed?—I do not think that the rule was always observed; my impression is, that natives occasionally visited these women, because the latter are much more likely to be intimate with natives than with European soldiers. This would not be peculiar to this class of women.

1849. There was a question present to my mind in connection with this, and it arises from the extraordinary difference in the amount of disease of this kind among native soldiers and European soldiers?—I do not think that these women were visited by native soldiers, who come from a very different class, but I should think that amongst their own class they would have friends and associates.

1850. You do not think that the native soldiers became their customers?

1851. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Not customers.

1852. (*Chairman.*) Their customers, those who resorted to them for prostitution, were of a different kind?—I mean their own friends, amongst their own people, but they are not the class of people that native soldiers come from at all. Native soldiers are almost all married, and they certainly have very little disease amongst them. I should say a native soldier is the last person to go to a place frequented by a European soldier.

1853. When you spoke of men, you meant men of their own class?—Yes. I see it here mentioned that it would be impossible to say that they did not do so; I think they very likely did so.

1854. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I think you told us here

that the object of the system of examination was to ascertain that the women were healthy?—I presume so, yes.

1855. Now that was not a system, was it, in your opinion, likely to lead to the diminution of sexual vice on the part of European soldiers?—I do not think that is a question that I should be called upon to answer. I am here ready to answer questions whether these rules are being carried out.

1856. You do not wish to answer that question?—I do not see that it is our business at all. I understood I was desired to attend this Committee to give evidence as to whether the Resolution of the House of Commons had been carried out in the spirit and letter. That is what I am prepared to come here and answer.

1857. You do not wish to express any opinion?—I would rather not. I may agree with you perfectly; but I do not think it is a matter to express an opinion about.

1858. I have no wish to press it at all. But, now, with regard to the question of the effect of a system of this kind upon the soldiery; I think I may fairly put this question to you: The first effect of it would naturally be, would it not, to induce the young soldier to believe that he could indulge himself with safety to health?—The system was in force many years before I went to India. I imagine it owed its origin to the desirability of preventing British soldiers getting diseased from mixing with the women of the country, as so frequently happens now, and also from getting into trouble with the natives generally. I feel sure that the system was not established to let soldiers think that they could have sexual intercourse with impunity.

1859. I was not referring to the original idea. I take it the original idea must undoubtedly have been to guard their health?—And also I should think——

1860. And also very likely to keep them out of trouble?—To keep them out of trouble.

1861. But my question is quite a different question; and you can answer it if you like, because it is not a medical professional question put to a soldier; but it is this: What effect upon the soldier himself do you think that this provision was likely to have? Would it not tend to induce him to believe that he could indulge with safety?—No; I think I would rather not answer that question. You must understand, by my not answering, I do not say I do not agree with you. That is not a matter at issue as far as the present is concerned.

1862. I do not wish to press that question if you do not wish to answer?—No.

1863. But, I gather, then, speaking of facts only from your experience, that a periodical examination was absolutely indispensable?—I imagine so.

1864. I think it has been called the keystone of the system?—I do not remember that.

1865. I think it is called so in some of these documents that we have before us. However, it would be a very applicable term to the view in which it was regarded?—Yes.

1866. And that periodicity would have to be ensured, and it could not be ensured except by some method of compulsion?—No.

1867. I take it that that is your opinion?—No; of course it could not.

1868. I understand that is your opinion, and that is the opinion of your successor in office?—Yes.

1869. Well now, did that system, as administered before 1888, satisfy you as Commander-in-Chief; did you desire its extension?—You mean its continuance or its extension? No; I certainly did not desire its extension. I should have been very glad to have had it put a stop to.

1870. I have here a circular memorandum of 17th June 1886, of the Quartermaster-General, addressed to the general officers commanding divisions in districts. The second paragraph is in these words: "At the present time his Excellency," that is yourself, I think?—Yes.

1871. "At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points which appear to be specially deserving of consideration by the military and medical authorities in every command. The treatment of venereal disease generally is a matter calling for special devotion on the part of the medical profession. To mitigate the evil now experienced, it is not only necessary to deal with the cases of troops in hospitals, but to arrange for a wider-spread effort which may reach the large centres of population, and, in this view, His Excellency has suggested to the Government of India the desirability of establishing a Medical School from which native practitioners trained in the treatment of venereal disease may be sent to the various towns throughout the country" ?—Yes.

1872. Was that paragraph issued under your instructions?—Yes. It originated from my having heard that disease was terribly rife among the natives of India, and I thought the Government would be wise if they put it within their means to get treated—officially treated—by practitioners who understood the disease; not with any idea of extending (as you put the question to me just now), the practice among European soldiers, but to give the natives of India the benefit of medical treatment.

1873. You had no idea of an extension of the system?—No, certainly not; my wish was that the natives of India generally should have medical treatment. I believe the native practitioners are not at all well up in the treatment of venereal disease, and I heard that this disease was on the increase among the people of India.

1874. (*Chairman.*) You are not speaking of soldiers at all; the civil population?—Yes, the civil population.

1875. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, it goes on:—"Whether or not the Lock Hospital system be extended, it is possible to encourage in every cantonment, and in sudder and regimental bazars, the treatment of those amongst the population who are suffering from venereal disease. The bulk of the women who practise the trade of prostitution are willing to subject themselves to examination by dhais or by medical officers, if by their so doing they can be allowed to reside in regimental bazars." I will not read the next paragraphs, because I am convinced that you repudiate them?—Yes; the other part that alludes to the examination of women, is not the women who consort with soldiers only, it was to check disease amongst the native population.

1876. I clearly note your difference. May I draw your attention to this fact, that everything that I have read is a part of paragraph II., which is begun in this way: "At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points"?—"His Excellency" is used as a general sort of expression in all official documents issued from Army Quarters in India, as "His Royal Highness" is in this country. Of course, the Commander-in-Chief is responsible for every document so issued, but he cannot and does not see all which bear his name.

1877. Probably you did not see that before it was issued?—No; probably I did not see it.

1878. Well, I will not examine you upon it?—As to the other part, I quite remember talking the question over with General Chapman as to the desirability if we could get it arranged in the various parts of India of having medical practitioners who understood this terrible disease scattered about the country.

1879. That is an absolutely different thing?—That was the origin of the first paragraph entirely.

1880. Here is a précis of circulars issued from the Quartermaster-General's Department with the Circular Memorandum of June 1886 regarding the adoption of stringent measures to reduce the chances of venereal disease spreading more widely

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amongst the soldiers of the army. No. 35, dated 8th of May, 1876, is in these terms: "The Commander-in-Chief in India, having had under review the annual reports on the working of the Lock Hospitals at certain stations, His Excellency regrets to find that the results are not satisfactory when compared with those of previous years. (2) The Lock Hospital rules, as they stand, appear to meet all requirements, but it is considered that much greater vigilance and interest on the part of the local authorities is required for their efficient working: (3) The authorities most concerned in working out these rules are commanding officers of regiments and batteries, their medical officers, and the sub-committees, and their attention is called to the following points:" This is all under your authority?—No document could have been under my authority which was issued in 1876.

1881. 1876; yes, this is before 1888?—The system was the same as was dealt with up to 1888.

1882. Lord Roberts, you were not Commander-in-Chief at this time?—No, not in 1876; Lord Napier, I think, was.

1883. I take it that as far as these are records of Quartermaster-General's circulars before 1888, they may be accepted as correct?—I think undoubtedly. The system which was in force then was the system which the Resolution of the House of Commons put a stop to in 1888. Of course, it was built up year after year.

1884. May I ask you when you did assume the Commander-in-Chiefship?—November, 1885.

1885. Well, my only object in putting those questions was that we might get it in the notes that there was a series of circulars issued by the Quartermaster-General in the name of the Commander-in-Chief for a series of years down to the very eve of your term of office, urging greater vigilance in applying the rules, and recommending further measures to ensure the success of the system; and then we have in your time the circular of Major-General Chapman, containing all of those circulars covering that, so to say?—Yes.

1886. And conveying them as intelligence and instruction to those who are concerned, and that was issued under your authority; but I quite understand how difficult it must be for a man in the position which you hold to be able practically to control all the minutiæ of such a vast undertaking?—Yes. The system had been in force for generations, and its object was to prevent the spread of venereal disease, and as reports were received of venereal disease being on the increase, these reports were treated, as the Government would have treated any other matter, till 1888.

1887. Let me hand you a Report. That is a Parliamentary Report dealt with as correct, and the letter of Quartermaster-General Chapman in 1886 with the précis of previous similar circulars enclosed?—It must be; I see it is a Parliamentary document.

COPY of a CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM by the QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL in INDIA, dated 17th June 1886.

(No. 21.)

CIRCULAR MEMORANDUM.—Addressed to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

Cantonment Lock Hospitals.

Office of Quartermaster-General in India,
Army Headquarters, Simla.
17 June 1886.

In former years His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has frequently impressed on General and Commanding Officers the necessity for adopting stringent measures to reduce the chances of venereal disease spreading more widely amongst the soldiers of the army.

Vide Précis of Circulars attached.

2. At the present time His Excellency desires me to give prominence to the following points which appear to be specially deserving of consideration by the Military and Medical authorities in every command.

The treatment of venereal disease generally is a matter calling for special devotion on the part of the medical profession.

To mitigate the evil now experienced, it is not only necessary to deal with the cases of troops in hospitals, but to arrange for a widespread effort which may reach the large centres of population, and, in this view, His Excellency has suggested to the Government of India the desirability of establishing a Medical School from which native practitioners trained in the treatment of venereal diseases may be sent to the various towns throughout the country.

It can no longer be regarded as derogatory to the medical profession to promote the careful treatment of men and women who are suffering from a disease so injurious, and in mentioning the step which His Excellency has taken, he desires me to indicate the extreme importance in the first instance of medical officers being prepared to study and practice this particular branch of their professional work, under the assurance that their doing so must certainly result in the recognition of their efforts.

Whether or not the Lock Hospital system be extended, it is possible to encourage in every Cantonment, and in Sudder and Regimental Bazars, the treatment of those amongst the population who are suffering from venereal disease. The bulk of the women who practise the trade of prostitution are willing to subject themselves to examination by Dhais or by Medical Officers, if by their so doing they can be allowed to reside in regimental bazars.

Where Lock Hospitals are not kept up, it becomes necessary, under a regimental system, to arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march.

The isolation of women found diseased, and their maintenance while under treatment, becomes also a question to be dealt with regimentally.

In the regimental bazars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses, and above all to insist upon means of ablution being always available.

If young soldiers are carefully advised in regard to the advantage of ablution and recognise that convenient arrangements exist in the regimental bazar, they may be expected to avoid the risks involved in association with women who are not recognised by the regimental authorities.

The employment of Dhais, and insistance upon the performance of the acknowleged duties, is of great importance.

The removal of women who are pronounced to be incurably diseased from cantonment limits, should be dealt with as a police question in communication with the civil authorities.

In regard to the soldiers themselves, there are means at the disposal of Commanding Officers to enforce a more careful avoidance of contact with women who are diseased, where venereal is largely prevalent, the increase of the regimental police in controlling the movements of the men is imperative.

Frequent medical inspections should be ordered, and every endeavour should be made to make the men realize their own responsibility in assisting their officers, by indicating the women from whom disease has been acquired.

Much may be done to encourage a feeling amongst the men that it should be a point of honour to save each other where possible from risk in this matter.

The medical inspection of all detachments before leaving or entering a cantonment should be enforced by General Officers.

In conclusion, His Excellency desires me to impress upon all concerned the necessity for meeting the present difficulty by increased individual effort.

However much legislation may be desired to check the spread of disease, it is necessary to abandon a sense of false modesty in dealing with the matter in question, and to recognise that, as in the case of all other diseases, its open treatment, and the widespread knowledge of its disastrous effects, are the surest means of effacing it in each locality.

(By order)

E. F. Chapman, Major-General,

Quartermaster-General in India.

Précis of Circulars issued in the Quartermaster-General's Department regarding the adoption of stringent measures to reduce the chances of Venereal Disease spreading more widely among the Soldiers of the Army.

Number and Date of Circular.	PURPORT.
No. 43, dated 20th July 1870.	I. Officers commanding troops on the line of march to ensure the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to their regimental bazars. II. When any women is found to be diseased, measures are to be adopted for her isolation on the march, and her transfer to the first or nearest Lock Hospital for treatment.
No. 87, dated 20th November 1871.	Forwards a copy of report by the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, reviewing the working of the rules for the prevention of venereal disease amongstrBritish troops for the year 1870, and calls special attention to the necessity of officers commanding stations affording more efficient and energetic means for preventing the admission of casuals to the vicinity of the barracks. Any increase of disease should at once be met by increased energy on the part of Station and Regimental authorities, and especially of Regimental Police.
No. 51, dated 23rd August 1872.	Forwards copy of a communication from the Government of India to that of Bombay, regarding the disposal of incurable women attending Lock Hospitals, in which the former approves of a proposal to employ an incurable woman on small wages in the duties of the hospital at Mhow.
No. 80, dated 30th September 1873.	Directs that the practice of levying registration fees from prostitution be discontinued.
No. 90, dated 8th July 1875.	Calls attention to Circular No. 87 of 1871, and strongly impresses upon Officers Commanding Divisions, Districts, and Stations, the necessity for strengthening the regimental police of corps when venereal is on the increase at a station, it being the general impression that the disease is not, as a rule, contracted from the registered women, but from unlicensed prostitutes who wander about the lines as hawkers, or are employed as coolies by the Public Works Department. 2. Requests that it may be pointed out to regimental Commanders, and the Lock Hospital Sub-Committees, whose special duty it is to supervise the working of the Lock Hospital rules, how important it is that they should more actively exert themselves to check the prevalence of this disease.
No. 35, dated 8th May 1876.	The Commander-in-Chief in India having had under review the annual reports on the working of the Lock Hospitals at certain stations, His Excellency regrets to find that the results are not satisfactory when compared with those of previous years. 2. The Lock Hospital rules, as they stand, appear to meet all requirements, but it is considered that much greater vigilance and interest on the part of the local authorities is required for their efficient working. 3. The authorities most concerned in working out these rules are Commanding Officers of Regiments and Batteries, their Medical Officers, and the Sub-Committees, and their attention is called to the following points :— I. The number of women on the register is not in proportion to the number of men who visit them. II. The improvement of the conditions under which the women ply their trade, such as greater privacy, facilities for ablution, &c. III. The kind treatment of the women, and every reasonable inducement being held out to them to attend the Lock Hospital when suffering from disease. 4. Commanding officers of regiments and batteries are to report at once to the general officer commanding, when any increase of venereal disease occurs amongst their men. Such reports to show the supposed causes of the increase, and the measures adopted for its suppression, and after remark by the Deputy Surgeon General to be forwarded to the Quartermaster-General's office. 5. The Lock Hospital sub-committees are to be assembled at least once a month, and their reports forwarded to General Officers Commanding. 6. It is considered that a careful attention to these points will contribute considerably towards checking the spread of venereal disease, and His Excellency hopes that no effort will be spared by either regimental, medical, or local authorities to ensure more satisfactory results than have hitherto been obtained.

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Number and Date of Circular.	PURPORT.
No. 67, dated 19th August 1876.	The annual reports on the working of Lock Hospitals during the year 1875, show that much venereal disease was contracted when on the line of march; Commanding Officers' attention should therefore be called to Circular No. 43 of 1870, and to the Medical Regulations which direct the medical examination for venereal disease of every unmarried soldier on the day of his arrival at a new station from the line of march; and the effective inspection of the prostitutes accompanying the regimental bazars.
No. 11, dated 28th February 1878.	As it would appear that the great increase which prevails in a regiment on the line of march is attributable in a great measure to illicit prostitution, requests that the necessity for the exercise of greater care and vigilance on the line of march may be urged upon regimental authorities. 2. If necessary, some restriction should be placed on the men going out of camp, by posting picquets in different directions, and strengthening them in cases of venereal increase.
No. 68, dated 24th November 1880.	Draws attention to Circular No. 67 of 1876, and requests that the instructions therein contained regarding the medical examination of unmarried soldiers on first arrival at a new station may be carried out, care being taken that the examination of the men is conducted with the utmost decency. 2. These medical examinations are of importance in detecting the existence and arresting the spread of venereal disease.
No. 23, dated 23rd April 1883.	Forwards for information and guidance an extract from a ruling of the Chief Court, Punjab, regarding the registration of women convicted of practising illicit prostitution.
No. 69, dated 26th November 1883.	The Commander-in-Chief requests that careful attention of Cantonment Committees and Lock Hospital Sub-Committees may be directed to the following points, whereever free quarters for registered women have been, or may hereafter be, established :— 2. Where cantonment funds can afford it, experienced and reliable Dhais should be employed to supervise the registered women. 3. Such Dhais should be well paid if the fund can afford it, and they should be held responsible that :— I. The women under their charge consort with none but Europeans. II. That they do not entertain a man in any house but the one allotted them as quarters; III. That a woman is sent to hospital immediately she is found to be diseased; IV. To ensure the latter, the Dhai should examine the women daily between the periodical inspections of the medical officer. 4. Soldiers who have been diseased by registered women have been frequently known to attribute it to women met in their walks outside the bazar, and the diseased woman has thus been allowed to practise her trade in this state for some time without detection. 5. Every house should therefore be numbered outside, or in some conspicuous spot inside, and a soldier on reporting himself sick should not be required to personally point out the woman from whom he contracted the disease, but merely to give the number of her house. 6. If the Dhai does her duty, these measures should lead to the early detection of disease amongst registered women. 7. Each house should be provided with a urinal and means of ablution; and such other preventive measures, within the means of the Cantonment Fund, as suggest themselves to local committees should be freely resorted to. 8. His Excellency will be prepared to sanction any reasonable expenditure from cantonment funds on the measures therein suggested.
No. 42, dated 12th July 1884.	Requests that the attention of Officers commanding stations may be drawn to the desirability when constructing free quarters for registered women of providing houses that will meet the wishes of the women. 2. Unless their comfort and the convenience of those who consort with them is considered, the results will not be satisfactory.

1888. Did the same quartermaster-general afterwards, in 1887, make a report denying that Government or its officers encouraged prostitution either directly or indirectly, and asserting that it is not the practice of prostitution that is legalised by it. We have put in his letter of 1886, with which you are familiar, without reading every part of it now. In August, 1887, I find he says this: "From Major-General Chapman, Quartermaster-General, India, to the Secretary of the Government of India, Military Department.—In reply to a certain letter dated 14th July, 1877, intimating that the Bishop of Lichfield had called attention in the House of Lords to the existence of official regulations for the provision of prostitutes in regimental bazars, both British and native, and asking for a full report on the subject, together with a copy of all orders and regulations bearing on it: I am directed to invite a reference to this office, No. 6502, of 22nd October 1873, on the same subject, and to say that for many years past increasing efforts have been made to control prostitution, and to mitigate, so far as may be, its attendant evils; but neither the Government nor its officers, either directly or indirectly, encourage prostitution. It is not the practice of prostitution that is legalised, but the attempts to avert its consequent and accompanying disease"?—Yes.

1889. Do you consider that statement consistent with the memorandum you have just read?—Well, hardly, but that is certainly what guided the Commanders-in-Chief, my predecessors in office, not to encourage prostitution, but to keep the women with whom British soldiers associated free from disease.

1890. So that that may be taken in your opinion as a fair statement of the general wishes of the

Commander-in-Chief whilst the Quartermaster-General's memorandum of the preceding year is an indication of the way in which they were carried out? —Quite so. I may say all my predecessors, as well as myself, found a system in force which was to prevent the soldiers, as much as possible, from getting disease, and it was not to encourage prostitution at all, or to extend it, but to ensure that when women were within the regimental precincts, that they should be kept as far as possible free from disease.

1891. I think you admitted, did you not, to me that the letter of Major-General Chapman of 1886 was an unfortunate illustration?—I say so; but I am rather afraid from the way in which the answer is given here that it would appear the other way.

1892. (*Chairman.*) Lord Roberts was under the impression, as I understand him, that by your question you implied that the Commander-in-Chief wished his instructions to be carried out in that way. But really you were making a contrast between the instructions and the way in which they were carried out?—I was not sure from the way in which it was put down.

1893. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And did not the India Office take the same view in May 1888?—I have here a copy telegram to the Viceroy, dated 8th May 1888: "Your telegrams received. As document quoted is authentic perfectly inconsistent with the report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887." That document being the circular of 1886?—Yes.

1894. It is perfectly inconsistent with the report of the Quartermaster-General of 2nd August 1887?—Yes, I remember that telegram.

1895. "And strict inquiry is necessary, utterly indefensible"?—Yes, I remember that telegram.

1896. "Strict inquiry is necessary." Now what inquiry was made at that time?—What is the answer from the Government of India to that telegram?—There must have been an answer to that telegram.

1897. As far as I know, there is no reply, telegraphic or otherwise, to that telegram?—There is a despatch of October, 1888. That would probably deal with it.

1898. Well, now, notwithstanding the opinion of the India Office, and your opinion, is it not the fact that similar views to those in the Quartermaster-General's circular of 1886 have been from time to time expressed by our medical officers and others?—I do not remember.

1899. Lord Roberts, I am not examining you upon this document as if you authorised it, because I quite understand your opinion upon it. But my question now is: notwithstanding your opinion and that of the India Office, is it not the fact that similar views to those in the Quartermaster-General's circular have been from time to time expressed by Army medical officers, and others? Now, for instance, take the report of the Lock Hospital at Sialkot, and the report of the year 1888. "The number of prostitutes would be sufficient if all the women were moderately young and attractive; but, unfortunately, a considerable number are old and unattractive, which increases the liability of the men to seek unregistered women." Yes, that is the medical officer. I suppose his notion was that there was more venereal amongst men in consequence of their seeking women outside cantonment limits, and it was the object of the Lock Hospital system to prevent them doing that.

1900. Still the view of this medical man is that "the number of prostitutes would be sufficient if all the women were moderately young and attractive, but, unfortunately, a considerable number are old and unattractive, which increases the liability of the men to seek unregistered women"?—Yes.

1901. And in that circular of Major-General Chapman, he announces the same rule that young and attractive women must be provided?—Yes.

1902. We have met with other similar statements of view on the part of medical officers. I do not suppose you have any reason to doubt the fact?—Yes, I have no doubt of that.

1903. Are you familiar with the terms of the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888; I mean have you looked at it carefully at all of late?—Yes, I have looked at it this morning.

1904. Well, I will ask you this, Lord Roberts: I think you will agree with me in the view that the meaning and intention of that Resolution was that the entire system of the recognition and regulation of prostitution for the benefit of soldiers in India should be abolished?—Quite so.

1905. The periodical examination is the central fact of all the regulations and practice connected with, or relative or incidental to such examination?—Yes.

1906. Now, have the rules which have been framed since that Resolution, and which are now in force, been intended absolutely to abolish the system and produce this result, or merely to modify it?—To abolish it, not to modify it.

1907. And all your view and efforts, as long as you remained in India, were directed to the abolition, and not to the modification of the old system?—Certainly to the abolition, not to the modification.

1908. Now, as far as India has gone, either in the modification of Cantonment Acts, or rules under them, or the practice under those rules, or the practice without much regard to those rules (which is a possibility), to what points have those modifications —have the modifications which the system has undergone—been limited. I do not understand from you that you claim that the system has, as a matter of fact, so far been absolutely abolished?—Yes; the order was that we should abolish it entirely, and all I said was that occasionally shortcomings were brought to notice, either from the subsidiary orders having been modified locally, or misinterpreted; but I have never heard anybody say that these Rules were not to be carried out.

1909. Well, now, the Resolution is in these words: "That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures, ought to be repealed;" and they will not even have legislation which permits?—No.

1910. Therefore, in the view of the House of Commons, it is not to be henceforth permitted that there should be compulsory examination of women, or the licensing or regulation of those women?—Most certainly.

1911. And if the changes that have been made fall short of that, you would say that they need further alteration?—Yes, certainly.

1912. I will just ask you, Lord Roberts, a question here, because I think I can throw some light upon it if necessary. The phrase in the Resolution is: "measures for the compulsory examination of women." In your view does that permit of the idea of any method of compulsion?—No.

1913. "And for licensing." In your view does that permit of any licensing provided it is not in the shape of a licence ticket?—No.

1914. "And regulating prostitution." In your view it is inconsistent with the Resolution of the House of Commons for the Government or military authorities in India to attempt to regulate prostitution?—Certainly. When the Resolution was first received Lord Lansdowne spoke to me and said: "This must be carried out implicitly, every word of it." This was my intention too.

1915. In spirit as well as in letter?—Perfectly.

1916. Has it come within your observation or knowledge that when certain changes began to be effected, whether they have been completed or not we need not for the moment discuss, in August, 1888, both military and medical officers concerned in the administration of that pre-existing system expressed their general opinion that the substituted voluntary

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system would be useless?—I remember many men said that they thought it probably would not answer. I think we mentioned that in the despatch. Is it not mentioned? That was the idea amongst many men that it would not answer.

1917–8. Now take the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjaub. In 1888, in his Report on Lock Hospitals for the year 1888, he says: "I have very little doubt that if prostitutes are not *induced* to present themselves for examination and for treatment when they are diseased, by means which may not be termed compulsory, but are virtually so, the number that will be examined and treated will in all cases be exceedingly small." That is evidence that in his opinion without a system of compulsion it would not work. "If, therefore, the system introduced in September last is to be continued, Lock Hospitals generally may, in my opinion, be closed; thus relieving Government and cantonment funds of a considerable outlay." I do not imagine that you would agree in that view?—Certainly not. Lock Hospitals as Lock Hospitals were closed, and instead we have now general hospitals to which anybody in the cantonment can come who suffer from any disease, whether it is venereal or any other disease.

1919. I think there is a little confusion on that subject, but I will come to it by-and-bye?—Very good.

1920. By "lock" I really meant venereal?—Yes.

1921. They might be compulsory or voluntary, but I merely meant simply venereal?—I think I could give you one great proof that that anticipation was not without some foundation. I visited Rawal Pindi, which is the largest cantonment we have got in India, in the month of December last year. This new system had been absolutely in force. The Lock Hospital had been shut up at the time the order was issued, but the general hospital I am speaking of was opened in February 1892; but when I was there in Deeember 1892 not a single woman had been into it.

1922. Into which?—Into this general hospital in Rawal Pindi.

1923. But the Lock Hospital might remain?—No, there was no Lock Hospital. The general officer went with me, and the officer in medical charge. I said, "Where are the women's wards?" He said "There they are," and he added, but not a single woman has used them.

1924. I will not pursue that for the moment, it might confuse other questions arising; but I think we have evidence by that statement that the voluntary system had failed?—It certainly had failed so far as Rawal Pindi was concerned, but the new system of a general hospital had not been very long in force. Formerly there was no such thing in a cantonment as a general hospital. There was the regimental hospital, and the lock hospital, and a small hospital in the civil part of the station; but there was no place in most of the military cantonments where the people living in the bazars could all go and receive medical attendance. Lord Lansdowne and I started the general hospital system, and I found that, whereas in some places it was going on fairly satisfactorily, there had not been a single woman in the hospital at Rawal Pindi for at least ten months.

1925. Now, I will take you to Delhi. The report of the medical officer states:—"The Lock Hospital is at present carried on on the lines just mentioned, and its practical use is none." That is the voluntary system; according to the medical men in 1888, a voluntary system is useless?—Yes.

1926. Well, there is a report from Jullundur. The condition of things there, according to the medical officer, shows the absolute futility of the present system of voluntary attendance?—Yes.

1927. That is in Paragraph 2: "The report speaks for itself. It shows that disastrous results have eventuated from the cancellation of the old Lock Hospital rules, and the absolute futility of the present system of voluntary attendance"?—Yes. I think, you know, a great deal depends upon the medical officer himself.

1928. Precisely. That is an opinion?—If a man, gentle and kind, understands the language, women will very often come to him; I have found, in some instances, they did come.

1929. Well, but permit me to say there, Lord Roberts, that I have some experience upon the subject in this country, and I entirely agree with you in that opinion. I have known venereal hospitals here in this country for prostitutes, absolutely voluntary and absolutely successful?—Yes, but there is one difficulty in India, that some of the doctors do not understand the language or the people about them, and they cannot deal quite so satisfactorily with diseased women, as would be the case in this country. I have found that where doctors are sympathetic and know the language, natives will go for treatment, otherwise they will not.

1930. Now, here is the case of Ferozepore:—"I should strongly recommend the re-introduction of compulsory registration and periodical examination, conducted on an even more stringent scale than heretofore"?—Yes.

1931. Well, then, Murree: "I am of opinion, however, that prostitutes, as a rule, will not voluntarily apply for treatment at the Lock Hospital when diseased?—Yes.

1932. Well, now, to come to facts. Since 1888, in the various cantonments—I will take the ten cantonments as to which we have given evidence—steps have been taken for the purpose of continuing as far as practicable the periodical examination, and, of course, the treatment?—No; they were strictly forbidden—that is to say, anything like compulsory ——

1933. No; but anything like periodical examination?—But that would be compulsory, would it not?

1934. Well, I think it would?—The orders were quite clear; there was to be no compulsory examination; and if there were, it was carried out in defiance of the order.

1935. But there was periodical examination?—No; I do not think there was periodical examination.

1936. Excuse me, Lord Roberts, there is no inconsistency between voluntary and periodical examination. I am speaking now of the periodicity of the examination?—Yes.

1937. And is it not true that it is a necessary part of the system and the conception of preventing disease being communicated to soldiers by examining the women that the examination, by compulsion or without compulsion, should be regular and periodical?—Of course that was the old system.

1938. That remains the idea?—It may remain the idea, but not the regulation.

1939. I am speaking of the regulations, if you are to rely upon this system of examination, it must be periodical?—But the examination is absolutely forbidden.

1940. (*Chairman.*) Yes; but I understand Mr. Stansfeld to mean, that supposing that there was no regulation on the subject, but there was the practice of the place, of a community, to have voluntary examination for the sake of the health of the army, that voluntary examination must be periodical—at stated intervals—in order to be worth anything?—I quite agree with you. I thought Mr. Stansfeld meant that the system in force at Murree was a system of periodical examination.

1941. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I did not address my question to that point; but now the evidence we have had—I have not read the evidence of the Commission, remember?—No.

1942. But the evidence we have had goes in that direction, that there has been a practical continuance of periodical examination in many places, the regular attendance being practically enforced by

a certain compulsion, but the compulsion being exclusion from the cantonment ?—Ay ! That was not non-attendance at periodical examination ; but if the woman was suspected to be diseased and would not allow herself to be examined she was expelled from the cantonment.

1943. Now, let us deal with that. There is a certain number of women, we will say, in a chakla, under a mahaldarni, and so long as the mahaldarni in charge, or it may be the commanding officer, believes hygienically in the system of periodical examination in order to secure the health of the soldiers, they will endeavour, and I have no doubt they have endeavoured, to secure that regular periodicity, if they can, without offending against the rules which have been laid down ; that would be true, would it not ?—They could not do so now without offending against the rules. This matter is fully gone into by the Committee, who state that all such practices have been discontinued.

1944. This is the Report, paragraph 73 : "We have shown that the rules of July 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But, in addition to these occasional examinations, we found that in all the three cantonments which we visited, periodical examinations of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth " ?—That is quite true. I told you that we did find there were shortcomings, that what you said did occur, that they did either evade or read the rules in some other kind of way, and they did carry on a certain amount of compulsory examination.

1945. In every one of these cantonments visited ?—That is what I told you, but in July 1892 I issued that order which they say stopped it, and as far as I know the orders, one after the other, issued were all to meet the very point to which you allude to. No doubt there was a difficulty at first ; medical officers probably thought that they were doing right to prevent soldiers getting diseased ; the orders were consequently in some few places evaded ; but, as I have before stated, whenever these things were brought to notice instructions were immediately issued to prevent a repetition of them.

1946. Am I right in believing that I understood you to say that you so thoroughly accepted the Resolution of the House of Commons in your own mind that you condemned, and the Government of India would condemn, any method of compulsion, direct or indirect ?—Perfectly so, and we distinctly ordered that compulsion should not be resorted to.

1947. Now I will just ask you this question *à propos* of the methods of compulsion. I refer you to Major-General Collen's Despatch of the 21st October 1891, Confidential Return 134, page 9, that is addressed by the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General, I find the expression there, " whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to " ?—I suppose he means by that, that if a woman is believed to be diseased she can be required to be examined.

1948. Supposed to be ?—Supposed to be diseased, or reasonably believed to be diseased. It is a most difficult thing to find out, because soldiers seldom or never point out the women who may have diseased them ; but if a woman is believed to have venereal, according to the regulation she must either leave the cantonment or allow herself to be examined. Sufficient proof is that a man says, " I am diseased by that woman."

1949. That, of course, is a method of compulsion ?—Well, I should not define it as compulsion. The woman is told, You have the option of going away, you need not stay here, but if you stay in a certain place you must be examined. Mind it is only a cantonment ; it is the barrack square ; the cantonment.

1950. I thought a cantonment might contain 50,000 people ?—So it does ; but it would not exist were it not for the soldiers.

1951. Under this rule, a medical officer can say to a woman in the Sudder Bazar Chakla, " Now you must come up for examination, and you must remain in the hospital and be treated and cured, or you must go out of this place of 50,000 inhabitants ? "

1952. (*Chairman.*) In other words " You need not do it, but you will be sent away if you do not."

1953. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I would put this question to Lord Roberts because we certainly had it in the report of our witnesses. Is it not true, with regard to these poor girls and women, that their choice is simply between the chakla and starvation ; to what can they go back if they have been in the chakla ?—These women are not prostitutes like there are in this country ; they are prostitutes from their birth ; they live with prostitutes, they are brought up with prostitutes.

1954. The prostitutes who are in the chaklas subject to examination for the use of the British soldiers do not belong to that class of prostitutes ? — I think they certainly do belong to that class of prostitutes.

1955. I think not.—Where do they come from, then ?

1956. They are largely recruited out of unfortunate women who have no means of livelihood.—I should say myself that there never was a woman in a European chakla who had not been a prostitute herself for years before she came there.

1957. Suppose she was under 17 ?—It must be remembered that girls in India are lawfully married at 12 years of age. It was only the other day that the age was, with great trouble, raised to 12 ; girls are, I believe, frequently married at 10 or 11. I think it most improbable that any woman in a European chakla went there for the first time.

1958. That is precisely it ; they drift to the chakla ?—They are prostitutes beforehand you know.

1959. Their misfortune ends in prostitution, they drift to the chakla, once in the chakla they have no release ?—I think you will find that they are prostitutes at the commencement and that they went there afterwards ; I am sure you will find that they were prostitutes before they went there.

1960. (*Chairman.*) Mr. Stansfeld says they are prostitutes but they drift into the chakla.

1961. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) They drift into the chakla, and once they are there it is a prison from whence they cannot escape, no one will take them if they go out again, they get into debt with the mahldarni. That is the whole history of prostitution in this country. The moment you plunge a woman into the degradation and misery and vileness of a brothel she is ruined ?—I am not defending the brothel, I am only questioning about these women. I understood from you that those women were brought there as fresh women and prostituted in the chakla.

1962. No ; they drift there then as unfortunate women ?—I think they are.

1963. Sometimes they are brought in, no doubt, by their friends and relatives ?—I should doubt it very much.

1964. We had evidence of some cases, shocking cases ?—I have never heard of them.

1965. The Quartermaster-General in reply to the inquiry from the Secretary to the Government of India said that there was no compulsion except what was authorised by Rules 4 and 5, and those you see were simply the rules that a prostitute—— ?—May I read them to you ?

1966. Yes ?—Number 4 is this : "If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is

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supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer." No. 5 says, "If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with a fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days for every breach of the said prohibition."

1967. Do I rightly understand that you agree with me that there is compulsion in those rules, and that you would not propose to continue those rules? —I did not say that, but I said that what the compulsion referred to was those rules; I did not give an opinion upon them.

1968. But this is compulsion, is it not; this is a certain method of compulsion?—It is compulsion upon a woman being known to be diseased.

1969. Being supposed to be diseased?—Yes.

1970. Does it not occur to you, Lord Roberts, that a medical officer in charge of such an institution, would suppose any woman to be diseased who did not attend examination regularly?—I do not think so; he could not do so under the present regulations. I think the supposition would be that a soldier came and said, "I have got diseased from so and so."

1971. Are you bound to say there is nothing in the evidence of this Commission which I have to read to that effect?—I think not. The Committee say, that such things had occurred, not that this is the case now. *See* paragraph 73.

1972. Have you read the whole of the evidence or only the conclusion?—I have read this Report.

1973. You have not read all the evidence?—I have not read the addenda. The Report is very clear on this point.

1974. (Mr. *Wilson.*) May I just remind Lord Roberts that that Report only relates to three cantonments?—Yes, but then the Government of India have read all that relates to the other cantonments, and they send home this Report. But all the Report says is: "But in addition to these occasional examinations, we found that in all the three cantonments which we visited periodical examination of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth." But then it was discontinued, and I do not believe for one moment that that could be carried on; it could not be under existing regulations.

1975. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But do I understand that you would object or not in future to that method of compulsion?—Well, the word "supposed" is rather a wrong word there. I think if a medical officer is told distinctly by a soldier that a certain woman is diseased, he would be perfectly justified to require her to leave the cantonment, if she objected to be treated in hospital.

1976. That is your position?—Yes.

1977. If he is informed and believes she is diseased? —If he is informed.

1978. I understand that it was desiring attendance, and compelling it by expulsion, and that expulsion would only be exercised if there was definite information on the part of the medical officer that a certain woman was diseased?—Yes.

1979. But he does not say that that is the opinion of all the medical officers?—No; I cannot say what their opinion is; that is impossible.

1980. I will repeat that question, I believe I have put it to you before. Supposing that a medical officer on the strength of the fact that a woman did not come up periodically for examination, supposed and believed that she was diseased, would that justify and enable him to have her turned out of the cantonment? —Most certainly not, and moreover there can be no such thing as periodical examination under existing regulations.

1981. But now, however mild the compulsion may be; however much it may take the form of invitation, it cannot be carried out in any degree or method unless you keep a register, or else all the women come to it?—Certainly, anybody can come up for examination.

1982. Oh, no; but I mean, supposing you apply a gentle method of compulsion?—No; but I say there is now no compulsion, gentle or not gentle; that has all been forbidden.

1983–95. And that you accept?—Quite.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Monday next at Half-past Two o'clock.

SEVENTH DAY.

Monday, August 7th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT:

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

LORD ROBERTS, V.C., re-called; and further examined.

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1996. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) The Report of the Commission of the evidence taken by them refers, does it not, to three cantonments, namely, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow?—Yes.

1997. And the separate reports of the Generals Commanding refer to the other seven cantonments?—Yes.

1998. Those two making together the ten cantonments which were visited by the American lady missionaries?—Yes.

1999. I want to ask you to see if we can agree as to the net results, judging the matter by all the evidence before us, of the official efforts for carrying into effect the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 1888. That Resolution, as you know, Lord Roberts, and have told us, meant the entire abolition of the whole system?—Yes.

2000. Well, now, I propose to go into this question. But to begin with, one of the cantonments which the Commission did not visit, that is the important cantonment of Meean Meer. Are you not aware that the whole system was practically maintained in that cantonment up to May 1892?—No, I am not.

2001. I have here a summary of the Reports of general officers commanding under the heads partly of the Statement of Facts which was presented to the Government by Mr. Stuart and myself, and also under the heads of the cantonments in question. And now with regard to Meean Meer; have you got that summary of Reports before you?—No; I think the Commission give a fair account of how things have been carried on since 1888, and the reasons for the omissions and shortcomings. Of course, it is very difficult for me to give an answer to questions about all the different stations. I have not visited them all recently.

2002. I quite understand that you felt you were in general accord with their summary?—Yes.

2003. But the case of Meean Meer is different. It is not included in their summary?—I have not read it. Let me see what it is.

2004. We have the summary of the reports of the general officers commanding, and we think that the summary throws great light upon the question of how far and at what time the intentions of the House of Commons were carried out?—I have said before that till July 1892 I admit there were shortcomings, and in July 1892 I issued orders, and I believe from that time there have been none.

2005. I take the case of Meean Meer, and my proposition is, that the old system was practically maintained up to May 1892. Now, I will put my first question. Will you kindly look at the Summary of Reports, the first page; look down the page until you come to Meean Meer. On the left-hand side of the page you will find a head "Charges," and among these charges a paragraph taken from what was called the Statement of Facts, to which it was referring, and these are the answers. Then when you come down to Meean Meer, will tell us what the answer is to the charge that there was systematic provision, with the sanction of the military authorities, for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers. Now, take Meean Meer, what is the statement in this summary?—Yes; I see that from the summary it would appear that the orders were not obeyed.

2006. My question is, what is the statement in the summary; has your Lordship any indisposition to read it; will you read it to us, so as to get it on the Minutes?—Perhaps you will read it.

2007. I will read it if you like. Meean Meer, paragraph 18, line 892, "It is admitted that prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars; that there were three chaklas, and that the women were registered contrary to orders from Army head-quarters, in two of these for the exclusive use of British soldiers." Do you find that there?—Yes, I do find it.

2008. Well, I pass from their residence in regimental chaklas; then I come to the head of "For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or native medical officers," and I ask you to run your eye down to page 2, and to say whether this does not appear, "Meean Meer, admitted." Compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods is admitted in this summary of reports of general officers to have taken place at Meean Meer?—Yes.

2009. Then I go down to the subject of the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the orders of the examining officers, and I find under Meean Meer "Admitted"?—I see it is.

2010. Then I come to the heading, "With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment," and under the heading "Meean Meer" I "find no arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from the cantonment were the punishment;" that you find there?—I see; yes.

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2011. Then the next question is: "That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and Regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonment. That these hospitals are used exclusively for the treatment of venereal cases, no other medicines being kept there or other cases treated," and under the heading "Meean Meer" I see "Practically admitted"?—I see that.

2012. Then the next heading is "That in each cantonment a registry of chakla women is kept; in some places the women's rooms bearing their registered number; that the chakla is in some places guarded; that the chakla is in almost every instance in charge of a mahaldarni, whose wages in some cases are paid from cantonment funds." Then under the heading "Meean Meer" I find this: "A register was kept; the mahaldarni had no connection with the cantonment hospitals, nor was she paid by Government. No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel"?—Yes.

2013. Then "that there is a low tariff paid by the men, which in case of non-payment is stopped from the men's pay," and at the heading, "Meean Meer" I find "Such payment is in no way regulated by the State, it is a matter of custom. No cases of recovery by stoppage of a man's pay is known"?—Yes.

2014. The next heading is, "That when a regiment changes its station, the women associated with that regiment accompany it." Under the heading, "Meean Meer," "prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march"?—Yes.

2015. (*Sir James Peile.*) Would you kindly look at the end of that summary; there are some letters printed there, one from Major-General E. Stedman, in which he says, with reference to the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer, that it had been explained after the date of the first reply, that the officer commanding the British infantry denies that prostitutes were, at the time under reference allowed to reside in the regimental bazar or to accompany the battalion on the line of march. That is paragraph 2 of Major-General E. Stedman's letter?—I see that, yes.

2016. And in the next paragraph, "The officer commanding the Royal Artillery, while denying all registration and all compulsory examination, states that five women were residing in the Royal Artillery bazar at the time under reference, but that they have now left, and that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the line of march"?—Yes, I am glad to see it.

2017. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Since when?——

2018. (*Sir James Peile.*) Well, he gives no date, but the letter is dated 6th July 1893. Then with regard to compulsory examination, Lord Roberts, you will find at the end of these papers a letter from the cantonment magistrate explaining his proceeding. He says at the top of the last page of all, "No woman has appeared for examination since August 1892?"—Yes, I see.

2019. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Since after the date of the visit of our witnesses?—That was my contention; that in July 1892, the order was issued.

2020. I quite understand that. Well, I take, of, course, the Summary of Reports, subject to any qualification which may be fairly suggested by the evidence of which that Report professes to be a summary. But I was dealing with that Summary itself. Now I pass on to the question of registration. Part of the old system was formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively. A part of the old system, as your Lordship knows, was formal registration of prostitutes; the old system before 1888 was the formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively, their residence in regimental chaklas, and the actual licensing of those women by tickets in the form prescribed by the rules which had been repealed, and of their being allowed to accompany troops on the march. Now, I will ask you to look at the Report, page 20, line 991. I find this statement: This is a report from Lieutenant Colonel Douglas, R.A., commanding at Meean Meer, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District?—What page is that?

2021. This is page 19, and then I go over to page 20, and, running down the page, I come to this paragraph: "The registration of prostitutes was stopped in August 1888, and recommenced in March 1890"?—Yes.

2022. "The issue of tickets also ceased between September 1888 and March 1890, and was commenced again on receipt of Quartermaster General's, No. 283–B., dated 28th January 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment for Meean Meer Lock Hospital. From September 1888 no inspections took place, but on receipt of the above quoted circular, women were re-registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly examinations made, so far voluntary, that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examination, she was told she must either be examined or leave the station"?—I see it.

2023. Now, that is a record of a very considerable infraction of the intentions of the authorities?—Certainly, very clear.

2024. Will you go back to page 18, Lord Roberts, for a moment, No. 5. This is from Major-General Viscount Frankfort, commanding Lahore District. What he says is this: "Regarding the Report from Meean Meer it is plain therefrom that the orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances. Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses. Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way. From some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate (*see* last paragraph of Report from officer commanding Meean Meer) women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made, between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continued." Well, that of course is indubitable as a matter of evidence. Does it not appear somewhat strange that the officer commanding in this district should have no knowledge of these transactions, long as they have continued, until the American lady missionaries visited the place and obtained one of these tickets?—I am very sorry to see that.

2025. That is somewhat surprising, I take, it to you?—Quite.

2026. You expected that the thing would have been more strictly supervised. In fact, did you not convey the impression to the Indian Government that, on the whole, you thought the rules had been fairly carried out?—To the Indian Government?

2027. Yes, I think so, including that place, Meean Meer. Your general impression?—You mean at the meeting here the day before yesterday?

2028. Yes?—Yes. of course, I was unaware of this; quite unaware of this, and much regret it.

2029. I see here is a letter from Major-General E. H. H. Collen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India, No. 3,034 D., dated Simla, 29th June 1892, in reply to some inquiries in which he is directed to express the satisfaction of the Government of India at finding that the Commander-in-Chief is, upon the whole, convinced that the Act and the rules are being duly observed. In one or two instances the action of the military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary; but the Government of India observe that his Excellency has taken immediate

steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders, and to insist on the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which have been issued ?—That is quite true.

2030. But that phrase which I have just read, "in one or two instances the action of the local military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary" can hardly be an adequate description of the case of Meean Meer ?—No ; it would appear not, certainly.

2031. This document is "Confidential" in the Military Department, No. 134 of September 1892, and it is a communication to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, with various enclosures, including reports from the different cantonments upon the very subject, reports to the Commander-in-Chief and the Quartermaster-General, I find it is from Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India (No. 537C., dated Meean Meer, the 17th November 1891). "In reply to your No. 5,378B., marked "strictly confidential," and dated 31st of October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, from all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the Rules is anywhere resorted to. I can state definitely that it is not true that anything which can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality is countenanced in any of the cantonments under my command." Would it be partly upon the strength of that communication that you expressed your general opinion ?—Exactly.

2032. So that at this very time, Lord Roberts, as we have already seen, the whole of the old system previous to 1888 was in practical activity at Meean Meer, and yet you were advised by the Lieutenant-General Commanding the Lahore District that the contrary was the case ?—Of course I reported according to what I heard.

2033. But somebody should be responsible to the Government of India, and, through the Government of India, to this country for obedience to a Resolution of the House of Commons ?—Certainly.

2034. However, as far as you are concerned, I take it that you base your general proposition upon the strength of reports such as these ?—Certainly.

2035. Why were not the Commissioners sent to Meean Meer ? It turns out, as far as I know, to be the place where there was the greatest possible misapplication of the orders of the Government ?—I did not know where they were going, they had not time to go to all the places ; they went to the three principal ones.

2036. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Had you left India before the Commission was issued ?—Yes, I did not know anything about it.

2037. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now I come to the Blue Book, the Report of the Committee ?——

2038. (*Mr. Wilson.*) You are aware that Meean Meer is the very place where that ticket which has been produced to this Committee came from ?—So Mr. Stansfeld told me.

2039. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, General Roberts, this Blue Book, the Report of the Special Commission, refers to three places, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow ?—Yes.

2040. And my view is, that in all these places the system existed up to May, 1893, somewhat modified from the system existing before 1888, but containing many of its principal features. For instance, and I think that the Report will sustain me in these propositions, and you may agree with them as you have read the Report ; if not, it would be advisable to discuss them with the Commissioners, perhaps, because we could not get through every paragraph of that Report to-day—I want to see, if I can, how far you are prepared to agree with the conclusions at which I have arrived, first as to residence in the Sudder Bazar, and in one, in Umballa, within the regimental bazar of prostitutes used by only British soldiers, the names, &c., of such prostitutes being known to the authorities by lists kept at the hospitals. My view is that the Report and evidence sustains the proposition that in all these cases there was this residence practically assigned, and there were practically these lists. Are you prepared to offer any opinion upon that subject ?—In the Sudder Bazar ?

2041. In the Sudder Bazar ?—They must live somewhere. They were turned out of the regimental bazar.

2042. I will exclude Umballa ; it is in the regimental bazar in the evidence ?—That, of course, was wrong.

2043. I will put that aside for the moment. You will agree with what I state to be the effect of the Report of the Commission, that at the Sudder Bazar there were prostitutes known to the authorities by list, and kept there for the purposes of the British soldier ?—Do you remember where that was ? Was that put down here ?

2044. No. In various parts both of the Report and of the evidence. I wanted merely to know whether you could or could not assent to that proposition, because if not I shall go into it in detail with the Commissioners ?—I agree to what they state here, that that was the case.

2045. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Can you give any opinion of your own knowledge on that point ?—I know nothing about it ; I have read it here, I know nothing about it.

2046. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) All you can say is that if my view of what the official Report and the evidence confirms is accurate you accept that view ?—Quite so.

2047. Well now, with regard to the periodical examination of these women who could be "induced" to attend at prescribed intervals (weekly or bi-weekly) either as a condition for living in the cantonment or for fear of expulsion. Have you gathered from a perusal of the Report that these conditions have existed down to the most recent period. I will put it in this way, down to a period later than the visit of our lady Commissioners ?—What is that question ?

2048. I will refer you to one question. You have the Report there, page 30, heading 11, "Periodical examinations of prostitutes" ?—Yes.

2049. Paragraph 73 : "We have shown that the rules of January 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But in addition to these occasional examinations we find that in all the three cantonments which we visited periodical examination of prostitutes has been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelve-month" ?—Yes.

2050. (*Sir James Peile.*) That is not compulsory examination ?—No, it says so here.

2051. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) "Periodical examination" is what I said ?—Yes.

2052. There is quite a distinction between periodicity and compulsion ?—Yes, quite.

2053. (*Sir James Peile.*) I entirely agree ; that is the point ?—Yes, I read that.

2054. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You read that ?—Yes.

2055. And that, you understand, is the result of their inquiry, that a periodical inspection has been continued with regard to all these prostitutes who could be induced to attend on the ground of the fear of expulsion or refusal of admission, and that continued down to very nearly the present time. Well, then, as to compulsory detention in hospital under the new Rules, what do you understand to be the view of the Commission practically speaking, is not the effect of their Report to show that patients admitted into the hospital for treatment were detained until cured ?

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—I do not think that. I visited Lucknow myself in January 1893.

2056. Is it your impression that at any period any of these prostitutes admitted to hospitals for cure would be allowed to leave unless she were dismissed the cantonment?—No; I did not say that. I visited the hospital in January 1893, at Lucknow, and was assured by the medical officer in charge that the women could go wherever they liked; could leave the hospitals whenever they liked.

2057. I will take you to paragraph 99 of the Report, the marginal note of which is, "Restraint not exercised over the patients," page 40. Have you found that?—Yes.

2058. "As in all hospitals, or, at any rate, in all military hospitals, the patients while in a Lock Hospital are not free to go in and out at pleasure at all hours. So long as they stay in the hospital they must observe its rules, without which discipline would be at an end. But the discipline is of the mildest. Leave is freely obtainable, and the women make constant visits to their houses to look after their property and to see their friends; visits often purposely arranged at hours when the soldiers will be on duty, so that the chance of disease being spread may be minimised. On one occasion, indeed, in June 1892, the medical officer in charge of the Meerut Lock Hospital stopped the leave of all patients for a week. But the reason was that one of the women who had gone out had returned home drunk. But while, so long as a woman elects to remain in hospital as an in-patient she must conform to the discipline of the hospital, the moment she elects to leave hospital she is free to do so. Before the issue of the Rules of July 1890, she was absolutely free to do so. Since the issue of those Rules, she does so with the knowledge that she will not be allowed to remain in cantonments."

2059. That you understand; that you accept?—Yes, that is the Order by the Government of India, sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

2060. (*Sir James Peile.*) If she leaves before she is cured?——

2061. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Does not the Report of the Commission show that in all these places a woman in hospital was compelled to remain in hospital until cured, or, if she insisted on leaving, that she should be compelled to leave the cantonment?—That was the Order of Government, sanctioned by the Secretary of State.

2062. I only wanted to ascertain the fact?—Yes.

2063. And is it or is it not true that there was the penalty of expulsion for the disobedience of any of these Orders?—Of that Order.

2064. The Orders either to submit to inspection or remain in the hospital?—No.

2065. Was not a woman subject to expulsion from the cantonment for refusing to attend?—No; a woman that was known to be diseased, and did not attend hospital, had the choice of attending the hospital or leaving the cantonment; that was the regulation.

2066. The regulation is "supposed," not "known." It was a phrase altered after the original draft. We have heard it in the evidence that a woman refusing to attend examination would be supposed to be diseased?—No, I do not know that.

2067. You are not prepared to say that my impression of that Report and evidence is incorrect; you merely do not know?—I do not know; that is all I say.

2068. Well, I have done for the moment with the three places visited by the Commission, and I go to the other six cantonments mentioned, Benares, Bareilly, Amritzar, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, and what I say of the reports of them, as I understand them, is this: that the periodical examination has been regularly maintained up to June 1893?—Where do you see that?

2069. Under the new Rules; I see that in the Summary of the Reports, the Summary from which I read, the account of Meean Meer, the periodical examination has been regularly maintained up to June 1893, under the new Rules which, although intended to be applied to a purely voluntary system, are admittedly capable of being interpreted, so as to be "dangerously near to compulsion." That is the phrase used, I think, by the Commission themselves, is it not?—Yes; they use that. I see Benares, "no compulsory examination of the prescribed period since October 1891"?

2070. Not "compulsory," periodical I say?—I do not know.

2071. Sitapur; no compulsory or periodical examinations since passing of Act of 1889. Bareilly, no compulsory examination held; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed. Amritzar, examination was voluntary, not compulsory. Rawal Pindi, there has been no compulsion of any kind except in the case of any person suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women. The examination is purely voluntary. Peshawar, there is no compulsory examination whatever. I spoke of six cantonments, I did not mention Sitapur. Bareilly says, "no compulsory examination held; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed."

2072. That is not the point, the point is "periodical"?—I cannot say.

2073. If I say this is the effect of them, you are probably not disposed to say I am incorrect?—Incorrect.

2074. I find this in the Summary: "In all the five cantonments mentioned, Benares, Bareilly, Amritzar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar, periodical examination has been regularly maintained up till June 1893?—I do not think it is so drawn up in the Summary. Page 2, "Benares. No compulsory examination of the prescribed period since October 1891. Sitapur, not compulsory or periodical examination since passing of Act of 1889. Bareilly, not compulsory examination here; a date for voluntary inspection was fixed. Amritzar, examination was voluntary, not compulsory. Rawal Pindi, there has been no compulsion of any kind, except in the case of any person suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women. The examination is purely voluntary. Peshawar, there is no compulsory examination of women."

2075. I was not asking about them?—No, about the others. I am only answering what the Report says.

2076. Precisely. The Report continues that there was no compulsion; the Report admits that there was periodicity?—Not here.

2077. My reading of these Reports is that they deny compulsion, but not periodicity, except at Sitapur?—The word is not used, I imagine, they all mean that, besides they said at Bareilly a date was fixed for voluntary inspection.

2078. I am practically right, I think. But we must not confuse compulsion with periodicity; I am not meaning compulsion?—I understand you to mean that they could come on a certain day to be examined if they wished it.

2079. And that practically they did come?—Very likely, yes; I do not know about that.

2080. With regard to the action of the great body of military and civil officials our witnesses have dealt with ten cantonments; the Commission directly with three, and the officers with the remaining seven. How many cantonments are there altogether in India?—I could not tell you.

2081. There is a great list?—Many more than ten. Those are the largest ones in Bengal.

2082. There are more than 100 cantonments besides some stations which are not cantonments?——

2083. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) They are all cantonments?——

2084. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I understand there are over a hundred?——

2085. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Certainly. If you would like the exact number you can get it out of the Army List?—I do not think there are a hundred for European troops.

2086. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, now, with regard to the way in which the rules of the higher authority have been received and dealt with by the officials of the cantonments. May I refer you to the cantonment of Umballa. I find that the documents, new rules, &c., which were sent at the time of the intended change of system being marked "Confidential" were read and then locked up in a "Confidential" box, so confidential that they were never seen by the succeeding commanding officers?—Where is that stated?

2087. Report page 79, line 4065. This is a communication, a report, from Brigadier-General Prettyman, commanding in the Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, dated 27th June 1893. "I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulations contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram, now under reply, were duly observed. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the cantonment magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the officers commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival at Umballa in December 1891, and January 1892. I am unable to say how this oversight arose; it was probably due to the constant changing of staff officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject, being marked strictly confidential, were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General." That is rather how not to do it, is it not, that way of dealing with a confidential despatch, not to report it to your successors. Now I will take the case of Rawal Pindi: the all-important circular of July 1892 which was not locked up in a special box?—What page are you looking at now?

2088. That is page 63, 3270 to 3290; Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, K.C.B., commanding Rawal Pindi district. "Quarter-Master General's Circular, No. 20 of 11 July 1892, which may be considered as one of the most important in the whole series, is not entered in the confidential register. It was duly received on the 8th August, two days subsequent to Colonel Anderson's departure on two months' privilege leave, and while Major Coxhead was in temporary command. This latter officer had only a few days previously joined from England. Captain Leslie had proceeded on 10 days' leave of absence, and Lieutenant Pack-Beresford was acting for him. The communication is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note to the effect that it is confidential; the action taken is marked 'Copy to batteries and companies, received 15—8, and copy filed.' The copy was filed in the ordinary file. This is the last document which would be communicated to regiments until the two communications of last month correcting this circular. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson is not now in this district; but it is reasonable to conclude that Circular No. 20 did not come to his notice on his return from leave, as Captain Leslie, who had immediate charge of the office, remained in ignorance of it, though it is difficult to understand how it could have escaped this officer's attention. Major Coxhead was so new to the country and to the subject that the importance of the subject may well have passed unobserved by him, although it was incumbent upon him to have seen that its provisions were complied with; moreover, the fact of the presence of the prostitutes in the lines, though perhaps unknown to him at the time, must later on have come to his knowledge." Therefore here it was not put in a confidential box, but it was put upon the file. It would be the last document to communicate to regiments, and was only discovered after some period of time?—The paper is marked "Copy to Batteries and Companies;" each battery should have got a copy at once.

2089. This statement is made to account for the fact that attention had not been paid to it. The orders had not been carried out, and in paragraph 9 it goes on to say: "It is difficult to apportion the blame, but the examination of the record shows that sufficient care was not taken systematically with confidential correspondence. Such documents are usually kept by the commanding officer himself in a special box, but in this case they remained in the custody of the adjutant, and were insufficiently protected. In a well-regulated office it should have been impossible for a confidential document of this kind to have escaped observation or record in the confidential register and box without without speedy detection of the error"?—I understand by that that these orders were sent by the general to the regiments and batteries, and then there was some mistake with the regiments about them.

2090. The mistake arose here from the communication being wrongly filed, and in the case of Umballa it arose from it being locked up in a confidential box, and it was never even seen by the succeeding commanding officers. I simply cite these two cases to show how these things happen?—Quite so.

2091. These were called "confidential" communications. Why should these be considered confidential; they were on ordinary military business?—Well, it was rather of a delicate nature; it is not like a General Order; they were not published in General Orders like everything else, as we were dealing with rather a delicate subject.

2992. That would be the reason of it?—Yes.

2993. They are as surely official as if they had not been headed "Confidential"—Perfectly.

2994. (*Mr. Wilson.*) But what is meant by the term "Demi-Confidential" that frequently occurs?—I never heard of "Demi-Confidential," but "Demi-Official." That means I may write a letter to the general officer, "My dear so and so;" it may be an official letter, but not a letter brought on the records of the office.

2995. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) We have evidence now of some danger attending the marking of such communications as "Confidential." In consequence, in one case of one being marked "Confidential," it never even became known to the succeeding commanding officer by a slip, and I will ask again why should they be confidential? The Resolution of the House of Commons was not confidential?—I would have to go back to see whether it was received confidentially from the Secretary for India. I imagine that the correspondence must have come to me as confidential from the Military Department of the Government of India, and carried on by me as confidential.

2096. And why they did treat it as confidential, and call it confidential, you cannot give an explanation?—I suppose we followed what had already been done. I certainly agree with you that there is no reason why it should be confidential.

2097. All these rules and regulations did not only affect persons under military rule, but a portion of the Indian public, the women who were to come under these rules: and you have indicated, if I am not mistaken, to us that your desire was that the changes determined upon after the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 should be generally and widely made known; but this was not the way to make them generally known?—It would be the channel when not marked "Confidential." They would be communicated if they were marked to the general officer, and by him to the officers commanding regi-

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ments and batteries, and from them to their immediate subordinates, who would communicate with the women concerned.

2098. Would you not be prepared to agree with me that it would have been better that some means should have been deliberately and systematically taken to bring the new arrangements to the knowledge of all parties concerned, and not merely to the commanding officer, and from him to his subordinates ?—But that is the channel of communication.

2099. Those channels very largely failed ?—They seem to have failed, but you could not communicate with the women direct ? there is no means of doing that.

2100. I will give you one illustration ; you have told us, and we have heard otherwise, of the great habit from what has ruled in the past, that the Hindoo population will obey a command after the command has ceased to require obedience, from their habit of passive obedience ; do you not think it would have been better to have posted up in their vernacular some instructions on the subject in the chaklas and hospitals ?—I do not suppose that any of them could read.

2101. Other methods might have been taken ; the mahldarnis might have been communicated with, and informed ?—I have no doubt they were ; they must have been informed, and the women must have been told of it.

2102. Take the cantonment magistrates, who have a good deal to do with this business, particularly under the old system, and where it remains, and did remain, at Meean Meer, might they not have announced, so to say, proclaimed the change in open court ?—They might have.

2103. And the police might have been distinctly informed and made to understand that the change had to be given effect to ?—I think that would have been desirable.

2104. (*Sir James Peile.*) The new Act came into force on the 1st January 1890—the new Cantonments Act ?—Yes.

2105. Before that date it is stated by the Government of India that the Rules proposed to be made under the Act had been drafted in communication with the Secretary of State, and published for general information and criticism on the 20th December 1889. These Rules were finally published on the 4th July 1890, under General Order Number 617. That is within your knowledge is it not ?—Yes.

2106. And those are the Rules which are the principal manifesto under the Act, the Rules 4 and 5, which were quoted on Friday ?—Quite so.

2107. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, Lord Roberts, I will take you to the minute of the present Commander in Chief ; you have read that minute ?—Yes ; but I would like to see a copy of it.

2108. Do you believe yourself to be in general accord with the views expressed in it ?—Let me read it again.

2109. I will take you through certain paragraphs which I will read, that will be the easiest way. I did not understand you to answer my general question whether you were prepared or not to express a general concurrence in these views ?—Yes, a general concurrence.

2110. Now, will you come to paragraphs 5 and 6, "In the evidence given at Umballa, on the 7th June, before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission, the population of Umbala cantonment is given as 51,020 souls. This constitutes a large city, to which laws specially excluding a whole class could not be applied without hardship and great interference with the liberty enjoyed by individuals everywhere under British rule. It may be instructive here to quote cities in Great Britain, with populations of about equal numbers, with a view to realising the actual conditions under which we are working in India, as opposed to the impression of those conditions which it is the attempt of the opponents of our system to convey to the minds of the British public. In looking over a table of population in Great Britain in 1881, I find the city of York contained 59,596 souls, Bath 53,761, and Paisley 55,642. It cannot be doubted that a certain number of these populations are prostitutes plying their trade with the cognisance of the municipal authorities. Yet the Mayor of York is probably not accused of making official and systematic provision of prostitutes ; nor is it conceivable that the municipal authorities in these three towns could exclude all prostitutes." Now I would ask you whether there is in your mind any analogy between the case of an English town or city and an Indian cantonment of equivalent population with regard to this subject ?—I do not know how Sir George White takes it up in that case. I suppose he wants to show that you must have prostitutes in every city, in every place, and without even the cognisance of the officials ; put in that way there is an analogy.

2111. May I point out to you the differences between the two ; we will take the city of York ; in the case of the city of York, the whole population is civil, and what prostitutes there may be reside where they like throughout the city, but in the case of a cantonment like Umballa you have a considerable military population as well as the civil population which gathers around it, and you, the military authorities, distinguish between the prostitutes to whom the civil population generally resort and those to whom you wish the British soldiers to confine their attention. Do you divide them into two classes ? You take care that they do not mix in the same place ?—No, not now ; the order is not to do so. I do not say that they do not do it, but the orders are not to do so, that they are not to be separated.

2112. Do I understand you to mean that the orders that have been given now are to do away with all the chaklas ?—I do not say do away with all the chaklas, because the women will live in them and call them chaklas ; but the orders are that they are not to live in the regimental bazars ; they go to the Sudder bazars.

2113. I understand that the orders are not to have regimental bazar chaklas, but only Sudder bazar chaklas ?—The chaklas are the places where the women live.

2114. But the Sudder bazar chaklas, of which we have been speaking, and in regard to which most of the evidence, official or non-official, is concerned, are the chaklas of women, who, practically speaking, are visited by British soldiers and not in any ordinary way of business by natives ?—Yes.

2115. That is so ?—Yes.

2116. Well, now, does not that constitute such a difference between an English city of the same population as the cantonment of Umballa as to make comparison an analogy of very little value ?—I do not think Sir George White meant an analogy in that way ; however, I cannot answer as to what he meant.

2117. Well, then, I will go on to paragraph 7. Sir George White says that prostitutes are not regarded with contempt in India, and, as a class, are rich. Well, but have we not evidence of a different character ? He says here, "Prostitutes are not looked upon by the natives of India with the contempt which attaches to them in other countries. They are accepted as safeguards to society, and are not themselves ashamed of their calling. As a class they are rich." Well now, does that apply to the British soldiers' prostitutes ?—I cannot say.

2118. That appears to be the view of the present Commander-in-Chief, but have we not evidence in this Report, and the evidence taken and put before us, as well as in the evidence of our own witnesses, the American ladies, that the prostitute to whom the British soldier resorts is looked upon as having lost caste ?—I cannot say.

2119. Will you turn to the Report, page 6, paragraph 15, "We now turn to consider certain circumstances which are special to the prostitutes of our Indian cantonments. The question of how far they are reserved exclusively for the use of our troops will

be discussed later on. But there is little doubt that a native harlot does to some extent lose caste among her fellows by consorting with British soldiers." "The British private soldier is looked upon by the natives as an Englishman of low caste; a woman who receives him suffers in estimation accordingly; and *gorá kamáná* (to earn one's living from the British soldier) is used as a term of reproach." Have you no evidence, or any other evidence, on the subject of the usual rates of pay given to these women by the British soldier?—No.

2120. You have no opinion to express on the proposition that they are generally rich?—No.

2121. You would not think it likely, would you, Lord Roberts?—I really could not answer.

2122. Paragraph 8 runs thus: "The charge of systematic provision for the residence of native women has been supported by evidence that the police are employed in watching the neighbourhood of the prostitutes' quarters. This is not official countenance. It is merely the precaution which is taken in every well-ordered town to take special precautions in neighbourhoods where breaches of the peace are most likely to occur." Now is it your impression (if you have one upon the subject) that the only object of the employment of the police in watching prostitutes' quarters is the preservation of the peace?—I should think so.

2123. Do not the police and regimental guards prevent natives resorting to British chaklas?—I do not know.

2124. Do you not know that we have some evidence to that effect; you do not know that there is evidence in the Report itself?—I do not know.

2125. If I am right in saying that the Report, and the evidence accompanying it, go to prove that they are there partly for that purpose you would not be prepared to deny it?—No.

2126. This is the evidence annexed to the Report. Have you got that. Page 8, line 465, with reference to Umballa; "There is no chaukidar. If there is a row the policeman in charge of the bazar is called in. He is not specially in charge of the chakla. Besides this, military police of the British regiments visit the chakla occasionally during the night, partly to turn out British soldiers staying after hours, and to see that no natives visit the place. If they find one they turn him out. Till lately this rule was not insisted upon strictly; but since 20 or 25 days they turn out even the male cooks and tailors. This is after 7 p.m. The door (a big wooden gate) always stands open at night." You will probably take it from me, Lord Roberts, that there are some other passages to the same effect?—Yes.

2127. And that there are passages in which it is reported and stated that they sometimes make the soldiers pay if they have neglected or refused to pay, or report them to their officers. Has that come within your knowledge?—No.

2128. Yet you would not be prepared to deny it?—No.

2129. This is Umballa. The Commission apparently examined Sergeant T. George, a sergeant in the Military Police, and he says: "The police visit the chaklas every night to take drunken soldiers into custody, to turn out men after hours (ten p.m., without, and 12 p.m., with passes), and to see that no men come in after hours. They also visit the place occasionally in the daytime. They allow one male native cook for each woman, and up to a reasonable hour at night. After that they would be turned out, and male natives at any time who have no business in the chakla, *e.g.*, native police. Men working for the women would not be interfered with in the daytime. The women are free to come and go, and are not interfered with, except that a custom of sitting on chairs at the gateway, and quarrelling for the men's custom, has been stopped. If a woman was seen driving in the bazar with a soldier, they would be stopped; but if the woman was alone she would not be interferred with. I have complaints of men ill-treating the women, generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case, I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the Commanding Officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself." Now, do not these details give an aspect of official, I will not say sanction, that may be a doubtful term, but of official recognition and regulation of the conditions of prostitution in connection with British cantonments?—I do not think of official regulation; it is a regimental arrangement apparently; if a drunken soldier commits himself he is punished for it.

2130. If he does not pay the woman he is made to pay?—Yes, apparently.

2131. The natives are kept out, and the soldiers made to pay?—So it appears from that.

2132. Is not that a regulating of prostitutes within the British cantonments of India?—Well, not in the way that I think it was originally; it is a regimental arrangement to keep the peace in the bazar.

2133. But not only to keep the peace, because we have it in evidence that the soldiers are made to pay; the condition of the prostitute is to be looked after; she is not to be allowed to sit outside and tout—on the other hand, the soldier is not allowed to cheat her, but is made to pay her?—Yes, it has that appearance, undoubtedly.

2134. It has that appearance?—Yes.

2135. Within the limits which these instances indicate, it is a certain attempt to regulate the system of prostitution in the British cantonments?——

2136. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Has a sergeant of military police any power to insist upon a man paying a prostitute?—No, he could not have power to make him pay. I suppose he might say to a drunken man, "you must pay up, or I will report you"; that is probably the way he would do it.

2137. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) This is the evidence; the sergeant makes them pay?—Of course, the sergeant has no authority to do it.

2138. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Has he authority?—No; certainly not.

2139. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But practically he does that; that is his evidence?—I suppose he says to the drunken man, "If you do not pay up I will report you for being drunk here and making a noise."

2140. Well, now, at paragraph 9, the Commander-in-Chief says: "I therefore maintain that charge No. 1 has not been proved. Certain instances may be shown where the action of individuals has been condemnable, but such persons have acted *ultra vires*, are individually responsible, and have laid themselves open to disciplinary censure; but neither the law nor the Rules can be justly blamed for this." That, surely, is not a very relevant remark with regard to that first charge. The Resolution of the House of Commons condemns the whole system of measures by which it is carried out, and these are some of the measures, and it has been shown clearly, we have seen it clearly as far as Meean Meer is concerned, and upon the statements of the Commission in their Report, that (in a degree not so absolutely) in many other cantonments the system to which the House of Commons objected has been maintained. Now, Lord Roberts, I do not myself see what the Commander-in-Chief can mean?—I imagine he alludes to certain instances.

2141. By saying that the charge has not been proved; you can throw no light upon his meaning?—No, except that he admits that in certain instances the regulations have been infringed.

2142. The first charge to which the Commander-in-Chief refers is that the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers, and he says that that charge is not proved, because, though many persons have committed actions which

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have been condemnable, yet such persons have acted *ultra vires*, and are individually responsible for those actions. But do we not agree that in the case of Meean Meer, the whole system existed down almost to the present day ?—I suppose he alludes to certain instances, probably, to Meean Meer.

2143. And that in some other places it continued to exist until after the discoveries made by the American lady missionaries; that is so in point of date, is it not, Lord Roberts ?—What I say is true in point of date, that these irregularities have continued down to a period posterior to the visit of the American lady missionaries ?—Yes, in certain places.

2144. Paragraph 10. The next charge is of "compulsory examination at prescribed period." This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. Do you agree with that proposition ?—No.

2145. Then the next is, "If it is abolished all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it." You do not agree with that ?—I agree with the rule that has been published in India by the Secretary of State, that a woman, the phrase is who is "supposed" to be diseased, but who was, practically speaking, known to be diseased, must be examined or leave the cantonment.

2146. Yes. Your view then, I understand, is that a woman who is known, not merely supposed, I should imagine not a mere supposition, you would mean reasonably supposed ?—I mean reasonably supposed.

2147. That she should be dealt with, confined, and treated ?—That she should be obliged to attend the hospital, or leave the cantonment.

2148. But that would not be the system of a general periodical examination of prostitutes in order to ensure their being fit ?—No, of course not.

2149. Therefore you do not agree with this view. Then the Commander-in-Chief goes on to say: "The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory." I am sure you do not agree with him in that proposition. The charge addresses itself to the general system, the presence of prostitutes specially appropriated to the use of British soldiers; and the essence of that charge by no means lay only in the proposition that the examination was compulsory ?—He takes it up as compulsory.

2150. He takes it up on the ground of compulsion, yes. What the present Commander-in-Chief, therefore, desires is something inconsistent with the Resolution and view of the House of Commons; what he requires is periodical examination; and I think I shall be able to show by-and-bye that he would add compulsion if necessary; but a periodical examination of all these women is what he desires to have. Well, then, he goes on to say, "The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them. In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will, it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion." But now, Lord Roberts, I will ask you, with reference to the particulars of that case, whether this is an instance, properly speaking, of free will. The case is this; in the Report, page 31, paragraph 75, examination by the President of Umballa: "It was not only the women of th regimental bazars and camps, however, that Dr. Wardrop examined. On several occasions some of the women of the Sudder Bazar came up with one of their number, who had been taunted by her fellows with being diseased, and asked him to examine her to show that the taunt was unfounded. And on two occasions, after his examinations had been discontinued, they came to him in a body 30 or 40 strong, and not only asked him to examine them, which he did, but also begged him to re-establish weekly examinations for all the prostitutes in cantonments, saying, what was no doubt true, that there were a great many women living about the places, casual prostitutes, and many of them foreigners, who were diseased. That these women diseased the troops, while they, the proper Umballa prostitutes, were blamed for it." Well, now, the free will which they appear to have exercised in that case seems to be of this nature, that they thought they saw in the system the advantage to themselves, as traders, of a system of a certificate of health, and what they wanted from this doctor, the reason why they wished him to examine them when he had not intended to do it, was that he might give them a certificate of health in this respect, in effect a certificate of health in order that they might pursue their calling, and get, of course, the pull over the other women. Now that may be an instance of free will, but I take it that their view of the matter was not one which you would adopt, and certainly the House of Commons would not adopt it unless it changed its view absolutely on the whole of this subject. Am I not right, as far as you can judge from what I have read, in saying that their object was to procure, practically, a certificate of their fitness to carry on their trade, and that they might have the monopoly of the custom of the British soldier. "Allegations of disease having been made against them, I find, by other women, which no doubt would have excited their ire." Paragraph 12: "If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence, be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient." You do not agree with that, Lord Roberts ?—No.

2151. That is the opinion of the present Commander-in-Chief. Will then, paragraph 14: "I would even go further and say that some of the regulations communicated in explanation of the Act should be modified so as clearly to permit voluntary examination of women who ask for it, and that we should maintain this and solicit the support of Her Majesty's Government." I have just read you a specimen of the circumstances under which women would wish to be examined; and I do not suppose you would care to urge Her Majesty's Government to encourage that ?—No, but I certainly should not refuse voluntary examination.

2152. No; that would be quite my position as well; I should quite agree with that. Well then, paragraph 17: "Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons." I wish to say to you, Lord Roberts, and I feel perfectly certain that you will accept my statement, that these ladies of the highest possible character went to India with no such intention; they went to India to ascertain, as far as they could, the truth ?—Yes.

2153. And no doubt it would not occur to you to doubt that ?—Certainly not.

2154. I am right in saying so at any rate ?—Yes, quite so.

2155. And amongst other places they visited Meean Meer, and there they made the discovery of the continuance of the old system, of which we now have full knowledge from the official inquiry also. Paragraph 18: "Weight has been attached to the fact that the women themselves spoke of the hospital in which they were treated as the 'Lock Hospital.'" And then the Commander-in-Chief goes on to say that "When the old system of Lock Hospitals was abolished, the buildings were naturally utilised as wards of the cantonment hospital, and this may also have strengthened the belief that the old order of things still obtained." Well, it is within your knowledge and observation, I think, Lord Roberts, that

these hospitals which are still called Lock Hospitals, which the Commission of Inquiry themselves call Lock Hospitals, that they are separate buildings; they are not wards of a building which is also a general hospital?—In some they are.

2156. I do not think in any of the 10?—Yes, Rawal Pindi.

2157. None of the three?—I will not answer for that, I know it is at Rawal Pindi; I cannot answer for all of them, as I do not know.

2158. Well, I do not think there is much in that. Well, then, allow me to read this to you. This is the Report, page 39, chapter 12, paragraph 95; "The venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals occupy, in all three cantonments which we have visited, the building used as the Lock Hospital under the old rules, and are still commonly known to the people as the 'Lock Hospital,' or, the 'Prostitutes' Hospital.' Throughout this Report we refer to them, for convenience sake, as Lock Hospitals; without, however, in any way accepting any connotation that may be supposed to attach to the term"?—Yes.

2159. Our witnesses naturally used that, in fact they explained that they used the term "Lock Hospital" precisely in that sense, so that they are entirely in concord with the official inquiry. Well, now, I come to paragraphs 20 to 25, which dealt with the hygienic question of disease among the soldiers. Now, we have no returns before us; I do not know whether there are any returns. Paragraph 21, the Commander-in-Chief says "for the purpose of convincing myself on this subject, I got from the military department the latest returns available—1892, of the specific diseases for which patients have been treated in these hospitals, and the number treated for each disease. I examined the returns from 17 cantonments." Now, have you got these returns, Lord Roberts, or are they in this office? You see in these particular cases, there is a grand total of cases 62,051, and the total of venereal cases is 3,475. Now, those figures are very strange, and to me almost unintelligible; unless this contains a number of out-patients, it would include all cases. Very well; that would account for the difference. Then in paragraph 23, the Commander-in-Chief says, "I have not returns before me to establish it, but I am convinced that of the 3,475 venereal patients treated, but a very small percentage were professional prostitutes." I do not know why the Commander-in-Chief was convinced without having the returns.

2160. (*Sir James Peile.*) Paragraph 24 will show you what he means, I think. He means that these hospitals are not filled with women who are kept for the use of the troops.

2161–2. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, I would ask you, Lord Roberts, whether that is a remark at all justified by the evidence which we have had and which we have read of our ladies, who speak simply of the lock hospitals? They do not speak of the general cantonment hospitals; they speak of these separate institutions?—But the general hospitals and the lock hospitals are all the same now; there is no such thing as separate hospitals.

2163–4. They are not in the same building?—Sometimes they are.

2165. They are not in the places which this Commission went to?—Only three places.

2166. They stated it themselves?—Those are only three stations.

2167. Only three stations, and our witnesses stated it as to every station?—Yes.

2168. Well, then, paragraphs 26 and 28, those are concerned with the progress of disease among British troops, and I do not propose to put any questions to you which bear upon that subject, because that is entirely outside the Resolution of the House of Commons and outside this Reference. We are not concerned here with the question of how to preserve the health of the British troops, though that is an important question; but it is not a question with which we are concerned?—Only this is a venereal disease.

2169. No. What I mean is this: that neither the House of Commons' Resolution nor the reference to us calls upon us or entitles us to enter into the hygienic question. That would be a long question; I am very familiar with it; but I do not consider I would be entitled to enter upon it?—Except in this way; would it not be a reason for the Government of India having certain regulations why women who are known to be diseased should either be required to attend the hospital or leave the cantonment; and the fact that nearly half our soldiers in the course of four years have been in the hospital for venereal.

2170. It is a very long subject; I am very familiar with it; but I do not hold that it is within our Order of Reference. I do not think that we could undertake that?—I think that is really the origin of these regulations.

2171. Yes; but the object of the Resolution of the House of Commons amounted to this: "You shall not do certain things, whatever your motive; even if your motive is to preserve the British soldier from venereal disease; you shall try it by any other methods, but not by these methods which we condemn." It is perfectly clear that that is the meaning and purport of the Resolution of the House of Commons?——

2172. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) The point is not before us. I would ask just one question; is it not the fact that the old Lock Hospitals are now called Cantonment Hospitals?—Yes.

2173. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Not all?—He said for the sake of convenience he called them Lock Hospitals, but they are not.

2174. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) That is the official designation of them now?—Yes. They are called Cantonment General Hospitals.

2175. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Those are the terms that would apply to all the hospitals, venereal and others?——

2176. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) No.

2177. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) To what would they apply?——

2178. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) These Cantonment Hospitals under the new rules are for the treatment of all contagious diseases among the civil population of cantonments, including, of course, venereal cases.

2179–80. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I will only ask you one more question. With reference to the 29th paragraph of this minute. I know you do not wish to answer questions which are not within your speciality. But I should say that possibly you may not object to answer the one I am now about to put. Paragraph 29 runs thus: "Our soldiers come from a class upon which the prudential motives which operate against immoral conduct have little effect. Short-service, *i.e.*, younger men, and the smaller proportion of married men in the service, have increased the prevalence of venereal in the army; and these boys, after their short turn of foreign service, return to England diseased to an extent that may be inferred from the foregoing figures, to marry and transmit the disease to their children." Therefore, as I read it, here is a paragraph practically in favour of the whole system, which the House of Commons has condemned, on the ground that our young men must be protected by a system which we think has always been a failure. But the question I would put to you, Lord Roberts, is of a different character. I would ask you, if we are to consider the effect of this system upon our boy soldiers, whether we ought not to consider, in the interests of our own

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population, its moral as well as its physical effect? Now, we have the other system, and we have the younger men, and we send them out to India, and we put them in conditions in which they are practically invited to vice, and where they are practically told that they will be protected in the exercise of that vice. I want to know whether that has not resulted in more vice, and whether it does not send them home here vicious and diseased, and whether a large, a very considerable portion of the physical evils which have been attributed to the abolition of the system have not been the consequences of the system itself?—I could not say. Of one thing I am quite sure, that there is no member of the Government of India who had any wish to revert to the old state of affairs, and that they, with myself, rejoice that the thing was to be put a stop to. That I am perfectly sure of; and I am perfectly sure that Sir George White would share that opinion also. It is his anxiety to preserve the health of the soldiers that has made him draw attention to the effects of the existing procedure.

2181. Then, do I understand this, Lord Roberts, that not only, as I have always understood, do you accept entirely the view that the Resolution of the House of Commons is a Resolution which we are all of us bound to accept whilst it remains in force, but that you yourself personally would not in the least desire to revert to the system which obtained before 1888?—Most certainly not; I certainly would not revert to the system.

2182. You would not revert to the system that obtained before 1888?—By which prostitution was in a measure recognised? Most certainly not; and I am sure that that is the feeling of the Government of India, and also of Sir George White.

2183. You are under the impression that however he may have expressed himself in that paragraph he would share that view?—I feel sure he would share that; but I think it is his anxiety for the health of the British soldier which has caused him to make those proposals.

2184. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Mr. Stansfeld was asking you as to what means the women concerned, or the people at large, had of knowing of the change?—Yes.

2185. Now if you look at the Report of the Commission, that visited three cantonments, at page 7, paragraph 19, of the Despatch of the Indian Government, about the middle of it, it says: "In our Home "Department we have directed the special attention of "cantonment magistrates to this circular, and have "desired them to do all that lies in their power to "enforce the carrying out of these instructions, more "especially by explaining to the cantonment police the "material difference between the present rules and "those formerly enforced"?—Yes.

2186. Does not that rather convey what Mr. Stansfeld was alluding to—that up to the present time, or up to this time, these people had practically no knowledge of the change?—I think they must have; I cannot conceive any cantonment magistrate not being informed.

2187. Does not this convey that to your mind?—But I cannot believe they did not know it. In fact, the women, in one of these paragraphs you alluded to just now, said, "Go back to the old state of things about the examination." I think it is quite clear that it was undoubtedly told them.

2188. Then, Lord Roberts, there is the point that Sir James Peile drew attention to just now, on these last pages—these supplementary pages, from Major-General Stedman, dated Simla, 6th July 1893. It follows the Summary, page 1; Sir James Peile pointed out that the officer commanding British Infantry had in this supplementary letter denied that prostitutes were at the time under reference allowed to reside in the bazar, or to accompany the battalion in the march?—Yes; I remember.

2189. But the statement that is in the Summary, I think, does not confine it to British Infantry?—No, probably Artillery, too.

2190. And then in regard to the Artillery you notice the word "now," in line 22; that women have "now" left, the Artillery women?—Are at present residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar.

2191. No, it is line 22, the word is "now"?—I say they have "now" left; quite so.

2192. It does not at all dispute the fact that they were there at the previous time. I want to get that quite clear?—Yes.

2193. In reference to your evidence on Friday, I want to ask you this: you told us, I think it occurs twice, that there were shortcomings that came under your notice, and the steps that you took?—Yes.

2194. Well, could you tell us what kind of shortcomings did come under your notice, and what steps were taken?—I sometimes found that the orders were not strictly carried out about women living in the regimental bazars, or about the examinations, and on such occasions I directed the officers concerned to strictly enforce the regulations.

2195. Now do I understand that you knew of certain cases before any of these despatches and reports came?—At certain places, yes; and they were stopped.

2196. But then how would they be stopped; by general instructions?—By my own orders.

2197. I mean addressed to particular individuals?—Yes, to whoever was at fault. In passing through a station if I found an order had not been carried out I invariably called upon the officer commanding to explain why they had not been carried out.

2198. Was anyone censured?—Certainly. I do not remember at what stations this was done, but during the last four or five years I have been obliged occasionally to call attention to the rules.

2199. You cannot give us any cases just now?—No, I cannot.

2200-1. I was anxious to know about that, because you know at the beginning of this inquiry Mr. Russell referred to this interview that you had with the "Christian Commonwealth," and in that interview with the interviewer of the "Christian Commonwealth," I think you said several times it was impossible that these things could have been done without your knowledge?—Yes; I said I think it is impossible that these things could be carried on after they had been forbidden, and I am sorry to find that the contrary was the case in certain places.

2202. Perhaps I need not take you on the various statements here, but of course this man came to you with the express purpose of publishing it?—Yes.

2203. And the expressions occurred in reference to these statements. In one case you said, "I deny it;" in another case you say "it was not true," and so on?—Yes. I regret to say, I find from these reports that these things have been going on.

2204. I made a note of them, some of which have been given, and a good many more have not been given, in what we have passed through, I think?—I certainly hoped they would have been put a stop to completely.

2205. Then I want to ask you one point, I pass over a good deal of them, and I want to put to you, that in what is called the statement of facts there is reference to the "penal consequences in case of disobedience of the women; a fine or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment," and your reply is given here: "I have no knowledge of any such arrangements"?—No, that was not correct. What I have always admitted was that by the present regulations of the Government of India, a woman who is diseased and would not attend the hospital, is, under the regulations, turned out of the cantonments by the authorities.

2206. Well, I was going to say the note I had

made was that Rules 4 and 5 here issued in connection with no this special matter distinctly provided for that ?—Yes.

2207. And he misunderstood you ?—He must have undoubtedly.

2208. Then he went on and read you a portion of the statement in reference to the system, " in each cantonment there are assigned quarters called 'chaklas' for prostitutes. In some cases the chakla is stated to belong to the Government," and you said, " No such 'chaklas' are sanctioned by the Government " ?—Yes ; I was alluding to regimental " chaklas." Under the present regulations there ought to be no regimental "chaklas." You see from the Reports there ought to be no regimental " chaklas," and they are not known to Government, except in regimental lines where they live there.

2209. Are you aware that Government granted land for the purpose of a "chakla" to a prostitute after 1888 ?—No, I am certainly not.

2210. May I trouble you to look at line 613 of this Blue Book, the Report of the Commission. It describes the " chaklas " at Lucknow, and then at line 612, " The larger one (Hira's) was built as a private speculation by a prostitute to whom Government land was granted for the purpose, when the ejectment of the prostitutes from regimental bazars in 1888 created a demand for accommodation " ?—That is in the Sudder Bazar, is it ?

2211. It does not say ; yes, it is in the Sudder Bazar ?—Yes.

2212. And Government granted it as I understand without payment to a prostitute ?—I do not know about that.

2213. To carry on a brothel ?—Yes, I know nothing about it.

2214. (*Sir James Peile.*) It does not say without payment.

2215. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It says " granted."

2216. (*Sir James Peile.*) " Granted," that may be for a price.

2217. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Land is never sold.

2218. (*Sir James Peile.*) Land in cantonments is sold ?—I think it is.

2219. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It says land " was granted for the purpose to a prostitute."

2220. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) People are allowed to sell or transfer a site.

2221. (*Mr. Wilson.*) At Meean Meer ; it is distinctly stated, line 3084 of the Military Reports, that, " with the sanction of the military authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army head-quarters, and as I understand, without the knowledge of the general officer commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazars" ?—That is what Mr. Stansfeld pointed out at Meean Meer.

2222. Then a little further down this interviewer put the question to you about a register, and some points have been made about the register now ; but are you aware it is in this evidence that, although tickets were stopped in 1888, the mahadarnis brought books in which were the names of prostitutes, and in which the surgeon entered the results of his examinations ?—No, I am not aware.

2223. At some place besides those already referred to ?—No, I am not aware.

2224. And this was said to be done for the information of the commanding officers ?—Yes ; I did not know of that.

2225. The evidence is that they did that for the information of commanding officers ?—Yes, because it is distinctly contrary to regulations.

2226. That in one case a surgeon-major, anyway the medical officer, understood these books to be made out in the Quartermaster-General's office. You have not noticed that ?—No.

2227. Line 1729 of the Military Reports, on page XXXIV., it is question and answer 81, " Did you keep these lists ?—No, I noted the condition of the women named therein, and returned them to the women who brought them " ?—Yes.

2228. And then if you look, about the commanding officers, at the Report of the Commission that went to the three cantonments, the Blue Book at 1088, it says at Umballa duplicates of these records were in some cases furnished to the mahldarnis for the commanding officer's information " ?—Yes, of course it was quite contrary to regulations.

2229. I do not wish to prolong this, but further he drew your attention to a paragraph or paraphrased it for himself : " When a regiment removes, these women with the mahldarni accompany it on the march in carts provided for their transport, or are sent by railway. During their progress they are protected by European guards." Now I want to ask you about that, is it not the practice when a regiment is on a line of march that the bazar goes on at night, and during the night ?—Generally. Yes.

2230. And the troops follow at an early hour in the morning ?—Yes.

2231. And therefore in many cases when it is denied that the prostitutes accompanied the troops when they were marching I take it the bazar does not accompany the troops but precedes them ?—The bazar, practically speaking, accompanies the troops, whether it moves on ahead at night or not ; to say otherwise would be a quibble ; that would not be done.

2232. I wanted to know about that ; that could not be intended ?—That could not be intended, because nobody could say the bazar does not accompany the regiment.

2233. With reference to the business of going with them, you are reported to have said : " Do you suppose that such things could occur without coming to my knowledge ? " I should say that in addition to the three places that the Commissioners went to I have only really examined two, so that I do not know about a great many of them. I have looked rather carefully at two ; but taking what the Commissioners say about their three places, and the two places that I have studied, I find this, that the Royal Irish had women going with them from Peshawur to Umballa in November 1890 ; the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders when they went to Dagshai ; that the 18th Hussars took women from Mathra to Alligarh ; the Gordon Highlanders to Sabathu ?—And does it not make a remark that the women were turned away from the camp ?

2233*. Afterwards, when they moved there ?—I happened to be there at Alligarh myself when they came.

2234. One of these marches was five months and the women were changed twice ?—So I saw in the Report.

2235. That the West Yorkshire took women on the march to Chakrata, and the West Kent to Chakrata, and back again to Rurki. All that is given by the Commissioners ; and then I find at Meean Meer the cases already referred to, so that on these five, in connection with these five cantonments, there are nine cases ?—Yes, they certainly seem to have done it.

2236. We have had information, really intelligence, that the 2nd Dragoon Guards turned their women out in 1888, and brought them back again to a regimental bazar at Sialkat in 1891. I suppose you do not know anything about that ?—No, I do not know anything about that.

2237. And that other regiments at Sialkot had their women there at the same time ?—Yes.

2238. The same things occurred at Meerut and Umballa, as admitted in the Report. Now, the com-

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manding officers must have known, General Roberts, must they not?—They certainly must have known.

2239. Of course I am very unfamiliar with these military matters. I take it that from head-quarters any orders—these confidential orders are sent to the officers commanding the district?—Yes.

2240. They send them to the various commanding officers of cantonments that may be in that district? Yes.

2241. And they again to regiments and batteries and so forth?—Exactly.

2242. And out-stations wherever they may be?—Yes.

2243. There are some expressions in this book I do not quite understand; do they acknowledge the receipt, or do they return the documents? In some cases it looks as if they returned the documents?—In some cases they might order them to be returned, in others they might not.

2244. Otherwise they acknowledge the receipt?—Anyhow they have to acknowledge the receipt when they return it, or acknowledge the letter and say what action they take.

2245. Sometimes it is returned. I do not know whether it was literally meant that the document was returned or not?—It would be returned then, after being brought on the records of the regiment or battery concerned.

2246. Supposing an order is issued in that way, it gets to the commanding officer of a regiment who acknowledges the receipt; is it any part of his business then to state what action later on he has taken, or that he has taken any action?—It depends upon whether he is told to do so or not. Sometimes he is asked to report what action he may have taken. Sometimes not. Sometimes orders are sent merely for information and guidance.

2247. If he put it in the box that we heard about just now?—Of course that is utterly wrong.

2248. But, in the general order of things, he would not report the action that he took unless he were specially asked?—Not necessarily.

2249. At page 7, paragraph 19, of the Despatch, towards the bottom, it says: "We have also asked his "Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to issue orders "to the Principal Medical Officer in India, with a "view to his impressing upon all medical officers the "necessity for absolute obedience to both the letter "and spirit of these rules, and to general officers "commanding requiring them to submit periodical "reports showing whether the regulations have been "strictly observed throughout their commands." Is that the new proposal?—Well, this has evidently been brought about in consequence of the Government hearing that the Orders were not carried out.

2250. They had not previously been required to submit reports?—I suppose not, by this.

2251. Now I wanted to ask you two or three questions just to understand how the system is worked, and particularly with reference to Quartermaster-General Chapman's circular which was referred to on Friday, the one that you object to so strongly, and that you repudiate partly. I had better begin with the Memorandum of 17th June 1886. I want to ask—When did you first know anything about that?—Well, I really cannot quite remember, but I think it was when it was noticed from England.

2252. After the question was asked in the House of Commons?—Yes, I think so.

2253. It was sent out in May 1888?—I am not sure.

2254. Inquiry was made, rather?—Yes.

2255. Then previous to that, a number of questions had been put in the House of Commons, and several inquiries had been made in India about this system during 1887 and 1888. Whose business would it be to answer those inquiries (some of them have been referred to here) or I should put it in this way: Did you confer with the Quartermaster-General, or would he confer with you?—If any inquiry came from the Government of India it would be addressed to the Quartermaster General, and he would confer with me.

2256. Do you remember whether he did, as a matter of fact, confer with you during that period when this question was beginning to be mooted here?—I cannot remember. My first recollection of it was talking it over with Lord Dufferin. I cannot remember exactly what took place. I think Lord Dufferin drew my attention to it.

2257. It strikes me, as a civilian, when that matter was being pressed, and questions asked in the House of Commons, showing that there was interest in this matter here, that he should have conferred with you and told you?—No doubt he would; but my impression is that the first thing was Lord Dufferin calling my attention to these questions.

2258. Was it Major-General Chapman's duty, as Quartermaster-General, to tell you that these pressing inquiries were coming on this particular subject?—Oh, he would certainly tell me.

2259. And if he told you about that, ought he not then to have told you about his circular?—I say that Lord Dufferin drew my attention to it, some questions being asked. I cannot possibly remember exactly what took place about it four or five years ago, but I am under the impression that it was first brought to my attention by Lord Dufferin.

2260. That, I understand you to say, was after the telegraphic inquiry in May 1888?—I am really not prepared to say when it was; it is a long time ago now.

2261. Well, you told us that orders were issued again and again, I think?—Yes.

2262. That was because certain things came to your notice?—Yes.

2263. I want to understand; were those General Orders to all the troops, or to the particular places?—To the particular places.

2264. Where you found irregularities—Yes.

2265. And, as far as you know, the thing was put right; at least instructions were given that it should be put right, but nobody was censured?—The officers who were concerned were told they were behaving wrongly in not carrying out the orders, and were told to carry them out.

2266. The question was asked you on Friday, whether Quartermaster-General Chapman was justified in using your name in that circular, using the authority of your name without your knowlege. Is it general for him to invoke you in that way when you know nothing about it?—Precisely in the same way as in this country the Duke of Cambridge's name is used. Letters going from the Adjutant-General are in the name of His Royal Highness, precisely in the same way that His Excellency's name is used in India.

2267. In reference to these questions, these cases of irregularity, was anybody a bit the worse? In the cases that you tried to put right, that you corrected, was anybody a bit the worse for his transgression of the Rules?—Except that they were told that they had not acted according to the regulations, and that they had committed themselves by not carrying out orders.

2268. But he did not lose anything by it? I mean there was no actual discipline. He was admonished?—He was not tried by court-martial.

2269. Or severely censured?—Yes; I spoke myself to the officers about not carrying out orders.

2270. What puzzles me is this—where exactly responsibility can be fixed in this matter. I will put it in this way. You had an interview with Mr. Stead, which was really at your request, as I understood, and Mr. Stead put it to you, according to his account of the transaction, put it to you several times very

strongly ; if this state of things was found to exist would these officers receive exemplary punishment—and you are reported, I think three times, to have said, "Well, they certainly ought to have been punished "—"they certainly would be, and you were sure that Lord Lansdowne would be down upon them "—"and they ought to be exemplarily punished " ?—I hear you have cases in point. The officers concerned can be called upon to know why they did not carry out the orders, and then the Government can take such action as they think necessary.

2271. May I read you what Mr. Stead said about it ?—Yes.

2272. Because he gave me a copy of the note he made immediately, at the time.

2273. I do not know if I should read the whole of it ; some of it is rather complimentary. I will read it all if you wish it. It is rather long, but he reported you as saying this : it is not published, but he made several copies, and I have one ; this is what you appear to have said : "I assure you I have done everything in my power to prevent it, and if it exists, which seems to me quite incredible, Lord Lansdowne will be down on the offenders, but I do not believe it is possible any such thing can have taken place. 'Well.' said I, 'I am delighted to hear it, and no person will be more pleased than I shall be if you are right ; but let us understand clearly, if you find that there are any officers who have set your orders at naught, these men have to be stone broke ?' " "Certainly," he said, "but I don't think there are any such." "All right," said I, "but if there are they have to be broke," "Of course," he said ; "for they would be acting in flat disobedience of my reiterated orders." And then he represents you further on, that you had done your utmost ; you were a little complaining to him that you had been a little severely treated in the "Review of Reviews," and he said he could not go for subordinates ; he wished to go at headquarters ; and then he represents you as saying, "Yes, no doubt ; but I have done my utmost, and if I have failed by being disobeyed, then those who have disobeyed will have to be punished." And the same thing is repeated further on, that they were to be "punished with exemplary severity " ?—Well, I see in one of these letters from General Frankfort, that he made that remark, and stated that these things had been carried on in Meean Meer, contrary to the orders from Army headquarters and without the knowledge of the officer commanding. There is no doubt the orders have been disobeyed.

2274. This case you have just now been looking at, for instance, looks rather a glaring case, and that was during your time. Do you know was anybody punished ?—Which case was that ?

2275. This Meean Meer case. It was discovered in May or June 1892—what you have just been looking at ?—I do not remember, certainly.

2276. The commanding officer says : "It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued " ?—Yes. I never heard of that. It was the general officer commanding at Meean Meer, and he ordered the discontinuance of it. He said : "Regarding the Report from Meean Meer, it is plain therefrom that the Orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances : (*a.*) Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses. (*b.*) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way. (*c.*) From some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate (*see* last paragraph of Report from commanding officer, Meean Meer), women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form then continued."

2277. I know. But I want to know, here is a case of strongest possible disobedience to orders ; the Meean Meer case was a very strong case indeed ?—I never heard of it till this moment.

2278. Who is to blame for that ?—The officer who committed the fault. The general officer reports that it occurred through some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the cantonment magistrate. He said (*see* last paragraphs, under Meean Meer) "women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspection made between March 1890 and May 1892." He states who it was that committed it ; it is not likely that I should hear.

2279. I understand the cantonment magistrate is the executive officer of the cantonment committee, which consists of the commanding officers ?—The general officer commanding is the president.

2280. Exactly so ; with a considerable number of officers, I presume. Now, about this at Meean Meer ? —I never heard of this case at all till this moment.

2281. You know what happened ?—I do not know what happened at all.

2282. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did you say you never heard of it till you came into this room to-day ?—No, never. It is only reported in June 1893 ; letter from the general officer commanding. He was evidently called upon to state how the rules worked ; and in June 1893, he writes to the Quartermaster General in India ; that is the other day, and makes his statement.

2283. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I do not know whether you understand my meaning. Major-General Frankfort commanding the Lahore District tells us in the paragraph under discussion that he knew about this matter in 1892 ?—Yes.

2284. Was it not his duty to report the same to head-quarters ?—No ; he took action himself. He says, "I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892, and that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continues." He said, that the fault occurred by some "Extraordinary misconception of orders, it was not done wilfully apparently ; if he thought the order had been wilfully disobeyed he would doubtless have reported the officer. But he uses the phrase, "some extraordinary misconception of orders." I suppose he inquired, but found the officer, whether it was a young officer, or a new officer, or in consequence of a change of officers, or what it was I cannot tell ; but apparently he satisfied himself that it was a misconception of orders, and he evidently put it right.

2285. But I suppose nobody ever was blamed for something that he had not an excuse for ?—General Frankfort never mentioned it apparently till now, June 1893.

2286. That was a case of entire disregard of positive instructions issued again and again—a departure from orders in this way practically comes to nothing. Does it not practically come to this, "Carry it on as long as you can, and when you are found out, say you did not know " ?—No ; I do not think that is intended. I might ask General Stewart who actually commanded in this very station, whether if he found the same thing to have occurred he would not have dealt with it himself. General Stewart, you once commanded at Meean Meer, and if you found a magistrate had not been carrying out the work properly, you probably would not report it to head-quarters unless you thought it very serious ?

2287. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Any officer commanding on the spot has full authority to deal with cases of that kind. If anything like direct disobedience occurred, it was his duty to take steps to correct it, or report it to superior authority, if not coming within his own powers. If he could not

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punish it sufficiently himself, he would naturally report it to higher authority.

2288. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Very well. Then, may I go back to the Quartermaster-General's circular of June 1886. There was appended to that circular a *précis* of previous circulars, is it quite possible that all those circulars had been issued by various Quartermasters-General without the knowledge of successive Commanders-in-Chief extending over many years?—No, probably not; but it has been the custom of the Quartermaster-General's Department for many years past in issuing a circular to refer back to other circulars on the same subject.

2289. Might all that go on without the knowledge of successive Commanders-in-Chief?—I was not aware, on this particular occasion, that those circulars were referred to, but I knew it was the custom in the Quartermaster-General's Department to refer to old circulars.

2290. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I think I understood from you, Lord Roberts, that it is the custom of the Quartermaster General's Department to issue circulars in the name of the Commander-in-Chief?—It is done in all the headquarter offices in India.

2291. (Mr. *Wilson.*) I think we understood that you entirely disapproved of some of the contents of that circular?—Yes.

2292. Or the issue of the circular. I am not sure if I clearly understood whether you entirely disapprove of the general line of the circular, or of certain things in it?—The object of the system then in force was to keep soldiers from getting venereal disease, and the former circulars were issued in the same sense. I would not have objected to any circulars issued simply to keep soldiers from venereal disease. I certainly would not have approved of that part of the circular which referred to providing them with pretty young women.

2293. I think you would agree with me that those portions about taking care to have sufficient women and that they were sufficiently attractive are repugnant to the ideas of an officer and a gentleman?—Very improper.

2294. Am I going too far in saying repugnant to the ideas of an officer and a gentleman?—They are not at all proper ideas to have.

2295. I want to ask you this: For several years after the issue of that circular in 1886, you were coming constantly in contact with general officers commanding districts and with commanding officers and generally officers of all grades and in all positions; if this circular was repugnant to them all, did no one of them refer it to you and ask you how they were to understand it?—No, I never heard it alluded to.

2296. But does it not strike you as rather odd that not one of them was staggered by such circular, and mentioned to you what they were to do with it, and inquired how it was to be understood, and so on?—Certainly nobody did.

2297. They have known since that it was officially cancelled?—They have.

2298. Then, if I gathered rightly, it has simply been cancelled; there has been no expression of opinion upon it as objectionable?—That I cannot tell you; I believe it has been only cancelled.

2299. A telegram from this office about that circular, said that strict inquiry was necessary, and on Friday we did not know whether any reply was ever made, or whether any inquiry was ever held; do you know anything about that?—No, I do not; I thought we found out there was a despatch which referred to it; in October 1888, I think it was.

2300. "Strict inquiry necessary." I want to know have we got any explanation of whether inquiry was made, and what happened?—The telegram was to the Government of India, and I cannot tell you.

2301. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I wish to ask one question; was it usual, when you were Commander-in-Chief, for the Staff, the Adjutant-General, or Quartermaster-General to issue circulars upon new subjects or changes of old instructions without showing them to you?—I may not have always seen the actual circular before issue myself, but the officers concerned would talk to me about them, and, as I mentioned, the circular to which we are alluding originated in my talking over with the Quartermaster-General about having medical practitioners scattered over the country, and I thought that would bring the attention of the Government of India to it. The first or second paragraph alludes to that.

2302. You do not answer my question; was it customary for them to issue circulars upon new matter of any sort without showing them to you or consulting you?—Certainly not without consulting me, for, as Commander-in-Chief I was responsible for all orders issued in my name, whether I saw them or not.

2303. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Where is Major General Chapman now?—He is in London, is he not.

2304. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) He is Director of Military Intelligence.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Friday next, 11th August, at 11.30 a.m.

EIGHTH DAY.

Friday, August 11th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.
General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

Lieutenant-General E. F. CHAPMAN, Director of the Intelligence Department, War Office, called in ; and Examined :

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2305. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) General Chapman, at our last two meetings we had Lord Roberts under examination, and I put to him a series of questions dating from before the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888, with the object of showing what the system was then and how that system had been dealt with subsequent to the Resolution. I find in Question 2020 I say, "A part of the old system, as your Lordship knows, was formal registration of prostitutes ; the old system before 1888 was the formal registration of prostitutes for the use of British soldiers exclusively, their residence in regimental chaklas, and the actual licensing of those women by tickets in the form prescribed by the rules which had been repealed, and of their being allowed to accompany troops on the march." And then I put a series of questions to him and I follow up that line of examination by putting a few to you to-day, and they shall concern your Circular Memorandum of the 17th June 1886, which has been much discussed in this country. That is a copy of the document. You were at that time Quartermaster-General in India ?—Yes.

2306. And you issued the Circular Memorandum of which the copy is before you ?—Certainly.

2307. You were the author of that circular ?—Yes ; my name is at the end of it.

2308. What has been the rule, and what do you understand to be the rule with regard to the issue of such documents ; are they issued on the authority of the Quartermaster-General or of the Commander-in-Chief ?—I have prepared a short statement——

2309. If you please, we should be very glad to hear your own statement — which I think clearly puts forward the whole case, what they are, and whose orders they are, and by whose authority they are issued. "The Government of India, during the course of some 25 years anterior to the issue of the circular in question, had deliberately adopted a course by which they systematically controlled and regulated prostitution in the bazars of military cantonments with the view of preserving the soldier's health. The officials whose duty it was to carry out this policy were the Commander-in-Chief, and the Quartermaster-General, as his staff-officer, and it was in the Quartermaster-General's Department that the various orders which were connected with the subject were issued. With regard to the particular circular of June 1886, it was prepared at Simla after the Commander-in-Chief had completed his annual inspection, and had had the fullest opportunity for discussing with general officers in command the various measures which it was proposed to adopt. It had the concurrence of the Surgeon-General, and after it had been fully approved by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief it was subsequently forwarded to the Government of India in the Military Department "for information," and was acknowledged by them. The course which it recommended may not be in accordance with views entertained on these matters at the present time. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the authorities who framed and drew up these regulations were not actuated by proper motives. That they recognised how very serious the amount of disease throughout the country had become, and how urgently Government measures were called for to deal with this terrible scourge, not only in the interest of the soldiers, but of the population generally, may be gathered from letters which the Commander-in-Chief authorised me to address to the Lieutenant Governors of provinces, and which are referred to in the Circular."

2310. Now I understand you to say that the subject was fully discussed with the Commander-in-Chief at Simla, and that the document was approved by him after having been prepared ?—Certainly.

2311. Do you mean that he saw and read the document ?—Certainly.

2312. I want to draw your attention to Lord Roberts's evidence, because as far as I followed him he appeared not to be conscious that he had seen the document, but conscious of a discussion with yourself of one part of that which ultimately became this Circular Memorandum. In Lord Roberts's evidence he tells us that he discussed with you a suggestion which, as I understand him, he himself had made as to the desirability of establishing a medical school from which native practitioners, trained in the treatment of venereal diseases, might be sent to various towns throughout the country. That question Lord Roberts discussed with you ?—That was the subject of my letters to the civil authorities.

2313. But Lord Roberts is not prepared to say that he saw the whole draft, or in particular that he saw those paragraphs ; and no doubt you know the paragraphs to which I refer ?—Certainly.

2314. I need not recall them ?—No.

2315. Or shall I recall them ?—Not in the least.

2316. You know what I mean ?—Certainly.

2317. That he did not see these paragraphs, and that he does not approve of them ?—No doubt ; I do not know whether he does or not now ; he certainly did approve of them.

2318. Well, but did he see them ?—Certainly.

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2319. He saw the whole thing?—Certainly.

2320. (*Chairman.*) That is a very important point; he not only saw some comparatively unobjectionable passages, but he saw the very passages to which so much exception has been taken?—Certainly.

2321. He saw the whole document?—Certainly; I could not have issued it unless he had seen it; perfectly impossible.

2322. That is what we were going to ask you?—I was his staff officer only; everything that I issued he saw.

2323. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, but is it, or is it not, true, that staff officers in India have been in the habit, more or less, of issuing Circular Memoranda, and documents in the name of the Commander-in-Chief, but without his having necessarily any practical knowledge of their contents?—On such important matters as the one we are treating of it is perfectly impossible for a staff officer to act as you suggest. He is obliged to show everything that he issues to the Commander-in-Chief.

2324. With that Circular of yours there is a *précis* of previous Circulars. You may remember that *précis*?—Yes.

2325. Am I to understand from you that everyone of them must have been seen by the Commander-in-Chief before they were issued, so far as you know?—They go over a number of years back.

2326. Yes, they do?—By each Commander-in Chief at the time they were issued.

2327. They would be seen?—Certainly.

2328. In this Memorandum there are certain paragraphs to which I will draw your special attention. Those are points "specially deserving of consideration by the military and medical authorities in every command," according to the opening; and the whole paragraph 1 is in these words: "Where Lock Hospitals are not kept up, it becomes necessary under a regimental system, to arrange for the effective inspection of prostitutes attached to regimental bazars, whether in cantonments or on the line of march. The isolation of women found diseased, and their maintenance while under treatment, becomes also a question to be dealt with regimentally. In the regimental bazars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care that they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses, and above all to insist upon means of ablution being always available." I want to know if you are prepared to express your personal opinion upon the character of those recommendations or if you would prefer to decline to do so?—I do not decline any responsibility. These things were recommended; I advised the Commander-in-Chief to issue this Circular, and at the time I certainly thought they were right. They are in accordance with the previous history of what was ordered by Government; it is merely carrying out the Government Orders.

2329. Then you advised the issue of this Circular, you advised the Commander-in-Chief?—That is what every staff officer has to do.

2330. If he originates a document he would have to do that? Then you originated this document?—I prepared the document.

2331. Did you prepare the document on instructions from the Commander-in-Chief?—Certainly.

2332–3. Did you concur with it at that time?—Certainly.

2334. And you do not wish to say whether you concur now?—That is not my duty; I have not anything to do with it.

2335. But you do not wish to say it?—I do not think I should give an opinion.

2336. (*Chairman.*) I should like to put in a question here. You recollect that on June 5th 1888, the question of this Circular was brought up in debate in the House of Commons?—I am perfectly aware of it.

2337. And it was canvassed, and I am now quoting from a speech of Sir John Gorst, who was then Under Secretary of State. He is defending your intentions and motives in what had been done. I will not read the very flattering terms in which he spoke of you, but the last lines of his speech are these: "Men had before committed errors of judgment through excess of zeal, and that General Chapman had been guilty of more than an error of judgment he refused to admit." Well, then comes this question by Sir George Campbell, then Member for Kirkcaldy. "Sir George Campbell asked whether the responsibility for the action to which objection was taken rested wholly upon General Chapman, or whether he was only the agent of a higher authority." Sir John Gorst said in reply, that he was not well enough acquainted with the details of military organisations in India to apportion responsibility in a case of this kind, and that he would treat the Circular as a Circular issued by the military authorities, and as such he deeply deplored it. In other words, he, I suppose, desired to put the responsibility for House of Commons purposes upon the Commander-in-Chief, not upon any subordinate official?—When I came home to England I went to see Sir John Gorst very soon after my arrival, and I asked him why he had spoken as he had done in the House of Commons. He said it was necessary to put the blame upon somebody, and therefore he put it upon me; he chose me instead of putting it upon anybody else.

2338. I beg your pardon, General Chapman, I thought it was exactly the opposite?—And that is what was done; it was put upon me and I had to bear it. All the abuse in the House of Commons was put upon me.

2339. Well, I am extremely glad I asked you the question?—Mr. McLaren's speech and other speeches all abused me.

2340. I dare say they did, but my reason for reading out these words was that I wanted to bring out, as I thought clearly, that in the view of the India Office, at the time being at any rate, the blame was not to be laid upon you individually, but upon what they call "the authorities"; and I was going to ask you what we are to understand by the "military authorities." I understand Sir John Gorst to mean by that that he exonerated you from public responsibility and sought to lay the responsibility upon the Commander-in-Chief. I mean I put a different construction on it from yourself?—I do not think the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for this, any further than that he was the agent of Government in carrying out a distinct policy which the Government had approved; and the Government of India have always allowed such circulars to be issued and have seen them and approved of them. The fact that this was approved was shown by this: that it remained one year in force before it was called in question, after it had been seen by the Government and endorsed by them. It is a subject to which the Government has addressed itself not once or twice, but about every few months. It is an important and difficult subject, which the Commander-in-Chief cannot deal with alone. It is so important that he must get the orders of Government upon it.

2341. Well, then, I understand you to say that you disagree with the view laid down by Sir John Gorst there, and you will not be contented for your own part to let it go forth to the world that the responsibility for this rests exclusively with the military authorities, as Sir John says. You would say that some responsibility, or, perhaps, the bulk of the responsibility, rested on the Government of India?—I say that the bulk of the responsibility rested upon the Government of India.

2342. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I should like to ask a question upon that point. Do you say that there was any correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India upon this subject, upon the subject of that Circular before it was issued?

—No, not before it was issued; I said after it was issued. It was forwarded to the Government of India.

2343. How can you maintain then that the responbility of the Circular is with the Government of India?—Oh, for the Circular I will take all the responsibility.

2344. (*Chairman.*) I am afraid I do not make my question very clear?—It is the policy that the Government is responsible for.

2345. I wanted to confine myself entirely to the Circular. I understood this reference to be to the Circular when Sir George Campbell asked the question "whether the responsibility for the action to which objection was taken rested wholly upon General Chapman, or whether he was only the agent of a higher authority." I understood that to mean the responsibility for the Circular. I thought the issue of the Circular was the action to which objection was taken, and I cannot help thinking that that is the meaning of the passage.

2346. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I should like to bring out this point. Will you describe exactly your method of transacting business with the Commander-in-Chief in matters of this nature?—I cannot describe in the particular case; I cannot recollect what I did every day.

2347. Every day. Your method of transacting business with the Commander-in-Chief on all matters where a commnnication issues from your office to the army or Government?—I went to the Commander-in-Chief, it might be once, twice, or three times in the week with my work, and in such matters as these I either read the Circular to him, or put the paper before him, or gained his approval in some way or other, and I took it back to the office as approved by the Commander-in-Chief. That was one way of dealing with it. Another way was, that I sent matters to him in a box, and he returned them with his initial at the bottom of the papers, that he had seen them, and with his orders passed upon them.

2348. Were the documents which were put before the Commander-in-Chief by yourself, personally, entered in a schedule?—Yes, always.

2349. Always?—Always.

2350. The only papers that were initialled by him were extra papers sent to him in a box, when you were not present yourself?—Yes.

2351. Those he generally initialled?—Yes.

2352. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) In this case would the documents be initialled or scheduled?—I could not say; it is so long ago that I could not say whether it was scheduled or initialled, but one or the other it would certainly be.

2353. Did I understand you to say that you discussed the document with him, and that it was within your knowledge that he read it?—Certainly.

2354. (*Chairman.*) Now I will take you back to the question I asked you before, because I think it needs clearing up. Here we have Sir John Gorst's official view at the time. He spoke in the first place in highly laudatory terms of yourself, and then he said, in answer to this question of Sir George Campbell: "He was not sufficiently acquainted with the details of military organisation in India to apportion responsibility with exactitude in a case of this kind, and that he would treat the Circular" (the Circular, you see, not the general policy) "as a Circular issued by the military authorities, and as such he deeply deplored it." Well, I do not intend now, in speaking of military authorities, to apportion what Sir John Gorst could not apportion, that is to say, the responsibility between you and the Commander-in-Chief, but your answer suggested that the responsibility really was with neither of you, but with the Government of India; and that is the point I want to make clear. Sir John Gorst makes the military authorities responsible for this Circular. What I have all along been trying to bring you to say is this, whether you do not or do agree with this view put forward by Sir John Gorst that the responsibiiity for this Circular must rest with the military authorities?—Certainly.

2355. Not with the Governor General?—Certainly.

2256. That is all I wanted to bring out. Within the "military authorities" the question as between yourself and the Commander-in-Chief, is a point I have not yet tried to elucidate. There the responsibility seems to be divided in a measure; but I suppose as a general principle, for purposes of public controversy, the person in supreme command is held responsible for everything that is done under his name and authority?—I presume so.

2357. That is the general principle. Does the fact that documents of this kind are issued with the name and authority of the Commander-in-Chief necessarily involve that he has personal knowledge of them, or are they issued as, say, a Royal Proclamation may be in England with the Queen's name affixed to it without any personal responsibility?—Certainly not, they cannot be so issued.

2358. The Commander-in-Chief would have personal knowledge of the contents and purport if not of the precise words of any document issued in his name and by his authority?—Certainly.

2359. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I thought I understood you, General Chapman, to say that this particular question was discussed, I am not sure whether you said with the Commander-in-Chief or with the Government of India, but I think you used the word "discussed" in connection with it?—Did I? It was discussed with everybody. It was done deliberately and carefully and thoughtfully.

2360. I am speaking of the Circular——

2361. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) You are talking generally of the subject, but he is talking of the Circular.

2362. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I am speaking of the particular Circular in question?—It was discussed with the Commander-in-Chief.

2363. And with the Government of India?—No; the only man who had any knowledge of it besides the Commander-in-Chief was the Surgeon-General who saw it.

2364. Then you referred to the fact that it was in force for two years before any notice was taken of it. Well, about two years?—About two years.

2365. What I wanted to know was; would the Government of India, managing that vast concern with so many subjects, as a fact really know of the issue; it might be nominally responsible, but did they know of the issue of this Circular?—I do not think there can be any mistake about a Department knowing a thing that is sent to them purposely for information.

2366. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) What Department?—The Military Department of the Government of India.

2367. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Would you explain to us exactly what the Military Department is, and the procedure by which what you call the Military Department would know of this Circular? You see we are ignorant of these things?—Well, I think I am rather out of place in stating what the Military Department is with Sir Donald Stewart here, and Sir James Peile; they know a great deal more about it than I do.

2368. (*Chairman.*) Let us now trace, as far as your recollection serves you at this time, the genesis of this very Circular. I understand it was prepared by those acting under the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief?—Well, it was prepared in my office by a number of people who were concerned with it before it came to me.

2369. I will take it then if I may, please, in this way: the first step is that the Commander-in-Chief gives instructions that a circular shall be prepared?—Yes.

2370. Then in your office this circular is prepared by a certain number of officials?—Certainly.

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2371. The only name of an officer that you mentioned before was the Surgeon-General who would be one of the officials ?—No, not preparing it; he was consulted.

2372. After it was written, do you mean ?—Yes.

2373. Very good; then it was drawn up, either by yourself or under your immediate eye and supervision, and sent to the Commander-in-Chief ?—Yes.

2374. So that, I understand, the Surgeon-General would not take part in the composition of the document, but would only be consulted after it was written ?—Yes.

2375. He would not be, in any sense, part author of it ?—No.

2376. Very good; after it had passed through your hands it would go to the Commander-in-Chief, and be issued under his authority ?—Yes.

2377. There you drop the history of it; after that point you have done with it; it passes out of your hands and official knowledge ?—Yes.

2378. Then perhaps Sir Donald Stewart would tell us ?——

2279. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) A copy of the Circular would go to the Government of India in the Military Department for the information of the Government.

2380. (*Chairman.*) It would go to the Military Department of the Government of India for the information of the Government ?

2381. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) It would go to the Military Department of the Government of India for the information of the Government.

2382. (*Chairman.*) Then it might or might not pass on to the hands of the Viceroy ?

2383. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Then it would be for the Department to deal with it.

2384. (*Chairman.*) And it does not necessarily follow that it would come to the Viceroy.

2385. (*Sir Donald Stewart*) No. If the Department considered it advisable that the Viceroy's attention should be drawn to this particular circular, it no doubt would be done; otherwise it would just be filed.

2386. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Then, General Chapman, I wanted to ask you this: when the Resolution of the House of Commons was passed in 1888 and sent out to India in the Despatch, which we have here somewhere, under whose cognisance would that first come ?—The Viceroy.

2387. And he would refer it to whom ?—To the Military Department of the Government of India.

2388. And they would refer it ?—To the Commander-in-Chief.

2389. And he would talk it over with you ?—Yes.

2390. And when any reply was agreed upon, or any action that might be suggested, would it pass back through the same channel ?—Yes.

2391. Then may I ask you this: There was a telegram sent out from this country, condemning this Circular, and saying that strict inquiry was necessary, of date the 8th May 1888. Can you tell us what inquiry was held ?—No, I cannot tell you that.

2392. Do you know whether any was held ?—Yes.

2393. (*Chairman.*) This, you understand, is before the Vote in the House of Commons, about a month before. Perhaps, Mr. Wilson, you would refresh the General's memory by reading out that telegram ?——

2394. (*Mr. Wilson.*) A telegram sent to the Viceroy, dated 8th May, from this Office, from Lord Cross, I suppose: "Your telegram received. As document quoted is authentic, perfectly inconsistent with the report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887." Then there was a Despatch following that—Despatch of the 17th May, from this Office, and signed by Lord Cross, in the last paragraph of which he says: "Since I received your last Despatch, a paper has been placed in my hands purporting to be a copy of a Circular Memorandum issued from Army headquarters in India, and I learn from your telegram of the 8th instant that such circular is authentic. I have no occasion to doubt that the copy placed in my hands is correct; and although it has already been withdrawn, I feel bound to express my deep regret, in which I know your Excellency shares, that any such document should ever have been issued, nor can I in anyway reconcile its contents with the report made to you in Quartermaster-General's letter, No. 3713 B., of 2nd August 1887, and contained in the enclosures to your Despatch of the 24th January 1888. I think, in the papers which have been furnished to us, we have no notice, so far as I am aware, of what reply (if any) was sent either to the telegram or to that part of the Despatch ?—I do not know at all.

2395. You would not know ?—No.

2396. (*Chairman.*) But do you recollect the coming out of this telegram from England condemning the Circular, and the steps taken on that. That would be within your knowledge, would it not ?—Yes.

2397. Do you recollect it ? Do you recollect its coming, and what was done then ?—In 1887, is it ?

2398. No, 1888, just before the Debate. That very peremptory telegram that Mr. Wilson has just read to you was dated 8th May 1888, that one in which Lord Cross says that the Circular is inconsistent with the Report of the previous year from the Quartermaster-General and is quite indefensible. Well, the receipt of such a telegram as that from the Secretary of State by the Viceroy would be communicated to you ?—No, it was not communicated.

2399. Not to you individually, but I suppose to the Commander-in-Chief, and through him to you ?—It was not in any way shown to me.

2400. Then were you not made aware that this Circular had been condemned from England ?—Oh, I knew of it, certainly.

2401. I was going to say, but you knew it officially, did you not. Were you not informed; would it not come into your Department ? As it issued from you, would not the recalling of it come in to you also ?—Not necessarily.

2402. Then you had no official connection with the withdrawing of the Circular, or the taking of any steps in consequence of the condemnation of it here ?—Only in carrying out orders.

2403. In carrying out orders ? — Obeying the orders.

2404. Take it that way, on the receipt of the condemnation of the circular from the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief gave orders for the circular to be recalled ? — Orders were issued by Government.

2405. By Government ?—As far as I recollect.

2406. And those would come to you to be executed. It would be in your way of duty to see that they were carried out ?—Certainly.

2407. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Upon that point I only want to say this: If that is so, it would appear that you never had the opportunity, in point of fact, of making any statement in reply to this sharp telegram and Despatch ?—I had an interview with Lord Dufferin, at the time. I saw the Commander-in-Chief, and went from the Commander-in-Chief to Lord Dufferin, and Lord Dufferin told me that he would write privately to Lord Cross, and that he exonerated me in the matter. That is all I know about it.

2408. Then this is the first opportunity at all, of a public kind, that you have had of making any reply, either to the telegram or to the Despatch. I do not know whether you wish to make any other statement ?—I do not wish to make any reply.

2409. (*Chairman.*) I think you have the Despatch from India in which that telegram is acknowledged marginally ?——

2410. (*Sir James Peile.*) Yes. General Chapman, I have here a letter, dated the 5th May 1888, written by you as Quartermaster-General, to the Secretary of

the Government of India, Military Department. It is in answer to Lord Cross's demand for full and early report upon certain points. You say in that that the regimental system of dealing with prostitutes had been in force in the Bengal Presidency since the time of the East India Company. You recollect the letter, probably ?—Well, yes ; I have not seen it since.

2411. It is the one in which you submitted a collection of all the circulars which had regulated the system from 1870 onwards ?—Yes.

2412. And among those circulars is the Circular 21 of the 17th June 1886. This particular circular which has been discussed ?—Yes.

2413. It is one of a series of circulars which was issued from time to time ?—Yes.

2314. And the occasion of it is shown in a letter in the same collection of papers, which also has your signature as Quartermaster-General : "The very alarming increase in venereal disease which has occurred during the past 15 months throughout the army in India is a matter which is engaging, at this moment, His Excellency's very serious attention." That was the occasion of the issue of the Circular ?—Yes.

2415. And the object was to suggest a method of coping with disease among the civil population outside the lines, and at the same time to confine the British soldiers, in the matter of prostitution, to their own lines ?—Certainly.

2416. You also put in the same collection a letter from you as Quartermaster-General, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, in continuation of one forwarding copy of the letter to which I have just referred, forwarding, for the information of Government, a copy of the Circular No. 21 of the 12th June 1886 ?—Yes.

2417. At the same time, you sent letters also as Quartermaster-General, forwarding the same Circular and other correspondence to the Government of Bengal, Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Government of the North-West Province and Oudh, Agent and Governor-General of Central India, the Central Provinces, the Punjaub, and, again, to the Secretary of the Government of India and the Foreign Department. And in another letter you forward the same Circular to the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay and Madras ? —Certainly.

2418. So that the Circular was sent in every direction to all the authorities in India ?—Yes.

2419. It excited no particular attention or protest ? —No, there was no protest.

2420. It was accepted as part of a recognised system ?—It had very serious attention.

2421. Correspondence went on afterwards with the Surgeon-General as to the measures to be taken to deal with the great increase in venereal disease ?—Yes.

2422. That all happened in 1886 ?—Yes.

2423. Then, in 1887, a change occurred. Inquiries were raised in England on this subject. The Bishop of Lichfield spoke on it in the House of Lords ; perhaps you recollect ?—Yes.

2424. And that was taken up by the Secretary of State ?—Yes.

2425. And inquiries were addressed to India. I find in this file, which is from the India Office Records, a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department to the Quartermaster-General in India, that is, to you, in which he says he forwards a letter from the Quartermaster-General of the Madras army. He says : "It will be seen that the orders attached to that letter are represented to be reproductions of circulars which have been issued in the Bengal Presidency, and it appears to the Government of India that if these circulars are still in force, very strong objections may reasonably be urged against the arrangements which they seem to countenance, and which appear to go beyond the limits of the action provided by law. I am accordingly to ask that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may be moved to consider the propriety of revising the existing regulations, so as to limit the action of the military authorities in all cantonments to what is really required to give effect to the provisions of the Cantonment Act in this matter." That letter is dated 23rd January 1888. With that is the letter from the Quartermaster-General in the Madras Army which is referred to in the letter I have just quoted from. He says, "In view of diminishing as much as practicable the liability of soldiers contracting disease, orders on the subject which have been issued in the Bengal Presidency, were reproduced in the circulars as per margin, copies attached." One of these is dated 6th August 1886, and it is stated by the Government of India to have reproduced the Circular No. 21 of 17th June 1886. This correspondence was forwarded to the Secretary of State with a Despatch No. 17 of the 24th January 1888, in which reference is made to the letter which I have just read from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to you, and this despatch says, "Your Lordship will observe that we consider some of the existing arrangements are open to objection, and that we are in communication with the Commander-in-Chief with a view to their revision." Do you recollect that revision being taken up ?—Yes, after the Bishop of Lichfield's question.

2426–7. Well then, I go to another Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, No. 81 of the 18th of May 1888. That is the Despatch to which your letter of 5th May and the set of circulars are enclosures. In the third paragraph of that Despatch the Government of India says, referring again to the Circular No. 21, of 17th June 1886 : "This Circular is one of those alluded to in the second clause of Paragraph I. of Military Department letter dated 23rd January 1888, upon which the Madras circulars were based, and to which we took objection in that letter." They then forward your letter with the copies of all the circulars and continue, "We admit without reserve that the blots upon the present system are so serious as to call for our earnest consideration and for an immediate and thorough revision of existing arrangements." Do you recollect that ?—No.

2428. You have no doubt that that is a Despatch of the Government of India to the Military Department ? —Certainly.

2429. And another passage is : "The instructions on the subject are not issued under the authority of the Government of India, but having them now before us in a complete form, we have no hesitation in saying that some of the rules are open to grave objection, and are indeed indefensible." And they go on : "We have now decided to direct the cancellment of the circulars." Appended to that Despatch and to the other Despatch which I quoted, is the signature of Lord Roberts as a member of the Government of India ?—Yes.

2430. At that time, therefore, he had re-examined the circulars and concurred in the opinion of the Government of India that they were indefensible, and required revision ?—Certainly.

2431. I refer also to another Despatch from the Government of India of the 15th October 1888, paragraph 7, "It will thus be seen that the 'Indian Contagious Diseases Act,' and Acts, or portions of Acts, connected therewith, have been repealed, and the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps, or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled." And Lord Roberts' signature is appended to that also as agreeing with the rest of Government of India in that view ?—Yes.

2432. It appears then that this Circular, No. 21, and all the other circulars had ceased to exist in 1888 ?—Yes.

2433. And the system based on them and regulated by them had been abolished ?—Yes.

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2434. And after that date any practice adopted on the strength of those circulars would be devoid of any authority and would be contrary to the orders of the Government of India ?—Certainly.

2435. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I ask you, General Chapman, we have had a large number of despatches and papers of various kinds supplied to us on this subject, and we find that some of them are marked "Confidential" and some are marked "Demi-official." Can you tell us what object there would be in making these confidential, and what is the exact meaning of "confidential" in that sense ?—I do not think they are issued confidentially. I do not remember what the practice is that you refer to. I think we found that all the papers on this subject were not confidential.

2436. But most of them were ?—I really cannot say ; I think they were not confidential ; but I cannot say.

2437. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) The issue of the Circular relating to a subject of that kind as "confidential" would be absurd, would it not ?—I think so.

2438. (*Sir James Peile.*) In point of fact it was not confidential ; here it is ?—I do not think it was.

2439. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I just draw your attention to this Despatch written since you left India. Brigadier-General Pretyman writing from Simla on the 23rd June 1893, No. 30, in paragraph 14, says this : "I would here remark that the very secresy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view, and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to officers commanding corps as well as to cantonment authorities generally" ?—I know nothing about that.

2440. Of course you would not know about that particular despatch, but would you at all concur in his view if they were marked "Confidential," and "very great secresy entailed" ?—I have nothing to do with it really. I had left India.

2441. But it refers to your circulars ?—My circulars were not confidential. These circulars are not confidential at all.

2442. (*Chairman.*) Then what are those to which you refer, Mr. Wilson, to which those remarks apply. We have some strong remarks about the secresy of these documents, I want to know to what documents those remarks apply.

2443. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Major-General Pretyman writes, paragraph 4 : "It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office,and in that of the cantonment magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the officers commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival at Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892. I am unable to say how this oversight arose ; it was probably due to the constant changing of staff officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject, being marked "strictly confidential," were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General" ?—I know nothing about it.

2444. Now, on another topic, can you tell me this, under whose authority do the military police act ?—Under the authority of the cantonment magistrate.

2445. Of the cantonment magistrate ?—The military police.

2446. The military police of the European regiments ?—No ; the orders of the commanding officer.

2447. The commanding officer ?—Yes.

2448. Then, if they exceed their duty, it would be the business of the commanding officer to deal with it ?—Yes.

2449. If there should be cases in which the military police have exceeded their duty, it would be the business of the commanding officer to look after that ?—The military police would have only offences against the men.

2450. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes ; but Mr. Wilson is asking who are the military police responsible to ?—The commanding officer.

2451. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Then I want to ask you, if it appears they make a practice of turning male natives out of brothels, because British soldiers object to their presence, are the military police within their authority in doing that ?—I really have not heard of that. I do not think the military police go into brothels. I do not know at all.

2452. But my question is, if they do do so ?—I do not really see what it has to do with it.

2453. Very well, I will not press it ?——

2454. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) You do not know anything about it ?—I do not know anything about it.

2455. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Then I want to ask about another point, just to get to understand it. When a regiment is on the march, am I right in understanding that the bazar starts at 10 or 11 o'clock at night, and the troops follow early in the morning ?—Yes, I suppose it does.

2456. And does the Quartermaster's party march with or about the same time as the bazar, during the night ?—I do not know.

2457. I will only ask you one other question. Can you tell us whether any effort has ever been made to advise these young soldiers with reference to chastity ?—I do not know. I should think every effort is made, but I do not know.

2458. You cannot tell us of anything that has been officially—directly—done in that direction?—No, I do not recall anything.

2459. Either by commanding officers or by chaplains ?—Oh, by chaplains and by commanding officers it is repeatedly done.

2460. You cannot give us any instances ?—I know instances. It is the one duty of the commanding officer and of the chaplain—of every officer.

2461. (*Chairman.*) I think we may take it for granted that a minister of religion would in preaching ; but would a commanding officer lay stress on such a point ?—Everybody ; every single officer concerned in the interests of the soldiers, everybody would tell them.

2462. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I have had communications with a considerable number of soldiers in this country, some who approve of these regulations, and of the system of regulating prostitution, and some who do not ; and without exception they tell me that they never did hear, either from commanding officers, or any other officers, or from the chaplains, a word of advice on this subject ?—Then they do not speak the truth.

[The Witness withdrew.

Mr. Denzil Ibbetson and Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn, called in; and Examined.

2463. (*Chairman.*) You come here, I think, on behalf of the Government of India?—(*Mr. Ibbetson*) Yes, Sir, we have been sent here by them.

2464. You have, of course, the documentary evidence that they forwarded by you in your possession?—The reports of the general officers commanding the cantonments?

2465. That Blue-book, and the White one underneath it?—Yes.

2466. Those you have brought with you. Of course you are fully aware of the contents of them?—Yes.

2467. And you know that the reason and object of this inquiry is this: Suspicion has been aroused in the minds of certain Members of Parliament that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888 has not been loyally carried out in India. You know, of course, the Resolution that I refer to; and you understand me when I say that suspicion has been aroused, founded on certain evidence, that what the House of Commons then laid down has not been strictly and loyally carried out in India?—Yes.

2468. That the view taken by the House of Commons had not been acted up to in India. We communicated this suspicion to the Government of India, and it was decided we should hold a Departmental Committee here; and Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Wilson represent the views of certain members of the House of Commons who are not satisfied with the present working of the system in India, and the Government of India have sent you two gentlemen here, as I understand, to represent the views of the Government, and to give us accurate information as to the existing state of facts. Of course we have had before us a quantity of evidence from two ladies who visited India some two or three years ago. That is in a measure rebutted by the printed evidence before us. But we felt it would be more satisfactory to have oral evidence confronted with oral evidence, and not merely confronted with documentary evidence; and it is on that account we have asked you to attend here to-day?—May I say one thing, Sir. I do not understand in the least that we are sent here to represent the views of the Government of India. We, with the assistance of a third member, made inquiry into the facts in certain cantonments, and this report represents the result of that inquiry; and we have been sent here to be asked any questions, and to answer any questions which you might wish to put, on what we ascertained in that inquiry. But I do not think we are in any way authorised to represent Government or to express their views. I do not even know what their views are.

2469. I think, then, perhaps I am in fault in having used an ambiguous phrase. I did not mean that you represented the theoretical views of the Government of India on the general question of the Contagious Disease and its treatment; I only meant you were in a position to represent officially what they state to be the existing condition of facts?—Yes.

2470. Because we have had some correspondence with the Government of India, of which I think one can, without any breach of confidence, say that it amounts to this: that they repudiate the notion that there has been any attempt on the part of the authorities in India to disregard or defeat the Resolution of the House of Commons?—Yes.

2471. And they put you gentlemen forward as their witnesses to make good that view?—Yes.

2472. That there has been a *bonâ fide* attempt and desire to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons?—So far as regards the three cantonments which we visited. Of course we can speak for nothing beyond that.

2473. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I would draw your attention, first, to the appointment of this Committee, and the Order of Reference to us. This Departmental Committee, no doubt you are already aware, has been appointed with the following instruction: "To inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in the Indian cantonments, and elsewhere, with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888." That you are aware of?—Yes.

2474. That Resolution reads as follows, I will read it to you to refresh your memory:—"That in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed." Now, we have already, as you have been told, taken evidence as to the practice up to the year 1892, in ten cantonments, namely, Lucknow, Meerut, Lahore (that is Meean Meer, is it not?), Rawal Pindi, Peshawur, Amritzar, Umballa, Bareilly, Sitapur, and Benares. Well, then, I come to the Resolution of the Indian Government under which you acted. That is dated 2nd June 1893, and your Commission was appointed to inquire into the allegations contained in the evidence so taken, the evidence refers to ten cantonments; but as to three only of those cantonments, namely, the cantonments of Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow, and to report whether any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules of July 1890. That is the reference to you?—Yes.

2475. Well, then it is evident, is it not, that the report of your Commission made in pursuance of that Resolution covers only part of the ground comprised in the original evidence, three cantonments out of ten?—Yes.

2476. I note in the text of your Report that you speak repeatedly in general terms about conditions which exist in all cantonments, but it is always with the limit which you preface to the Report, that it applies to those three cantonments only?—So far as regards the working of these regulations; but where we describe general matters, for instance, the sub-division of cantonments and the manner in which the area of cantonments is split up into bazars, Sudder bazars and regimental bazars, and so forth, that would be general to all cantonments, I think.

2477. I did not want to get into any confusion. I know that you say that you confine them?—At the bottom of the first page.

2478. "It must be understood that all statements of fact regarding cantonments contained in the following pages relate, unless otherwise stated, to the three cantonments visited, namely, Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow, and to them only"?—Yes.

2479. Therefore that governs everything that follows?—That governs the whole of the Report; yes. There is, however, a good deal in the Report which is true of other cantonments also.

2480. Yes. I quite see the distinction. Well, you will already perceive from my reference to the Resolution of the House of Commons, and to the appointment of this Departmental Committee, and to the document under which you were authorised to act, that there is a difference between them as to the subject-matter for examination?—Yes.

2481. The reference to you with respect to these three cantonments out of 10 is not co-extensive with the reference to this Departmental Committee, for it substitutes the Rules of 1890 for the Resolution of the House of Commons. We have been appointed to make a report to the Secretary of State, which shall be laid on the Table of the House of Commons, on the question how far their Resolution had

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been acted upon, and practically accepted in India ?—Yes.

2482. But under your instruction your inquiry seems to have been confined to how far the practice was consistent with the Cantonments Act, and the Rules of July 1890 ?—I think not quite, Sir. What we understood to be our instructions, and what we certainly acted upon as our instructions was this : we were to ascertain facts, as far as we could. We had before us the evidence which had been given before you by the American ladies, and what we had to do was to inquire and ascertain how far the evidence correctly described what had been done and what was being done at the time. How far the practice, as it existed, conflicted either with the Resolution of the House of Commons or the Cantonments Act or the Rules of 1890, so far as we were concerned we thought quite a secondary question. Any one is capable of forming his opinion as to that when he once has the facts before him. Our object was to ascertain the facts and to record them.

2483. But I must refer you to the second paragraph of the Resolution of the Governor General in Council under which you were appointed : "It will be the duty of the Commission to proceed to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow to inquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement annexed, and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report." You first take evidence and then you report ?—Yes.

2484. And you are called upon to report, "whether, in your opinion, any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the Regulations published under that Act in G.G.O., No. 617, of the 4th July 1890" ?—Yes.

2485. There is no reference in your appointment to the Resolution of the House of Commons ?—No ; our instructions were divided into two parts : first, to inquire into the correctness of the statements before the Committee ; and, secondly, to report as to infringement of the Act and the Rules. The first we took to be the more important of the two ; the second is a minor one.

2486. As a matter of fact, you were not directed to report whether the Resolution of the House of Commons had been acted upon and obeyed ?—No ; because having given the facts, we could have merely given our individual opinion as to whether the facts coincided with the Resolution or not.

2487. I will just ask you whether it is the usual thing to leave open to the Commission itself to add that interpretation ? Can you give me any reason why this Committee, having been appointed to inquire into the question whether the House of Commons Resolution has been obeyed, and when the instruction of the Secretary of State, I think, in fact I am sure of it, but I have not it by me at the moment, was on the same line, can you tell me why the Indian Government did not appoint you under the same phraseology, and why that appointment of you was not co-extensive with their instructions from the Secretary of State ?—Of course, I have no knowledge whatever of what the motives of the Indian Government were ; but so far as my private opinion goes, it seems, I think, that they felt that the one thing was to get the facts accurately. They thought that the statements which had been made before the Committee by the American ladies, suggested a state of affairs which did not accurately represent what was the fact ; and they appointed us, as independent persons, and with no previous knowledge of the subject, and unconnected with the Military Department, to go round to these three cantonments, and ascertain what actually had been done. Our opinion as to how far what had been done infringed the Resolution of the House of Commons, or not, would have been of comparatively little value ; the great point was to get down what had been done, and let the Committee draw its conclusions.

2488. But I noticed in going through the evidence the very frequent confusion in the minds of those who gave evidence, between the Resolution of the House of Commons and the Cantonment Act, and the rules issued under it. In a very great many instances I find that the evidence is simply to the effect that the Cantonment Act and the rules had been obeyed ?—Yes ?

2489. Which is not the question which we are here discussing ?—In the evidence given before us, you mean ?

2490. Yes ; I find it so ?—Is it not invariably stated how they had been obeyed ?

2491. Then at the beginning of your Report you refer to an instruction which limits it in the way I have pointed out ?—Yes.

2492. Now the terms of the appointment of this Departmental Committee are—it is worded : "I have accordingly thought it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practices in the Indian cantonments and elsewhere with regard to prostitutes and the treatment of venereal diseases, in order to ascertain and report how far they accord with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888," and the Resolution is in the margin ?—Yes.

2492*. Then you have no explanation to give about that fact ?—I would say one thing, sir. I think so far as I can remember, we have never been contented with the simple statement of a witness before us, that the Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, have been obeyed. I think we have always gone further and asked how they have been obeyed, so that the whole facts are down.

2493. Now this must be evident to you ; suppose those rules in themselves fail to satisfy the Resolution of the House of Commons, which is in part our view ?—Yes.

2494. Your report, even if it demonstrated a general compliance with those rules in the three cantonments would not necessarily show that the practice in those places was in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons ?—Not necessarily, so far as the rules conflicted with the Resolution.

2495. Well now, were three only out of the ten cantonments mentioned in the evidence selected on account of the shortness of time for investigation ?—On account of the shortness of time. We had 23 days to make the inquiry and make the report.

2496. Can you tell me why those three cantonments were singled out for your visitation ?—I believe because they were large ones and near at hand ; for no other reason.

2497. Can you tell me why Meean Meer was not selected as one ?—Probably because it was a long way off. Umballa was close to us ; Meerut was fairly close to Umballa, and Lucknow was at some little distance. If we had gone to Meean Meer we should not have had any other large cantonment except Rawal Pindi near us, and the distance would have been very great, much greater than the distances we travelled.

2498. How long would it have taken you to travel ?—Twelve hours from Meean Meer, 12 hours on to Rawal Pindi ; that is from Umballa.

2499. Do you say 12 hours from Lucknow to Meean Meer ?—No, from Umballa to Meean Meer, taking Umballa as our starting point.

2500. It would have taken another 12 hours ?—Yes.

2501. And that you put as, in your belief, the reason ?—I suppose that is the reason, because I can think of no other reason. I have no knowledge whatever of why they were selected.

2502. Are you aware of the evidence as to Meean Meer ?—I have read it, yes.

2503. Meean Meer is the cantonment in which, beyond all other cantonments, the old system has been kept up down to the present day ?—Yes.

2504. That is so ?—I do not know ; so far as the evidence goes, yes.

2505. As far as the evidence goes, yes; I mean that?—Yes; I beg your pardon.

2506. And you know Meean Meer was the cantonment in which our American missionaries positively discovered and obtained possession of a registered ticket, a prostitute's ticket of registration?—I read that in the evidence.

2507. I was examining one of our witnesses, Mrs. Andrew, on the first day and I asked her (Question 431). "(*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Well, you have said these blank forms were addressed to the cantonment magistrate, requesting him to give the prostitute of such a name, a ticket enabling her to pursue her calling, as she is enrolled to appear at the bi-monthly inspection. Did you succeed in obtaining one of such tickets?—(*A.*) Yes. (*Q.*) Can you produce it?—(*A.*) We saw a number of such tickets in the hospitals, and supposed them to be tickets of women in the Lock Hospital. We aftewards succeeded in obtaining one of these tickets. (*Q.*) Have you got that?—(*Q.*) Here it is," and then follows a *facsimile* of the ticket?—Yes.

2508. Showing inspection was continued up to 1892?—Yes.

2509. And is not that evidence confirmed now by official documents showing that the old system was revived and re-established from March 1890 to May 1892 at Meean Meer?—I have no knowledge of Meean Meer, Sir. I have no knowledge of what has been done at Meean Meer whatever; I am quite unable to speak as to that.

2510. Then you are not familiar with what I call the White Book, which contains the reports of the commanding officers. You have not read their reports, have you?—I just looked through them at Simla.

2511. Are you in any way responsible for those reports of commanding officers?—In no way whatever.

2512. They do not form part of your inquiry?—Not at all.

2513. And you have nothing to say about them?—Nothing at all. The reports on the other seven cantonments I have nothing whatever to do with. The reports on these three cantonments——

2514. You are not prepared to be examined upon them?—No.

2515. Now, we have it on the authority of Lord Roberts, who has been examined, that in his view the meaning of the Resolution of the House of Commons was absolute abolition of the entire system which existed before 1888. Will you take that from me?—Yes.

2516. And not simply its modification. You will take that from me?—Yes.

2517. And that view not only represents his own opinion as Commander-in-Chief, but also that of the Government of India, you are aware of that?—Yes.

2518. Now I want to ask you some questions about the steps taken by the Government of India to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888. First of all, there were certain orders, were there not; instructions before the new draft Rules were prepared. Are you aware of the instructions that were issued before the Rules?—Only so far as we happened to come across them in the course of this inquiry.

2519. Very well. Can you confirm me in this statement: orders were issued for the purpose, first, of forbidding the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits?—That is so.

2520. Secondly, of forbidding prostitutes being allowed to accompany regiments to camp or on march?—Yes, I believe so.

2521. Third, forbidding the registration of prostitutes?—I cannot say about that.

2522. Fourth, forbidding the granting of licenses to them?—Nor that; I have no knowledge of that.

2523. Fifth, forbidding their compulsory examination?—I have no knowledge of that.

2524. Sixth, directing the cantonment lock hospitals to be worked as a purely voluntary system?—I thought that was after the Resolution of the House of Commons of 1888, not before. I speak simply from my recollection of what we happened to come across.

2525. That is after the Resolution, but before the new Rules?—Before the Rules of 1890.

2526. Certain Instructions of the Government of India preceded the Rules, that they might have time to consider the Rules, and I have given you now, really, a summary of certain heads of those Instructions; but you are not familiar with them all?—No, sir, some of those preceded the Resolution of the House of Commons.

2427. Now, I have before me the Government Despatch, dated Simla, 11th July 1893, and in paragraph 6 they say: "In our Despatch No. 81 of the 18th May 1888, we had already informed Lord Cross that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that reports had been made by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, to the effect that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been abolished. In our Despatch No. 193, dated the 15th October 1888, we said: 'It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the "Indian Contagious Diseases Act" and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licences to practice prostitution have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions." Well, now, you are in possession, are you not, of the fact on the authority of the Government of India?—Yes.

2528. Those orders were intended to be carried out, those instructions, those changes from the old system, even after the new rules were to come into force, were they not?—I cannot answer that; I have not the slightest knowledge of what was intended.

2529. Does it not even occur to you that the new rules would be intended to be consistent with those instructions?—I presume so, but I have no official knowledge of that.

2530. And, as far as you know, they continue to be so intended?—I have absolutely no knowledge.

2531. Have those instructions of the Government of India ever been modified or withdrawn, except by the publication of the rules?—No, I have no knowledge as to whether they have been modified or withdrawn; but I should have no knowledge if they had been modified or withdrawn.

2532. Therefore I presume you would be disposed to assume, as I should assume, that these rules were intended to be worked subject to those orders?—The Rules of 1890; yes, I should say so.

2533. You are not prepared to assume that?—Well, my feeling is that I know nothing about the matter.

2534. I will tell you why I put the question to you; perhaps you will then see it a little more clearly. Unless you assume that the rules were to be worked subject to those previous instructions, then the conclusion that a given practice has been in

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accordance with the rules does not show that it is in accordance with those instructions?—No.

2535. That you see?—Quite.

2536. And, therefore, *a fortiori*, not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons?—May I explain my position with regard to these questions you have been putting to me, sir. I came to the subject in the beginning of June, having heard, indeed, of the Resolution of the House of Commons, but nothing more, absolutely ignorant of the whole thing; of what the House of Commons had resolved, of what the Government of India had done before the Resolution, and of what the Government of India had done since the Resolution. All I know is from the inquiry. That inquiry was practically confined to the practice which had existed, and which existed recently, in the three cantonments that we visited. To a certain extent the action of the Government of India necessarily came to our notice in the course of our inquiry into that practice, because we asked when a change had taken place, why it had taken place, and they told us; but outside what we learned in that inquiry, which is all recorded in this Report, I have no knowledge. I cannot speak as to the facts. I have no knowledge of what the Government of India did, or why they did it.

2537. Therefore you commenced your inquiry on the subject with no knowledge of the subject at all?—With no knowledge of the subject; absolutely none.

2538. In fact you started with the same knowledge as our American lady missionaries?—Yes.

2539. And you bestowed less time on the inquiry than they did?—Yes.

2540. I will only make this remark, Mr. Ibbetson. I am very glad to make this remark. Although I may object to portions of your Summary of Conclusions, I think that your Report, under the circumstances, is an extremely able one, we all think so?—Thank you very much.

2541. This is a question you can answer. You cannot fail to know it. The principal object of the old system was to ensure the treatment, and, indeed, the periodical inspection, of prostitutes?—I believe so; yes.

2542. To ascertain whether they were fit or unfit for the practice of prostitution?—Yes, so I understand.

2543. And the periodical examination was regarded, naturally, as the keystone of the system?—I should imagine so; the periodical examination.

2544. The periodical examination existed at the time of your visit at all the cantonments that you visited?—I would add to my answer to the last question, periodical examination combined with compulsory detention in hospital, the two together.

2545. Yes, of course, and that periodical examination existed in those three cantonments that you visited?—Not at Umballa, it had been discontinued for a year. It never had existed, generally, with regard to the body of prostitutes at Umballa since 1888. It had been confined to the women who were living in the regimental bazars, which constituted a very small portion of the whole body, and even as regards them, it had been discontinued; I think it was in August 1892.

2546. I will not pursue that detail just at present, please; we will come to that by-and-bye?—Very well, Sir.

2547. Then, now to resume. Although your experience was short, you made very good use of your time, and has it not made itself evident to your mind that, to secure the object of regular, reliable, periodical examination, conditions are necessary which are in effect compulsory?—It is very very difficult to draw the line, in India, between compulsory and voluntary, as we have pointed out. I think, certainly, that at Lucknow the examination was absolutely voluntary in every possible sense, in the fullest sense of the word.

2548. You need not go into details for each cantonment; I will deal with them by-and-bye. I want to clear the way as I go on?—Then my answer is, No, I do not think it is necessary that the examination should be practically compulsory in order to be fairly effectual.

2549. Very well, I will take that answer. Do you represent that as being the view of the Government of India?—No, not in the least. I have no knowledge of their views. That is my own private opinion, derived from what I have seen in these three cantonments.

2550. We have it, certainly, that that is the view of the Commander-in-Chief at the present moment. I will put it in that way. Have you seen the Memorandum of the present Commander-in-Chief?—Sir George White.

2551. That accompanied the Despatch of the Government of India?—Yes, I saw that.

2552. You express the opinion that periodical examinations of sufficient regularity to fulfil their purposes are possible without any compulsion?—I think so; they must be periodical, they need not be compulsory.

2553. They must be periodical?—To be of any use at all in India.

2554. And in your opinion, you think they might be periodical without being compulsory?—I think so.

2555. And your Report, so far as your intention is concerned, and your view now is, that there is no necessity for anything which can be fairly called compulsion?—I do not say that. I do not say that there is no necessity, because I should have to define "necessity." You could get a very much more effective examination by having it compulsory than you could get by having it voluntary, but I think you could get a fairly effective examination without what you call compulsion.

2556. What do you call a "fairly effective examination?"—I mean that you would get a considerable proportion of the women in cantonments to attend voluntarily for examination; with compulsion you might get the whole of them.

2557. Then you think it would be the differenee between a certain proportion and the whole?—Yes.

2558. And in your view it is not necessary that there should be, for the hygienic purpose, an examination of the whole?—Oh no, Sir, I have absolutely no view upon that point. I have never even suggested such an idea. I have no knowledge of the hygienic necessities of the case whatever; I simply confine myself to saying that I think a considerable number of women could be got to attend periodical examinations without compulsion.

2559. What did you mean by saying, a short time ago, that compulsion, in your view, was not necessary to secure periodical examination?—I say that I think you could get a certain number of women to attend periodical examination without using compulsion, but I express no opinion as to whether it would be sufficient for a considerable number of women, and not for all of them, to attend examination.

2560. Then I did not understand you. What I understand now is that you express no opinion at all upon the question whether any kind of compulsion is necessary or not, and you simply say that without compulsion fewer women will attend than with?—Yes, that is all.

2561. Now, with regard to the cantonment general hospitals that you visited, did you find, as we are

sometimes told, that the old system of Lock Hospitals has entirely disappeared, and in their stead there has been erected a system of cantonment general hospitals for the treatment of all kinds of diseases of all kinds of persons, of which the venereal wards are simply a part?—Yes.

2562. Is that the way in which you would describe the state of things in the places that you visited?—I think so. The whole establishment, consisting of three parts, was under the same medical officer; the establishment scale was joint to the whole; the books were kept common to all. I suppose, for convenience, the old Lock Hospital was used as the venereal ward; it was often at some little distance from the main part of the hospital, just as the infectious and contagious ward, or rather the infectious ward was; but I think that is a fair description.

2563. The old Lock Hospital has remained?—The buildings.

2564. The separate buildings?—Yes.

2565. And those buildings were appropriated to venereal cases only?—Not quite.

2566. Almost entirely?—To prostitutes only, practically.

2567. They were confined to prostitutes?—Mostly; not quite absolutely, but almost entirely.

2568. Now, are the exceptions of any value whatever; are not the exceptions almost infinitesimal?—I think very small indeed.

2569. Very small?—I should think so.

2570. Did they not, at the time of your visit, exist as separate buildings appropriated to the treatment of prostitutes for venereal complaints?—For the treatment of prostitutes.

2571. And for venereal complaints?—Prostitutes, I think, were admitted without reference to the disease.

2572. Yes, prostitutes would be admitted if it was requisite, because they would not be acceptable in the other buildings?—Yes.

2573. But, as a matter of fact, those exceptions were very trifling, and they existed practically for the treatment of venereal diseases of prostitutes?—I would not say they existed practically for the treatment of venereal diseases: they existed practically for the treatment of prostitutes distinctly, although there were certain exceptions.

2574. How many cases did you meet with of prostitutes being treated and confined in those hospitals for the treatment of anything besides venereal diseases?—I think we only saw six patients altogether; four at Lucknow, two at Umballa; six or eight.

2575. You visited the Lock Hospitals, and there were only six women in the whole three Lock Hospitals?—I think there were eight.

2576. Eight in the three Lock Hospitals?—Yes.

2577. Those cases were all venereal, I think?—Dr. Cleghorn will be able to tell you better than I can, I cannot say; but my memory does not recall one that was not venereal.

2578. I have your Report here, paragraph 92: "The Lock Branch mainly for Prostitutes." "Among females, by far the larger number of venereal cases only occur among prostitutes, and the result is that the venereal section is practically a prostitutes' hospital"?—Yes. May I refer you to Form F., page 64 of the Appendix? That gives the exact figures for venereal diseases and others treated in the Lock branch.

2579. Now, these Lock Hospitals, they are the places in which the periodical examination takes place?—Whatever examination is made is made there.

2580. And the examination was periodical at two out of the three you said?—Yes.

2581. And the prostitutes who were thus treated and thus examined, what class of prostitutes were they?—I believe they are a somewhat low class of prostitute; the prostitutes who associate with British soldiers.

2582. They were the prostitutes who associated with British soldiers?—Yes, I believe so.

2583. And not those who associated with natives?—Which examination are you speaking of?

2584. The periodical examination?—As held at Lucknow or Meerut, or as held at Umballa; because there is a distinction?

2585. Take Lucknow and Meerut?—No; they were the whole body of prostitutes in cantonments at Meerut, and only such as chose to come at Lucknow. They might come from any of the chaklas; they might associate with British soldiers or not.

2586. But in each case they included the prostitutes assigned to British soldiers?—I know of no prostitutes assigned to British soldiers.

2587. You object to the word?—I object to the word "assigned."

2588. Prostitutes who received British soldiers?—They included prostitutes who received British soldiers, no doubt.

2589. I do not mean all the prostitutes, I mean practically this, that the prostitutes who were visited regularly, it was understood by British soldiers, were at least amongst those who were periodically examined?—Yes, I think so, certainly.

2590. Well, now, you have been inquiring into the fact whether the practices in these cantonments consist with the new Rules under the Cantonments Act; the Rules of 1890?—Yes.

2591. Does it not appear to you that those Rules must have been originally intended to abolish the whole old system in its entirety? I think you have almost said, have you not, that that is your view?—I thought the system was supposed to have been abolished before these Rules were issued at all. What the Rules did, as I understand, was to substitute for compulsory submission to examination and attending hospital, the option between attending hospital and submitting to examination or leaving the cantonments.

2592. Very well, now, they are worked under the new rules, or they were at the time of your visit?—Yes.

2593. And the new rules are the law upon the subject?—Yes.

2594. Are you prepared to say that the system may not be worked under those new rules in connection with the old system, modifying but not abolishing it?—I cannot give an opinion upon such a very general question, Sir. Tell me in which way you think they can be worked, and I shall be able to say whether I think it is possible.

2595. Very well, I will give you an example. In November 1891, inquiries were made as to whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the new Rules of 1890, and whether there was any compulsion, beyond that authorised in these rules, at any cantonments, I will read this to you, at page 42. You are not responsible for what I have called the White Book; but I will read something to you which will be official, and therefore indubitable. This is from Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough, dated 17th November 1891: "In reply to yours, No. 5,371-B., 'Sanitary, Cantonment Hospital,' marked 'Strictly Confidential,' and dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, of all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State." You will accept from me that I have read that document correctly?—Yes, sir.

2596. And that was at Lahore. Are you not aware that the old system, in all its features, con-

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tinued at Meean Meer (which is Lahore) down to the very time of your visit to these other cantonments ?—No, sir, I have no knowledge of that whatever.

2597. At the time you were writing your Report, you were aware of it, were you not ?—No, I have no knowledge of what took place at Meean Meer in the least ; I cannot speak of that in any way.

2598. But if I tell you that we have it in evidence before us, indubitable evidence, that the whole of the old system was in existence at Meean Meer at the very time that you were inquiring at Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa, is not that evidence to you that it was possible to continue that system under these Cantonment Rules, as to which Sir Hugh Gough says that there the Military Authorities had kept "strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the Rules approved by the Secretary of State" ?—All that that proves to me is that it is possible for a General to say that the Rules have been strictly observed.

2599. I think you are perfectly logical in so saying ?—Yes.

2600. Well, it shows that he considers that the Rules had been obeyed, does it not ?—I do not know, Sir.

2601. Does not that letter of his show that ?—That letter shows that he says so, but it does not show that he knew.

2602. He must have known of the facts ?—I do not know indeed.

2603. Then we will assume that he did not know the facts ?—If you please.

2604. Well now, at Umballa there is no regimental chakla maintained under these rules ?—Regimental chaklas have not been maintained anywhere, as far as I know, since 1888. I am speaking, of course, of our three cantonments.

2605. Do you not know about Umballa ?—Well, it depends on what you mean by "maintained." The chaklas were sold and closed, and the women then drifted into the sudder bazar. Later on they were allowed to return to the regimental bazars, and they lived there ; though not in the old chaklas, so long as they remained Government property. They were allowed to live in regimental bazars undoubtedly at Umballa ; they were there living within a few weeks of our visit.

2606. A regimental bazar is Government property, is it not ?—No ; not the buildings.

2607. Well, I find here (this is the evidence in your Report) ; "The Committee then visited the British cavalry chakla. First the old regimental chakla ; an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous people (not prostitutes) since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new chakla(now commonly known as the chakla), which is a small enclosure of similar plan, with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a banya. It used to be let to *bhistis*, and then to cartmen. In April 1890, the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on 9th November 1891 ; and in January 1892, the 18th Hussars' women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day." And that is evidence of the way in which, under (or in spite of) the Rules, the old system can be made to continue. You have read the Rules ?—The Rules ; oh, yes.

2608. Your notion of them is that they contained distinct prohibitions, is it ?—No, they are empowering rules, as far as I remember.

2609. I believe that is so ; they are empowering rules ?—I think so.

2610. They do not contain the prohibition ?—The Rules framed under an Act would hardly tell one what one ought not to do ; they never do.

2611. But is it within your knowledge whether the publication of these rules was accompanied with any explanation about what must not be done under them ?—No, I do not know at all.

2612. You have no reason to suppose there was such explanation ?—No. There generally is with new rules, I could say that, when Government does publish new rules.

2613. You believe there was one, but you do not know ?—No, I do not know at all whether there was one or not.

2614. I am advised that the Lock Hospital Reports for 1888 furnish some illustrations of how, under these new rules, which do not contain prohibitions, the Resolution of the House of Commons could be evaded. I will take it without reference to the question of rules, as a question of evasion of the Resolution of the House of Commons after the issue of the original instructions to obey it. This is the Hospital Report of 1888 at Attock : "No women are allowed to enter the fort without a pass from the Fort Adjutant renewed every three months, and sentries prevent natives from entering without a pass, and no native women are permitted to live inside the fort. Registration is discontinued. The women are regularly attended at the weekly examination at their own option." Now, I want to put this to you : Here no woman could get in without a pass. Suppose the pass were made conditional on her attendance, that would be a way under the new Rules ?—No man could get in without a pass either ; no native is allowed into a fort without a pass.

2615. So I understand ; my point is this. I want to show that any proposition that the Rules have not been disobeyed does not suffice for our inquiry, which is concerned not merely with obeying the rules, but obeying the Resolution of the House of Commons, and also in this particular case, that if the prostitutes wishing to come in, and who, not being able to come in without a pass, if they had made it a condition of the pass that she should undertake to attend an examination regularly, that that would be a way of restoring that examination, under that compulsion, which would be inconsistent with the Resolution of the House of Commons. That you would not deny, would you ?—I do not know that I should call it compulsion.

2616. You would not call it compulsory. Now let me refer you to the last document we have here. This is the despatch of the Government of India to Lord Kimberley, dated Simla, July 8th 1893, and this is the view referring to a demi-official letter of March 10th 1892, and there quoted ; and I will read you two paragraphs showing the view of the Indian Government. "In illustration of my meaning I may observe that if, for instance, even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally the Resolution of the House of Commons would be defeated. The Government of India earnestly trust that no such accusation can be properly brought against any cantonment authority in the country ; but I am desired to express the wish of the Governor-General in Council that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India will be pleased to instruct general officers commanding, and their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay, to warn officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, and the provisions of the Cantonments Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State ?"—But surely these two cases have nothing in common ; the hypothetical case put by you and the case put by the Government of India. Being turned out of

cantonments is like being turned out of London and not allowed to live there; being excluded from the Attock Fort is only like being prevented from entering the Tower of London.

2617. It is not my meaning to show that the Fort of Attock resembled a cantonment?—No, Sir.

2618. I simply put that as an illustration of the way in which compulsion might be indirectly applied?—Yes.

2619. Now we will come to the various places which you visited. The lady witnesses who were before us gave evidence of the state of things as they saw them in January and March 1892 in Lucknow, Meerut, and Umballa amongst other cantonments. You collected evidence in June 1893 at these three places, and I want to ask you some questions which I will group under three headings. That, I think, will be the clearest way. I propose to ask you questions first upon this subject, the chaklas used by British soldiers, the prostitutes resident therein, and their mode of life, with incidental facts; secondly, the periodical inspection or examination; and, thirdly, the Lock Hospitals?—Yes.

2620. I began with Umballa, page 3 of the evidence attached to your Report. I will put you these questions. At Umballa there is one chakla for British troops, which is in the Sudder bazar?—Yes.

2621. Were there not formerly three regimental chaklas?—Three, yes; there would have been.

2622. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry?—Yes.

2623. They were abolished in 1888?—Yes.

2624. And the women were sent by order to the Sudder Bazar?—Yes.

2625. By order?—There was nowhere else for them to live. The only places in which natives can live are the regimental bazars and the Sudder bazars. Having been turned out of the regimental bazars, they must have gone to the Sudder bazar.

2626. What I put to you is this, that that order turning them out of the regimental bazar chakla meant that they were obliged to go to the Sudder bazar chakla. Was not that your evidence?—I believe it was so.

2627–8. I find in page 4, line 190, "Additional accommodation was at once provided in the Sadr chakla, and the women moved there within a month." These orders were communicated on the 29th June 1888, by the cantonment magistrate to all commanding officers of British corps, with the request that the registered women in the regimental chakla might be directed to go to the Sudder bazar chakla for British troops, and reside there?—Yes.

2629. But the three regimental bazars at Umballa were partly re-established, were they not afterwards?—Women were allowed to reside in them afterwards.

2630. Within the last two or three years?—Yes.

2631. Prostitutes were allowed?—Yes, I mean prostitutes.

2632. Is that the whole effect of your evidence. I have several references to it here; I think we must go into the evidence, unless you are prepared to say that that is so?—I do not say so.

2633. That the three regimental chaklas were practically re-established?—Yes, I think so.

2634. Within the last two or three years?—Yes.

2635. The Cavalry regimental chakla was restored in April 1890 and existed to May 1893?—Yes, I will not answer to the exact month.

2636. I am putting it as your evidence?—I have no doubt that is so.

2637. I think you will find it in line 776?—That is just the statement of the man who owned the place.

2638. Line 770. "The Commission then visited the British cavalry chakla. First the old regimental chakla, an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous people (not prostitutes), since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new chakla (now commonly known as the chakla), which is a small enclosure of similar plan with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a Banya. It used to be let to Bhistis, and then to cartmen. In April 1890, the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on November 9th 1891; and in January 1892 the 18th Hussars women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day?—That is merely the statement of the man who owned the place; he has given dates I see; I have no doubt that is so.

2639. That is evidence?—Yes, it is evidence, but it is not very reliable evidence.

2640. You would not have put that evidence before the Government unless you had thought it reliable, or at any rate, you would have drawn attention to it if it was not reliable?—No, some of the evidence was less reliable than other.

2641. But do you mean that it was no part of your function, in drawing your Report, to indicate what was reliable and what was not?—Yes, in drawing our conclusions we did not indicate what we thought reliable and what we thought not.

2642. Then how are we to know what part of your evidence is reliable and what is not?—We base our conclusions upon the reliable evidence.

2643. You base your conclusions on the reliable evidence, but you do not indicate what part of the evidence is reliable. You might have marginally noted your conclusions with the evidence that was reliable?—The evidence was printed as collected, and we could not say which was reliable and which was not until we had examined the whole.

2644. As a matter of fact, we have to take your conclusions without knowing the evidence on which they are based?—To a certain extent. To some of the evidence we have attached more weight than to others.

2645. There is something to be said for the pressure of time?—A great deal to be said. But to have discussed the evidence for each conclusion we arrived at would have inordinately increased the length of the Report.

2646. Prostitutes were directed to live in the Sudder bazar chakla. Let us take the case of the Sudder bazar. I understand that the inhabitants of the Sudder bazar are classified under their various trades, the grocers, the butchers, the workmen, and so on, and amongst those the trade of prostitution finds a place?—Occupation, yes.

2647. And they are, as far as possible, aggregated in one particular quarter?—Yes.

2648. That is the system in these bazars?—Yes.

2649. There is no separate register of prostitutes, is there?—None whatever.

2650. But there is a register of the whole of the inhabitants of the Sudder bazar?—In Umballa only. I believe there should be in each cantonment, but in Umballa only of the three cantonments did I find that.

2651. At Umballa there was such a list?—Yes, of the whole of the residents.

2652. Now, let us take a case of that kind; let us take the list which you say you found at Umballa; that would classify the inhabitants under certain heads?—Oh, no, Sir, it is a list of houses according to the serial number of the house, and opposite each house would be entered the occupant and his occupation. There is no classification whatever.

2653. Considering that the various traders lived in groups altogether, and not scattered indiscriminately all over the place, as is the custom in this country. You would easily see; on reference to that list you would easily ascertain where the prostitutes lived and the houses in which they resided?—Quite so.

2654. And you would not have the names of the persons but you would have the names of the house;

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a man would know whether the name of a person living in a house would be that of a prostitute?—You would have the name of the prostitute in Umballa.

2655. To put an exact simile it would be as if in the Post Office Directory in London under the list of traders you had "prostitutes," and there you had their description as prostitutes?—No; it would not be like that. You will find at line 158 exactly what the entries were. With reference to the Sudder bazar chakla in Umballa, page 3 of the appendix, lines 155 to 165, column 1, "is the serial number of the house, all houses having been numbered and the last number being 5,841. This is the Sudder Bazar Register only. Registers for the other parts of cantonments are in the same form. The British chakla is entered at Nos. 2825–2920, these being the numbers of the 95 houses in the chakla. Of these, 19 houses are empty, one is occupied by a wood and hay merchant, two by ginger beer sellers, two by labourers, one by a servant, one by a cook, two by clothsellers, one by a tailor, five by male owners whose occupation is not entered because the owner is the occupier, three by pimps, and the other 58 by prostitutes. In only 40 cases are two consecutive houses owned by the same person; and this includes two groups of seven and five houses respectively." I took that from the register myself and made it out on the spot as we had the book before us. The next paragraph gives the native chakla.

2656. Are the rooms in the Sudder bazar chakla numbered distinctly?—At Umballa only I think there were large tin numbers put up, separate from the serial cantonment number (the general number), but they are not now on rooms occupied by prostitutes only, or on all rooms occupied by prostitutes. They were, I believe, when they were put up; but since then prostitutes have left certain houses, which are now occupied by other people, and other people have gone to certain houses which were then occupied by prostitutes, and the numbers have not been altered.

2657. I will put it in this way: supposing a soldier visits a prostitute in a room in the Sudder Bazar chakla in any cantonment, so far as your knowledge extends he would have no difficulty, would he, in defining who the woman was by a reference either to the number of the house or room, or by a reference to the list?—The general cantonment numbering is generally put up in Persian figures, which the soldiers would not be able to read.

2658. If a soldier wanted to identify a woman whom he thought had diseased him, how would he identify her?—He would know her name. That is not satisfactory, because there are very few names and a great number of women.

2659. Would he have any means of identifying the house?—If inside the enclosure he would be able to count the houses, say the third to the right from the door; outside the enclosure, in the bazar next to so-and-so shop, or three doors from so-and-so.

2660. Therefore practically there would not be much difficulty?—No, I do not think there would.

2661. Supposing there were two numbers (as there were in many cases) one number would be the number of the house, or the room, would it not?—One number would be the general numbering running through all cantonments.

2662. What would be the other number?—The other number would be a number put up to enable the soldier to identify the woman.

2663. It would not answer that fully?——

2664. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Was that the same identical number in English characters?—A large number in English characters.

2665. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Therefore, if that number was on, the soldier could identify the woman by that number?—Oh, yes, wherever that exists.

2666. Now, do particular women belong to particular regiments, or are they supposed to belong to particular regiments at Umballa?—Wherever women live in a regimental bazar, I think they may be taken, in a way, to belong to that regiment; and until within a fortnight or so of that visit, there were women living in regimental bazars at Umballa, not in the Infantry, but in the Artillery and Cavalry. I think my recollection is that.

2667. Well, I base my question npon this, Page VIII. of the Statements and Notes, line 485: "The Commission then examined the women of the British chakla, 39 in all. The youngest was about 16, another about 18 years old, and the rest all older. Five belong to the Royal Artillery, six belong to the cavalry, and 28 to the Sadr"?—Which simply means that five of them had recently been turned out of the Royal Artillery bazar, and ten out ofthe Cavalry bazar. I took this all down with my own hand on the spot, at a tremendous pace. I do not write shorthand at all. I never revised it, it simply went straight on to press. It is as rough as possible. I had no time to consider my wording.

2668. We know you did hurried work?—That is what I mean by that.

2669. From these regimental chaklas the women were turned out, how long before your arrival?—A fortnight, I think, by the new cantonment magistrate.

2770. Now in March 1892 was there a Highlander's chakla in tents at the camp?—Two, I think, the Gordon, and the Argyll and Sutherland.

2671. Now I ask you whether there was also a Highlander's chakla in tents at the camp, and I think you said there were two at the camp?—There were two regiments and a chakla at each. There were two separate camps.

2672. It was denied by the Quartermaster of the Highlanders' regiment that there was a chakla in tents for the prostitutes. He said they were not visible to him?—The Argyll and Sutherland Quartermaster, that is.

2673. (*Surgeon Colonel Cleghorn Forbes.*) They were not visible to him?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes.

2674. But they were visible to the colonel, were they not?—He knew of them.

2675. The Quartermaster drew a plan to show that they were not visible?—No, he said that he did not know of any such tents; he had not seen them. I simply asked him to draw a plan to show how matters lay; he told us that they might have been back among the trees where he could not see them.

2676. It shows particularly that after what the Colonel told you, he had curiously shown you how a chakla for prostitutes could be near a regiment and the authorities know nothing about it. It does so, does it not?—(*Surgeon Colonel Cleghorn Forbes*). This accounts for it.—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) That is, the Quartermaster; it would be possible for it to exist without the Quartermaster knowing it.

2677. Is the Sudder bazar chakla there guarded by military police?—Page 9 of the statement, Umballa, 8th June: "The Commission revisited the British chakla, and found the military police at the chakla." At the bottom of the page, Sergeant T. George, 2nd Derbyshire Regiment, Sergeant of Military Police, is examined. The cantonment magistrate is present. He says; "I have occasional disturbances and constant complaints. The other day a native 'fancy man' took away all his woman's things and left her on the bare ground. She complained to me, but I could do nothing. Natives sometimes complain that British soldiers who have found them here have struck and abased them. I never had any serious row; but I always prevent what is likely to cause one. I come here every night and stay here for some hours." This chakla was not simply visited by a patrol; he goes to the chakla, and he stays there several hours, sometimes till three or four o'clock in the morning, especially after pay day." "The regimental bazars are also under me, and I go where prostitutes live if I think a man is there after hours. The women in the 18th Hussars' bazar used to live in the 18th Hussars' chakla; but that was broken up 10 or 14

day's ago. Before that, eight women lived in the chakla, and I used to visit it every night. They now live in this chakla. I know of no other common prostitutes living in that bazar. The chakla had about 10 houses; there are no shopkeepers or similar people in the chakla. Three or four women now here used to live in the Royal Artillery bazar. But the regimental police used to look after that, so I left it to them."—I think, Sir, when he says I come down here, he means into the bazar. It means that he comes down from his lines, wherever they are, and patrols the bazars with a view to looking after the British soldier, and no doubt he is a great deal in the chakla, probably there a great deal more than anywhere else.

2678. I think you are probably right?—I think that is what he means.

2679. I think it may be that the men visited the chakla and found the military police at the chakla, and the sergeant says: "I come here every night." That sounds like the chakla, does it not?—Yes.

2680. Are any natives allowed access to these women?—They are turned out if they are seen in the Gora chaklas.

2681. By whom are they turned out?—The military police if they find them there, and probably any English soldier who saw a native there would turn him out.

2682. If the military police found natives in the chakla they would turn them out?—A native without business; of course there are cooks and tailors and people of that sort.

2683. You found there was a customary rate of pay obtaining there as at other places?—Yes.

2684. And suppose soldiers did not pay, were they sometimes compelled?—Sergeant George (whom you have just quoted) tells us now that the women would complain to him and he would make the men pay.

2685. Had he ever reported them to the commanding officer?—Not himself, but he has known cases. He says: "I have known the man had up before the commanding officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself"; and then he goes on to say that the same thing would be done if he had not paid for things bought, the complaint would be made to the commanding officer, who would make the man pay to the shopkeeper.

2686. Cavalry women were brought, were they not, with the regiment in 1892, and a cart was supplied by the regiment for their convenience?—Possibly.

2687. Line 805?—It was probably got with the carriage for the bazar. I have no doubt that is true. It is stated by the mahaldarni. It was indented for with the rest of the carriage for the bazar probably.

2688. Yes, the cart was indented for. The usual course was for the cart to be supplied by the regiment, but it is indented for by the bazar, and they have the use of it. Did they pay for that?—Yes.

2689. Did you find the mahaldarni there?—No, there was no mahaldarni in the chakla at Umballa.

2690. Who is there in place of the mahaldarni?—There was an old chowdri at Umballa.

2691. How was he paid?—He was not paid at all. I think that was true. We did not believe him when he said so; but the women said so, too, that that was true. He had in the old days taken fees, but he seemed well off; he owned some of the houses.

2692. At page 13 there is this: "I get no pay, save fees from the women"?—That is the mahaldarni of the Cavalry bazar. I was speaking of the Sudder chakla.

2693. That is the malhaldarni of the Cavalry bazar?—I am speaking of the big one.

2694. Was there any mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar?—No, I think not.

2695. Then it is only one man, and that is at the Cavalry bazar?—Well, the women had gone from the Cavalry bazar when we were there.

2696. Yes; but they had been there, and he had been there when they were there?—Yes.

2697. And they paid him; that is his evidence?—Yes.

2698. Paid by fees from the women?—Yes.

2699. A proportion of their earnings?—Either that, or so much for each visit; I am not sure which. There is a note at the foot of page 16 of the Report, to that effect; and I find that the American ladies had the same difficulty; they were doubtful on the point.

2700. Either the one or the other?—Either the one or the other.

2701. He was paid either so much proportion of their earnings or fees per visit?—He was paid either so much proportion of their earnings or fees per visit.

2702. How did he manage on examination days? Did he take women to the examination room?—No.

2703. He sent a woman with them, did he not?—Yes. He said, "I sent with them a woman whom I employ for the purpose, because I could not go, being a man."

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till Monday next, at 11.30 a.m.

NINTH DAY.

Monday, August 14th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT:

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.
General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.
Major General O. R. NEWMARCH, *Secretary.*

MR. DENZIL IBBETSON, C.S., and Surgeon-Colonel CLEGHORN, re-called; and further Examined:

Mr. D. Ibbetson and Surgeon-Col. Cleghorn.

14 August 1893.

2704. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) WE pass on to Meerut as to the chaklas?—May I make an explanation with reference to the evidence given on Friday; till I saw them in print I am afraid I did not properly appreciate the point of your questions as to the rules of 1890 and their compatibility with the old system. I think I can give you what you want to get from me. These rules are in no sense a body of instructions issued for the guidance of officials in their dealings with prostitutes or prostitution, and intended to cover the whole subject. It is the habit of the Indian Legislature to leave detail very largely to be regulated by rules framed in accordance with broad principles laid down in the Act; and rules such as these are practically subsidiary legislation made by the Governor-General in Executive Council instead of by the Legislative Council; they embody the law of the land, so far as it is special with regard to infectious and contagious diseases in cantonments; but any instructions as to how that law or the general cantonment law is to be applied to prostitutes would be looked for elsewhere and not in the rules.

2705. Where would you look for it?—In executive and administrative instructions issued by the Government of India. Quartermaster-General's circulars would be the form they would take in this case, I imagine. Supposing that the old system had been continued at Meerut, practically unchanged, the action of the authorities in so continuing it would be in contravention of the orders of the Government of India, no doubt; but I could not say that it would be in contravention of the rules, because the rules merely authorise certain courses of action and do not prescribe or prohibit any. The action would be illegal in the sense of being *ultra vires* and beyond the law, but I do not think it would be illegal in the sense of being contrary to the law. I think that is what you wanted to get from me, sir.

2706. Therefore, putting those instructions on one side, the old system might be carried on as it was carried on in connection with the new rules?—There is nothing in the rules to prohibit it or any other system.

2707. That is what I thought. I am glad that you have put it clearly. So we pass to Meerut?—There, may I correct a mistake which I regret has been made in our Report?

2708. Certainly?—At page 13, lines 670–675, at the bottom of paragraph 33, I say: "The chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or August 1891, but, perhaps, more probably at the same period of 1892, on the issue of the orders referred to above." That was put in as an afterthought, and, I am sorry to say, without a sufficient examination of the evidence. There is a good deal of evidence to show that that is wrong. There is one thing that is absolutely conclusive, and that is, that the American ladies when they visited Meerut found the Lancer women, not in the cavalry bazar, which was some distance from the Sudder bazar, but in what they call the Lancers' chakla, which was close to the Sudder chakla. We know that, not only from their own statement, but from the fact that when we went to the spot the women showed us where the ladies had first met them in the little Lancer chakla, and then took them on to the big chakla which was close by, so that the women had at that time been turned out of cavalry bazar.

2709. (*Mr. Wilson.*) What is the correction that you would wish to make?—I would cut out from "but perhaps" to "supposition," lines 670–674.

2710. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) "Supposition" included?—"Supposition" included. There are two slips which I might at the same time correct, practically clerical errors. At page 6, line 237, for "Meerut," one should read "Lucknow;" "as appears from the evidence of the Meerut women," that should be "the Lucknow women." And at page 9, line 427, "at Lucknow," should be "at Meerut." "At Lucknow, indeed, the practice goes," should be "at Meerut, indeed, the practice goes." I can only apologise for the errors and put them right.

2711. Is that all?—That is all, I think.

2712. Now, at Meerut there were certain assigned quarters found for prostitutes?—Yes.

2713. As you told us, they were assigned a district just like traders were assigned a district, according to the Indian custom?—There would be a portion of the bazar assigned, and prostitutes would not be allowed to live in any other portion of the bazar but that.

2714. They formerly resided in regimental chaklas?—Some of them; not the majority, I think.

2715. They were turned out in 1888, were they not?—Yes, in 1888.

2716. And they were sent into the Sudder bazar chakla?—They would go into the Sudder bazar chakla; I cannot say they were sent. They must either have gone there, or gone out of the cantonments, because there was nowhere else where they could live.

2717. I think there was evidence that they had been sent by order, was there not?—It would practically amount to that, because the order to go to live there would mean that they might go to live there, but if not they must go away.

2718–9. Well, now, the new chakla; that was built on Government land granted for the purpose to a prostitute, was it not?—Evidence, line 957: "Hira, a prostitute of the city, has built another chakla in the Sadr on land furnished her for the purpose in 1888 by the cantonment magistrate, it having been formerly occupied by a Government latrine."

2720. Then the regimental chaklas were re-opened, were they not?—Yes.

2721. In 1889?—In 1889, I think.

2722. On condition of periodical examination?—Yes.

2723. Were not native men prohibited access?—To the regimental chaklas?

2724. Yes?—Never by order, I think, sir; as a fact they would be.

2725. By practice they would be?—By practice, I think, yes.

2726. Well, now, as to the other chaklas, that is page 16 of Statement and Notes, line 945. The chaudhri says: "The women are absolutely forbidden to receive natives, who must go to the city (three miles off) if they want a prostitute. There is no formal order to that effect, and nobody prevents it, but it is understood that they must not"?—That is the chaudhri's assertion, simply.

2727. Yes, exactly; that is the evidence?—That is one part of the evidence; there is other evidence that conflicts with that, I think.

2728. Yes, the cantonment magistrate, if I recollect aright, doubted it, but it is left in that way?—Just above that you will find the cantonment magistrate's statement on the same page, and he says that he has often seen native soldiers in the chakla; he says, lower down on the same page, that he has often seen native soldiers in the Gora chakla.

2729. Am I not right in saying this; it is the impression, I think, from the whole of the evidence we have had, that the whole of the intention and desire was that various chaklas should be reserved for British soldiers alone, and that the natives should as far as possible be excluded therefrom; was not that the general idea and policy of the arrangement?—That is certainly not the impression that we formed from what we heard.

2730. Did you not?—No. It was so, no doubt whatever, before 1888; after that I think the authorities felt that they had no longer any power whatever to reserve these women for the use of British troops, and they left the matter without regulation. There were absolutely no orders and no instructions on that point; but the tradition survived, and in practice the military police and the soldiers themselves did eject natives whenever they found them in these chaklas, so that in practice it comes to very nearly the same thing, though it is no longer authoritative.

2731. Yes, I see upon the same page, at the top of the page 16 (that is the cantonment magistrate): "There is no chakla here set apart for British troops. As far as I know, natives and Englishmen go indifferently to the same women. The natives probably go after hours for British troops." That is the evidence of the cantonment magistrate?—Yes; and afterwards he says that he has often seen them there.

2732. Well, now, the West Kent Regiment; was there a chakla attached to that regiment, line 1078?—At Meerut there was a chakla in the vicinity of the Royal West Kent Regiment.

2733. In tents?—In tents; yes.

2734. Perhaps I had better give you the line in each question I put. 1047, the Lancers' chakla that was not known to the quartermaster of the regiment; I think he said he had not seen it, you told us?—So he says.

2735. But it was actually visited by your Commission?—A chakla, which was known as the Lancers' chakla, was visited by our Commission; but it was only so known because the women who had been turned out of the Lancers' regimental bazar went to this chakla and continued to live there up to the time of our visit.

2736. Was this chakla near the old regimental bazar?—The old regimental bazar; oh, dear, no; it was part of the Sudder bazar chakla, taking chakla in the widest sense; it was simply the name attached to it; the women were in no way attached to the regiment.

2737. But, as a matter of fact, the quartermaster did not know of its existence, but you found it and visited it?—The quartermaster would have nothing whatever to do with the Sudder bazar, of course.

2738. Not officially?—No.

2739. But those are the facts you found?—We found a chakla known as the Lancers' chakla.

2740. Now, what did you find as to the scale of pay, line 1561?—That is just the same everywhere.

2741. There is a customary scale of pay, and I think the phrase there is coeval with British rule, is it not?—That is what one of the women told us.

2742. Will you turn to line 1563; is that evidence that if the soldiers' payment was withheld from women complaint was sometimes made to the colonel or cantonment magistrate?—Yes; that is the women's statement.

2743. And it is the same statement as they made to the ladies?—Yes, probably.

2744. 1523; did the women give you any evidence or make any statement to you regarding their ill-treatment by British soldiers?—In Meerut?

2745. Yes?—Yes.

2746. 523; I do not see anything there at 523?—It is at the bottom of the page.

2747. 523?—523; that would be Umballa, probably.

2748. Page ix, line 525?—That is Umballa; yes.

2749. The sergeant of military police?—Yes.

2750. "I have complaints of men ill-treating the women, generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the commanding officer and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself"?—Yes.

2751. That is so?—Yes.

2752. 1593; most of the women in debt, but some of them were not?—Most of them owed the banya something.

2753. Did you arrive at any definite conclusion as to whether those were very small debts or of any amount?—No, but I would say this: they would all naturally owe the banya something. Whether that meant being in debt in the sense of being unable to pay, I cannot say; it would have been no use asking a woman a question of that sort. We have arrived at no conclusion.

2754. There is no evidence on that head?—There is no evidence on that head.

2755. Line 1598. The mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar was formerly a regimental mahaldarni. For ten years officially certificated and paid, and now she is paid by taking part of the women's earnings?—I would not say *the* mahaldarni at the Sudder bazar; she was not appointed the mahaldarni of the Sudder bazar. There was none, as far as I remember. She was *an* old mahaldarni living in the Sudder bazar.

2756. A mahaldarni living in the Sudder bazar?—Yes, that is all.

2757. And this is her evidence?—Yes.

2758. Did she also (1604) say that the duty of the mahaldarni since 1888 was the same as before?—She said so, yes. That meant while she was living in

the regimental bazar, I presume, when the regimental chakla was re-opened.

2759. Well, then (3381), in March 1892 the women accompanied the West Kent Regiment to Chakrata; is that so?—Women did accompany the West York Regiment to Chakrata, I presume, from that.

2760. The West Kent I have it?—The West Yorkshire, I think.

2761. Well, now, I am going to pass to Lucknow. There was at Lucknow, at the time of your visit, one chakla in the Sudder bazar, was there not?—Yes.

2762. Was that formerly Government property?—The enclosed chakla was.

2763. And were women brought from there in 1888, from the regimental chaklas which were closed?—They were turned out of the regimental chaklas, and, as I have said before, they would either have had to leave cantonments, or to live, not necessarily in the chakla to which you refer, but in the portion of the bazaar set apart for prostitutes. As a matter of fact many of them did not go into the enclosed chakla; the Lancer women for instance.

2764. There used to be four regimental chaklas before which were Government property?—Right infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Three, I think, sir. There was no left infantry chakla, because the regimental lines were close to the Sudder bazaar.

2765. (*Mr. Wilson.*) It was the Sudder bazar chakla?—Certainly; there would be four with the Sudder bazar chakla, of course.

2766. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Were the rooms in the Sudder bazar chakla separately numbered?—The rooms within, yes; within the enclosure, yes; not throughout the chakla, taking the chakla in the sense of a quarter.

2767. No?—Only within this large enclosure.

2768. Was there another chakla out of bounds?—Not that I have any knowledge of.

2769. The reference is 1680?—Lucknow cantonment adjoins the city, and the bazaars of the city are, no doubt, full of quarters of prostitutes.

(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) The suburbs.

(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes, the suburbs and the city itself.

2770. Exactly?—It is not like Umballa and Meerut: here they actually run into one another. The Kandahari bazaar was, no doubt, in the city and not in the cantoment at all. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) In the civil lines. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Of course you would know.

2771. Now, am I not right in stating that the evidence shows here, as in the case of Meerut, that the natives were practically prohibited access to the chakla reserved for British soldiers and there was a scale of pay as elsewhere, that the women were sometimes ill-treated and the soldiers reported. Shall I give you the references, or do you say that that is so?—I think "practically prohibited" access is a little too strong; they were turned out when found; but as a fact they did have access. Reports would be made to the military police, though very rarely, as far as we could find, did they reach anyone higher. We have no instance of any case which went higher, although we have indications that occasionally they did.

2772. You have evidence, have you not, that there was the same kind of scale of pay?—Yes.

2773. Now, you had evidence here also to the effect that the women who were resorted to by British soldiers were somewhat despised by natives?—Yes, by the better classes of natives.

2774. Shall I refer you to the reference?—No, sir; that I think there is no doubt whatever about.

2775. How many mahaldarnis did you hear of there?—Four or five old ones living in the sudder bazar; not then mahaldarnis officially; they simply ad been mahaldarnis at one time or another.

2776. And how many were in actual occupation?—None employed or receiving pay.

2777. How many employed?—None; none employed or recognised by the authorities.

2778. 1,720 to 1,728; just see what that evidence is?—Those are only old mahaldarnis, sir; there is first the old cavalry mahaldarni, and then there is the old artillery mahaldarni, and then there is the old sadr mahaldarni.

2779. She is Miro, and has four women living there, of whose earnings she takes 1-4th or 1-8th, as they care to pay her—so she says?—Yes, sir. But the mahaldarni is not a mahaldarni because Government recognises her; Government recognises her because she is a mahaldarni. The mahaldarni is the head of the women, whether they have anything to do with the Government or not; whether they live in cantonments, in a city, or in a village, or anywhere.

2780. Yes, I quite understand. But all these women here had been formerly in Government employ?—Yes, I think so; all three of them, before 1888.

2781. Now I will begin again with Umballa. We will address ourselves to the question of the periodical examination or inspection of the prostitutes?—Yes, sir.

2782. Now, at Umballa, women attended, when summoned, regularly; was not that the case?—Only the women living in regimental bazars.

2783. Were they sometimes specially summoned?—Not unless they were indicated by a soldier as having diseased him, I think.

2784. Then they would have a special summons?—Yes, the woman would have a special summons.

2785. The periodical examination was weekly, was it not?—Yes.

2786. And that continued till May 1893?—No; I think till the 2nd of August 1892.

2787. 693?—That does not tell us; but it is certainly August 1892. I think you have the books here, sir, with the last entry in them.

2788. My note says 1893. We will see what the evidence says?—Dr. Cleghorn's note on the books will give it to us. The last line of page 52 of the "Statements and Notes." Dr. Cleghorn's note on the examination of the books says up to the 2nd of August 1892, and even that last examination was not initialled by the doctor.

2789. And that was at what date?—The 2nd of August 1892. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) They were turned out of the bazars in May 1893, at Umballa. Perhaps you are confounding it with that.

2790. We have got the hospital books. We find there is a periodical examination continued up till the 2nd of August 1892?—Second of August 1892.

2791. Now, did you find a lot of prostitutes go up when reported, *en bloc*, all go?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) No.

2792. Question 815?—"When reported, they all went, as they could not tell who had been reported." That is the line, I presume, you refer to. Dr. Wardrop, I think, explains that. He says, in three or four instances, I think, that when he found an outbreak of disease in the regiment, and he could not find out who the women were, he sent for the women, and asked them to come up and be examined, all of them; and, as a fact, they did. I can give you the reference to that, sir, if you care to have it.

2793. Is that 815?—Oh, no, it will be much later on, line 2958. "Once or twice since one group has come up; I remember the Artillery women in particular, and, I think, no other." But that, I think, must be wrong, because the cavalry mahaldarni speaks to the fact of the cavalry women having gone up simultaneously.

2794. In fact it was the evidence that the examination was the condition of remaining in the cantonment, so the women understood it?—No, I do not think so.

2795. You do not think so?—No, I do not think so in the least. Four times it happened, four times

only; of course since the periodical examinations ceased.

2796. Yes, here is the evidence; "If I found an outbreak of disease in a regiment, and could not fix upon any particular woman, I would tell the matron (who would probably send the sweeper or bhishti) to let the women of that regiment know that the soldiers were accusing them of being diseased, and that they had better come and see me; upon which they would all come up;" here is a report, you see, of their coming up *en bloc*) "and I would ask them if they would like to be examined. They invariably said 'yes'; upon which I examined them, on that occasion only. This may have happened four times since August 1892. As a rule, I found them all free of disease"?—That, I think, was absolutely voluntary. This was the very cantonment in which these very women had asked this same medical officer to examine them.

2797. Under those special circumstances?—Oh, the residence in the bazaar was not made in any way conditional on their attendance under these circumstances.

2798. No, not on that occasion evidently; but 793 to 800, that is the marginal reference to condition of residence?—As far as women in regimental bazars go, their residence in those bazaars was, no doubt, conditional on their attendance at examinations.

2799. Line 793: "The Commission then proceeded to the British chakla again, and called the Royal Artillery women, who said: "We used to go there every week without being reported. If we had not gone, we should not have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar. We also went if reported"?—Yes, that was until August 1892.

2800. Were registers kept by doctors and mahaldarnis, Line 2940?—By "register," I understand a list of women who had to attend at examinations.

2801. Yes?—What they kept was lists of women who did attend at examinations. There is a distinction between the two.

2802. Yes, I will call them lists; that will be better, I think, than registers. Lists were kept by doctors nd mahaldarnis?—Yes.

2803. They are called registers in that evidence, I see?—Yes; well, that is my own distinction between register and list; all I wish to imply is that it was not a list of women who were supposed to go, but a list of women who actually did go.

2804. The cavalry women submitted to weekly inspection, did they not, till August 1892?—The women living in the cavalry bazar.

2805. Till August 1892?—Yes.

2806. What was the nature of the entries on the list recording their visits and inspections?—In what respect do you mean; with regard to their cleanness or disease?

2806A. With regard to disease?—You will find that at 3200; "fit" (healthy), "M" for menses, and "hospital" were the entries.

2806B. "Fit" was healthy; one word or the other?—"Fit" was healthy; "fit," "M," or "hospital," those were the three entries that were made.

2807. What is "M"?—Menses, capital "M."

2808. Now, were the women who had been in the Gordon Highlanders' chakla subjected to weekly inspection continued till 1892?—In the Gordon Highlanders, yes, sir; they were not allowed to live in the chakla unless they attended weekly.

2809. With similar entries, were there not?—Similar entries.

2810. The Artillery women's examinations were stopped by the colonel, I note?—No, sir, I do not know that; the colonel said that he would have nothing to do with the examination; they probably went as before.

2811. 2860?—That was after the examinations had been discontinued; he came there after the examinations had been discontinued.

2812. The regimental women who came, all of them came regularly, I understand?—Yes, all.

2813. The Sudder bazar women on one occasion, referred to at line 2950, requested examinations in order to dispose of accusations of disease?—On several occasions they did that, I think; and on two occasions they came in a body and asked to be examined periodically.

2814. 2970 and 2985?—Those are the two occasions on which they came in a body, 2970 and 2982–85.

2815. After August 1892. "They asked me if I could get permission to examine, not only them, but all women in cantonments, once a week, as in old days. I told them I could not do it. This was after August 1892. Some three or four months later precisely the same thing happened again. I am not sure why the women came on that occasion, but a considerable body came; and fearing that I had not understood them the first time, brought a woman who spoke English with them to explain. They have the strongest possible objection to being identified by a soldier as having diseased him; as they say it is not fair, since other women who are much worse diseased go scot free." These are the circumstances under which they applied for examination?—Yes, sir.

2816. Well now, at Meerut, the weekly inspection continued till May 1893?—Yes.

2817. Everybody had to go up for examination?—If a woman whose name was known to the medical officer did not appear for examination after being sent for and warned, she was reported as supposed to be diseased; so far every one had to up for examination.

2818. And if she failed to go up she was sent for and warned to go up, and then if she did not go up she was reported as supposed to be diseased?—As supposed to be diseased, yes.

2819. That was not a voluntary system?—No; I do not think you can possibly say that was voluntary.

2820. (*Sir James Peile.*) The woman generally did come?—Almost always. They hardly ever had to report her.

2821. You say, in your Report, as a fact the supposition almost always turned out to be well founded?—Yes.

2822. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) In 1889, was examination a condition of residence in the cantonment, line 1240?—No, sir; I understand that there was no condition then whatever. The woman simply absented herself without excuse; it was purely voluntary, I think, then.

2823. I will read a paragraph from the Annual Report of the Lock Hospital, Meerut, 1889, written by the apothecary in charge of the hospital. It appears that the hospital was re-opened on the 25th June 1889, and the Report goes on to say that: "In July 1889, with the sanction of the officers commanding corps, the old regimental chaklas were re-opened, and a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and, if found diseased, they would remain in hospital for treatment. These were the only women who were registered; but I cannot state that the registration was efficient, as very often a woman would have her name removed from the register, and simply absent herself without excuse. The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the three regimental bazars, viz.:—Cavalry, 10; Infantry, 10; Artillery, 14"?—Yes, sir; but you asked me whether a woman was obliged to come up for examination or be excluded from cantonments. I think it is very probable she would not be allowed to live in the regimental bazar without examination. What she probably did would be to go to live in the Sudder bazar, which was in the cantonments too.

2824. Were the inspections renewed by order two years ago?—In Lucknow?

2825. In Meerut?—In Meerut I remember nothing of that, sir. Can you give me the reference?

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2826. Line 1531 ?—That is the statement of the women, sir. A statement of that sort, as regards periods and dates, is almost worthless; it is the roughest possible approximation, at any rate; and for "By order," that may mean anything or nothing. What they, no doubt, referred to was the re-opening of the regimental chaklas which we have just been speaking of.

2827. Page 41 of letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 134, of 6th September 1892, I find there is a communication from Major General Sir J. Hudson, commanding the Meerut district, to the Quartermaster General in India, and he says: "There is no rule allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion. The men have, in no instance, been asked to denounce them. The women are invited once a week to attend at the hospital on a certain day to submit themselves for examination. This is merely for the convenience of all parties. There is no registration or compulsion whatever." That was a case of mere invitation, and that was followed in many instances by applying the rule of excluding them from the cantonment if they failed to attend. In 1892 I find your evidence is to this effect, the evidence that you took, some of it, that the women not attending were supposed to be diseased, and Rule 4 was applied ?—Yes.

2828. Will you refer to line 1325. Does that report the fact that respectable women were supposed to be diseased and compelled to attend ?—I do not know whether she was a respectable woman or not, sir; probably not, as she was suspected of practising as a prostitute; but she seems to have convinced the doctor that as a fact she was not so practising. Of course the line between prostitute and non-prostitute is very difficult to draw in many cases.

2829. The doctor says, page 22, at the top: "I was told that a certain woman was practising as a prostitute and was diseased. I reported her to the cantonment magistrate, who sent her to me. Her husband came with her. I was convinced that she was leading a decent life, and I let her go without examination ?"—Yes.

2830. There were lists of women examined at Meerut ?—Lists of women who were examined, yes.

2831. And the women were, so to say, assigned in lists to regiments ?—They were entered under the bazars in which they lived.

2832. 3,405 ?—3,415, perhaps: "Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women." Is that the passage to which you were alluding ?

2833. Page 56, line 3,403:—"Lists of prostitutes.—"These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892, till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows: Number (these are serial); Name; Date (being that of examination). The numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are: Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, thirty-four women; Sudder bazar, sixty-five women." You have that upon your note ?—Yes; that means that five women were living in the Artillery bazar; three women in the Cavalry bazar; thirty-four women were entered as Infantry; that simply means they lived in the Lal Kurti bazar, which, as I explained, is really part of the Sudder bazar, and has nothing to do at all with the infantry regiment.

2834. Now that examination seems to have been continued, and discontinued. Can you give us any explanation why it was at one time continued and discontinued, and then recurrence was had to it ?—In Meerut ?

2835. Yes ?—It was discontinued absolutely, I think, after 1888; then the regimental chaklas were re-opened and the women were allowed to reside in the regimental bazars, were so allowed on condition of attending weekly examination; but we did not find out how that examination, which was then confined to the women living in regimental bazars, became general so as to include the whole of the women in cantonments practically. That we cannot say.

2836. I see my reference is here, 1460 and 1466. Will you just turn to that and see whether they tell us anything worth noting ?—Yes, that was July 1892. "I receive circular orders from the Quartermaster General in India, through the principal medical officer. I received such a circular last year, dated July 1892, which reached me in August. One paragraph of that circular stated that no special examination of venereal cases was to be made, other than would be made in the case of other contagious diseases."

2837. "On receipt of this order I asked the cantonment magistrate whether this meant that I was to stop my weekly inspections, and I was told to continue them as before" ?—Yes.

2838. "I have never received any instructions since to the contrary till some three weeks ago, when Colonel Reid (commanding the station) said he thought they had better be stopped" ?—Yes.

2839. Then the question was put to him: "Do you know that the Governor-General has ever given an order to stop examination of prostitutes ?" Now, at one period the women, though they attended examination, were instructed not to assemble for the purpose ?—They were told not to assemble outside the compound. You may remember that the ladies said that the women all stood outside where five roads met. No doubt it was an inconvenience, and, possibly, a scandal; they were afterwards told not to assemble outside the compound, but they were brought into the compound. I think that was all the alteration made. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) Brought inside the wall.

2840. Yes, you have some evidence, 1468, as to its being explained to the women that the examination was not compulsory, is that it ?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) "It gave them no ground for thinking that they were in any way recognised by Government, it was often explained to them that they were not."

2841. Why was it often explained, unless there was reason to suppose that they had been led by circumstance to believe that they were bound ?—I presume—I do not know, of course, in the least; but I imagine it sprang from what we have noticed in the Report; the fact that since the old system was abolished the authorities have declined to do many things to help the women which in old days they did. When they came to medical officers and others to complain they were told "We now have no longer anything to do with you; we no longer recognise you. Government no longer recognises you in any way." That is my idea of the explanation.

2842. But they still came to the same examination ?—They came to an examination.

2843. Well now, at Lucknow. When was the periodical examination discontinued; was that discontinued in 1888 ?—We do not know whether it was discontinued, but probably not, it seems to have been continued.

2844. Not discontinued at all ?—We think not; at any rate, as far as we know. We have no evidence that it was discontinued.

2845. But you have evidence that it continued through 1890 and 1891 till March 1892 ?—Yes, I have no doubt March 1892 is the date.

2846. When was the bi-weekly examination instituted ?—When Dr. Ranking came to Lucknow, which was in February 1891.

2847. February 1891 ?—Yes, February 1891.

2848. That was the complete inspection with the speculum, and all the usual apparatus ?—Yes.

2849. Were the women kept in hospital during menses ?—At Lucknow only, I think.

2850. The reference is 2592 and 2796 ?—2259. Yes, Lucknow, and 2796 also.

2851. "If on examination I found a woman with her menses on, I took her into hospital" ?—That also is Lucknow, they are both Lucknow.

2852. Did the whole body of the women attend weekly ?—Until the discontinuance in March 1892, when the examinations were re-constituted. After that the whole body of women did not attend; the attendance fluctuated considerably, varying, broadly speaking, from 40 to 70.

2853. Was the attendance enforced in the summer of 1892 against women reported diseased ?—In Lucknow practically no action was taken whatever under the rules of 1890.

2854. The reference to that is 1886 ?—On two occasions the cantonment magistrate went down to the bazar and identified women and told them that they had the option between going to hospital or leaving cantonment. One case is mentioned in the reference you give us; and there is another occasion which he adds afterwards, and those are practically the only two cases, I think, in which the rules were enforced.

2855. Now will you refer to 2578 ?—There both occasions are mentioned; that is the same matter.

2856. Now 1895, what is that personal inspection ?—That is where a woman comes for permission to reside in the bazar; the cantonment magistrate asked her whether she agreed to be examined by the doctor; she invariably said "yes." He then sent her with her application to the doctor; the doctor examined her, recorded the result on the back of the application, and sent her back to the magistrate.

2857. That is 1895, is it ?—That is 1895, I take it.

2858. Now will you turn to 1910, which seems to be another reference to the evidence. Now this is the same witness; he shows how the women were called upon to undertake to attend the examination, and in this line 1910, he says: "My system has been to encourage examination as much as I could; but to use no pressure or compulsion" ?—Yes.

2859. Except, I suppose, the pressure or compulsion of the original undertaking ?—I suppose so.

2860. 1684. I find the registered women were carefully examined in 1891. In one of the memos., he states that the registered women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them ?—That is the apothecary in charge. Yes.

2861. "That the registered women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them." So that that is evidence of registered women being deal with in 1891 ?—Yes; all we can say is that there were no registered women at the time. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) Yes; but his hospital list is his hospital register.

2862. 2185 List of women kept in 1891: that would be the list, would it not ?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) 2185. Yes; there was a list of names of women who used to attend once a week.

2863. Continuation of a previous list ? — Apparently. Dr. Ranking found it there when he came, existing.

2864. Then new prostitutes were examined on the request of the cantonment magistrates ?—Yes.

2865. The names of new comers were entered on lists for examination ?—When a woman came to the medical officer with her application he then added the name to the list.

2866. And the names of absentees were reported to him—2242 ?—Yes, but no action was taken on that.

2867. It was reported to the cantonment magistrate ?—Yes.

2868. There was no regimental classification of the list ?—No; because there were no women living in any of the bazars, excepting the Sudder bazar.

2869. The list was discontinued in March 1892 ?—Yes.

2870. Similar lists were kept at Mian Mir and Sitapur ?—That I have no knowledge of.

2871. Page 38; 2346: "I have never had more than 83 women present for examination; certainly never 100. I have seen a record of the result of examination of women (similar to what I kept up here) kept up at Sitapur and Mian Mir. I had no orders to maintain it; but examination is impossible without some record" ?—Yes.

2872. He referred to a similar instance at Sitapur. Now, here is a Summary of all these Reports of General Officers, and under the head of "Sitapur," on page 2, I find this as to compulsory examination: "No compulsory or periodical examinations since the passing of the Act of 1889." So that that can hardly be correct, I think, from what you have just told us ?—He only says here the record was one of the results of the examination of women; he does not say that it was periodical. In every cantonment they would examine women probably sent up under these Rules.

2873. At any rate, the women know exactly what the inaccuracy is. There is either a positive inaccuracy or an incompleteness in the evidence in the Summary as to Sitapur ?—I should have thought not necessarily, sir. The Summary says there was no periodical examination; the evidence to which you refer says that there was examination.

2874. They did not know the fact that there was examination ?—In Umballa there was no periodical examination after August 1892; but there was examination of the women who were sent up under the Rules.

2875. But our ladies found that there was periodical examination, as I understood, at Sitapur ?—At Sitapur. That, of course, I cannot speak of in any way.

2876. This looks rather like compulsion ?—Yes ?

2877. As to the state of the hospitals at Umballa ?—Yes.

2878. The old Lock Hospital is now used as a branch ?—Yes.

2879. It is about 400 yards away, is it not, from the General Hospital ?—I cannot say from memory; it is some little distance.

2880. It is used for venereal diseases of women only ?—No, sir, I think not. It is used, as I said on Friday, for prostitutes only; but I think not only, nor nearly only, for venereal diseases. You have the precise figures for one year in Form F. I think they will show, as well as other evidence, that prostitutes are very commonly admitted with diseases other than venereal.

2881. What line do you refer to there ?—Form "F" I was referring to; it is at page 64 of our evidence: in-patients 46 with venereal diseases, and 39 with others; which is a very large proportion of the whole. Perhaps, sir, you had better ask Dr. Cleghorn rather than myself about these matters, because he understands them and I do not. I merely take these figures, and there is a good deal of evidence to show that prostitutes are admitted with diseases other than venereal. I have a note of the references; it would take some time to follow them now; a great deal of evidence I may say.

2882. Shall we reserve this, put these questions as to hospitals to Dr. Cleghorn; that would perhaps be the most convenient method ?—I think it would be desirable, because Dr. Cleghorn has special knowledge which I have not.

2883. Now, we will go on. When I started with these questions, which you have answered so clearly, I said that I proposed to ask you questions under three heads: first, as to chaklas; second, as to periodical examination; and third, as to Lock hospitals. So that the first two we have exhausted;

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the third we have left for the moment. But now, as far as we have gone, do not the facts of which we have taken note, confirm in general, as far as possible, on these points the statements of our witnesses of what they saw and ascertained in 1892 ?—They confirm a great deal of the bare facts as stated by the American ladies ; they contradict some of those allegations of fact ; and I think that they explain or contradict most of the suggestions made by the language in which the facts are stated by the ladies.

2884. Well, now, will you point out any serious discrepancies on any important point between their evidence and the evidence which you report as facts ?—Do you mean as regards bare statement of facts ?

2885. Any evidence must be evidence of facts ; of course, a fact may be a statement ; I am not speaking of their inferences ?—No. Well, I might give an instance of what I mean by suggestion. When it is pointed out that the chakla or the hospital is surrounded by a high wall, and has a chaukidar, which is translated by "watchman," at the gate, the suggestion made, I think, is naturally that there was some sort of restraint exercised over these women, that they were practically in confinement. As a fact, we find that there is a high wall, and as a fact we find that there is a chaukidar ; but also we find that there is no sort of restraint or anything approaching to confinement in any form. That is what I mean by the distinction between the bare fact and the suggestion.

2886. But do you refer to positive suggestions made by our witnesses in the evidence before the Committee ?—No, sir ; I refer to the impression which the bare facts as stated would produce upon anybody who did not know the circumstances of India, and which, no doubt, they did produce upon those ladies, they being ignorant of the circumstances of India.

2887. And your impression is that the facts that they saw produced upon them, the impression that the chakla was a prison, and they did not produce that impression upon you ?—That is what I gathered from reading the evidence, distinctly.

2888. We will take that as your view. But now upon the facts ; the facts as stated by these ladies. Can you point out any serious discrepancy between their evidence and that which you have brought before us ?—Will you let me answer that, sir, if I am to come here again, at a later date ? I should have to go through their evidence. I am sure I can point out some points, but I do not know that I can do so now.

2889. I only want important ones. I say distinctly, can you point out any discrepancy on important points ?—May I answer that later, sir ?

2890. Certainly, if you wish ?—I could give you certain instances now, but they would not be exhaustive.

2891. Give us one or two instances ?—A very important statement was that made about the cantonment magistrate of Lucknow, saying that if the girl they were trying to rescue once left the cantonment it would be impossible for her to return ; that has been explained by the cantonment magistrate of Lucknow, and they evidently entirely misunderstood the point there.

2892. Of what did their misunderstanding consist ?—They asked the cantonment magistrate whether there would be any objection to the girl coming back to cantonments, and he said that if she did she would probably be pestered by men whom she had known before as a prostitute, and that it would be much better for her not to come back to cantonments. He thought that probably the ladies would not appreciate how very strong the objection would be to her coming back, and he explained to the girl that she should not come back to cantonments ; but that had nothing whatever to do with any legal or official objection to her coming back ; it was simply a piece of advice put somewhat peremptorily.

2893. Do you call that an important discrepancy ?—I take it that the suggestion of the ladies was that a girl who had once left cantonments would be prevented, ordinarily and generally, from returning by the officials. That certainly is not so. If that were true it would be a very important thing, I think.

2894. They understood his statement to amount to that as far as that cantonment was concerned, I understand ?—Yes.

2895. But what I mean is this : I would ask you, is it not quite possible that either they or you might have made a misunderstanding of that kind, if it were a misunderstanding ?—Yes, quite.

2896. And what I want to know is : "They asked me if I would undertake that nobody would interfere with her if they took her away. I said that I could not guarantee that ; and that, if she came into cantonments, she might not improbably be accosted by some soldiers who knew her. I therefore thought it advisable, if she left cantonments, that she should not return. I then turned to the woman herself, and told her she could leave the cantonment, but must not return to it "?—Yes.

2897. "She said something about wishing to see her mother and sister, who were both living in the chakla. I told her that they could easily go to her and visit her. I thought that the ladies did not know much about the matter, and would not realise the complications that might arise if the girl returned to cantonments. My object was to assist in rescuing her. In speaking to the girl, I may have put it more as an order than as advice, and have said, 'You must not come back'" ?—Yes.

2898. I fail to perceive the serious discrepancy, because what I understand by a serious discrepancy would be one that would throw some doubt upon the general accuracy of the evidence of our lady witnesses ?—Well, sir, I think it is stated that the women could not leave cantonments without permission ; that surely is a very serious statement if true.

2899. Where is that ?—I take it from your "statement of facts."

2900. You must go to their evidence.—Then I must ask for time to go through their evidence.

2901. When I put this question to you about important discrepancies my object was this : I want to know from you whether you allege that the evidence you took entitles you to impute such serious inaccuracies on their part as would take away from the weight of their evidence. I do not know that you do, but I want to know how that is, and I would ask you only to confine yourself as far as this is concerned to that class of discrepancy if you can ?—Very well, sir.

2902. Will you look at page 66 of the Statement and Notes. That is the Umballa Report by Brigadier-General Prettyman, commanding the Sirhind district, to the Quartermaster-General in India, and in it I find this statement at the end : "It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A.), that although a certain amount of truth exists in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it, tends to detract from its value." I ask you whether you are prepared in any degree to substantiate that proposition ?—The term "*suggestio falsi*," I think, suggests that the American ladies wished to mislead by the way in which they put their evidence.

2903. There is no other possible interpretation of it ?—And so far as it indicates that, I do not agree in the very least. I do think that their evidence was in many respects very misleading ; but I believe they misunderstood in the same way that anyone not knowing India and reading their evidence would misunderstand. I do not believe that there was any desire whatever in the giving of their evidence to mislead.

2904. At the same time we have this reflection, and I have noticed some similar ones elsewhere in these statements. That occurs in this very Report. They

suppress the fact of the periodical examinations ?—They suggest it ? If you said "suppressed it," there were no periodical examinations at Umballa when this Report was written, and there had not been for a year.

2905. Lucknow, Major-General R. C. Low, I find at page 75, line 4,213, paragraph 26, says this, he is referring to the previous paragraph regarding the existence of the mahaldarnis : "This is true ; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities ;" and here comes my quotation : "In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges." Do you endorse that expression ?—So far as the word "lie" goes, I do not endorse it in any degree whatever. I think that there was an inaccurate suggestion constantly at the back of the true fact ; but I have been struck, so far as I could judge, with the honesty of purpose of the ladies throughout.

2906. There was no inaccuracy in the suggestion of a tariff of charges. We have plenty of evidence before us of a customary tariff ever since the commencement of the rules ?—I think that anyone who read the evidence would take it that that tariff was sanctioned by Government.—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) That the tariff was recognised by Government ; you get that idea from reading the evidence.

2907. I will put this to you ; do any of you gentlemen say that a customary tariff which has never varied, which has been positively enforced against soldiers ever since the British occupation of India, that what you call Government is to be considered perfectly innocent of a knowledge of it at all ?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes, absolutely. There is a tariff or nerikh, a tariff for coolies, a tariff for carriage, and a tariff for a hundred different charges.

2908. I ask you this : you know perfectly well that we have had it in evidence that the military police have compelled payment of the tariff ?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) It being customary. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Suppose a man buys a thing ; before you can compel him to pay what he ought to pay, you must find out what is the tariff ; you go to contract or to custom ; you have nothing else to go to. In this case the payment is customary ; the woman may say, "The man promised to give me a rupee," but the policeman would say, "I know nothing about that ; the custom is 4 annas, and I do not make him pay more."

2909. You suggest that the custom which has obtained since the British occupation of India was absolutely unknown to the British military authorities ?—It was known, perhaps ; just as the tariff for yekkas and many other private matters is known to them.

2910. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I was 46 years in India, and I never heard of it. Of course, I know that there was a custom, but what it was I never heard. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) I never heard of anything of the kind.

2911. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) A good deal would depend on the position of the commmanding officer ; the higher his position the less likely he would be to know ?—All local officers would know. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) I know of many customary tariffs in my own district ; I have no sort of official knowledge of them except in so far as that if anyone comes to my court and says "So-and-so has not paid me what he owes," I inquire into the custom, and I say "All you get is so-and-so," giving the nerikh.

2912. The ladies give the evidence of the women and the mahaldarnis, and they call it "this customary tariff," this tariff ?—Yes.

2913. But your own report is supported by evidence of which you tell me there is a considerable proportion on which you cannot base your report ?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) We can say it.

2914. Some of the evidence is sound, and some not ?—Yes.

2915. You cannot say which is sound and which is not ?—Oh, yes, we can. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Oh, yes, we can.

2916. Now, where is the suggestion ?—"(*Q.*) Did you endeavour to ascertain the amount of money which the soldiers had to pay the women, and which the women received ?—(*A.*) Yes. We asked that, I think, in every cantonment. Yes, in every cantonment we asked it. (*Q.*) And what was the result of your inquiries ; did you find that there was, generally speaking, a uniform rate of pay ?—(*A.*) Yes, there was. (*Q.*) Regulated by the rank of the soldier ?—(*A.*) It seemed to depend upon his rank, because they stated almost invariably that the rate was proportioned to the rate of the soldier, and that it was for a sergeant one rupee, a corporal eight annas, a bombardier six annas, and a private soldier four annas. I have a table of it, setting forth the places where this was stated. (*Q.*) Is this a table of your drawing up ?—(*A.*) It is a copy, but that is type-written. (*Q.*) Then the evidence which you have just given us as to the uniform rate of pay is founded upon statements you have received from the persons enumerated in this table which I hold in my hand ?—(*A.*) Yes. (*Q.*) And your informants were either prostitutes, or mahaldarnis, or dhais ?—(*A.*) As they are stated there, because we made quite a thorough investigation into it. Our attention was called to it, because of the women giving us the information voluntarily, and then we naturally noticed them. (*Q.*) Will you put that paper in ?—(*A.*) I am perfectly willing to do so." (*Table put in.*) I want to know where is the *suggestio falsi*, or where is the lie behind the truth ?—I have already said that I do not agree with either expression.

2917. But where is the suggestion that this tariff is laid down by the Government ?—I think the impression of anybody reading through the whole evidence in connection with the subject would be that the scale of charges was to some extent, or wholly, authoritative.

2918. Really, Mr. Ibbetson, this is not evidence. You are now speaking of an impression, and you are not justifying it by evidence. I am not conscious of anything of the kind. I am not conscious of anything in their evidence more than what I have read to you, that there was a uniform rate of pay ?—I cannot lay my finger, at the present moment, upon any particular passage.

2919. You were required by your instructions to report whether, in your opinion, any practices which you found to exist infringed in any way the Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules of 1890. Your Report does not set forth any schedule of facts ascertained which, in your opinion, do infringe the Act and Rules ?—I do not know quite what infringing the Act means. The whole of the Act, so far as it regards this question, is confined to the empowering section under which the rules are framed. The rules are to be read as part of the Act, and for that purpose they are practically the whole Act ; that is to say, they are the whole Act on the subject. As regards the infringement of the rules, I think we have shown what you ask for ; we have given cases in which distinctly irregular action took place ; we have pointed out that the technical formalities prescribed by the rules have always been adhered to ; but we have said that cases in which the spirit of the rules has been departed from or contravened had been very rare indeed.

2920. Take it in this way. You first take the chaklas. Does your Report and the evidence show, or does it not show, that the management of the chaklas has been such, since the Act of 1888, as to infringe the Rules and the Cantonment Act of India ?—No, sir. In the first place, there has been no management of the chaklas since 1888 ; and, even if there had been, it could not possibly infringe an Act or Rules which take no notice of chaklas.

2921. Regimental chaklas I am speaking of ?—Neither the Act nor the Rules has any concern what-

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ever with chaklas or with their management. They simply deal with the treatment of infectious and contagious disorders. So far as regulating the residence of prostitutes goes, that, no doubt, is done under general powers given by the Act for the regulation of the residence of all inhabitants of cantonments.

2922. Then I understand you to say that the Cantonment Act and the Rules have no operation, and were not intended, at any rate, to have any effect upon the existence of chaklas, regimental or otherwise?—No, save in so far as a chakla is a residence for people following a common occupation, and the Act gives power to regulate the residence of all people following common occupations.

2923. I will just take you to Meean Meer, because we have it in evidence, as I pointed out there, that the whole of the old system has been in practice at Meean Meer down to the latest date?—Yes.

2924. That, in your view, has not been an offence against the Rules?—I think, as I explained when I first came into the room this morning, sir, that the Rules being wholly empowering, and in no way directing a course of action, or prohibiting a course of action, you cannot say that anything which is not justified by the Rules is an offence against them.

2925. Yes, I understand that is your view; that we must not look to the Rules?—Not to the Rules.

2926. To prevent those conditions which, as you know, the House of Commons desires should be put an end to?—No, you must look to the executive and administrative directions on the subject.

2927. Now, with regard to the periodical examination, would you say the same?—Quite so.

2928. The Rules have no bearing upon it?—The Rules authorise a certain form of examination, which is not periodical; they do not authorise any periodical form of examination whatever, but it does not follow that periodical examination infringes the Rules.

2929. They do not forbid it?—They do not forbid it.

2930. Well, now as to the Lock Hospitals. Do you say the same as to the Lock Hospitals, that the Rules do not regulate them, or prohibit any of the practices with regard to them?—They simply prescribe that hospitals shall be maintained for the treatment of those disorders, and go no further.

2931. Therefore these Rules, which certainly, at the time, were regarded, in fact, as Rules which were meant, by their very conception and enactment, to secure an entire change of the system, in your view did not do that?—No, sir, that would not be my view. The old Rules made many things legal which were objected to by the House of Commons; the new Rules abolished the legality of those practices and made certain other practices legal; but although they abolished the legal basis upon which the practices which had been objected to rested, they did not prohibit the continuance of those practices, because that is not the business of these Rules, which are really subsidiary, but the business of legislation. When you change a law, you repeal a law which made a certain thing legal; you pass a new law which makes something legal in its place; but you do not go further and say, you shall not do something which under the old law was legal; at any rate, you do not in your statute.

2932. According to your view and practice, if we desire to prevent the recurrence of what we deem improper practices, whether before or since 1888, legislation will be necessary?—No, sir, I do not think so: I think the whole confusion has arisen——

2933. Excuse me, I thought you said that rules are empowering in the sense that they do not forbid?—Yes.

2934. Well, if there are certain practices which we want to forbid, I suppose they must be forbidden by law?—I think not necessarily.

2935. How would you forbid them then?—When I say "Rules," I mean the rules under an Act. Of course, rules under an Act, and rules issued by the executive for the guidance of the officials, are two entirely distinct things. Hitherto I have been speaking only of rules under an Act; but all these practices could be, and might be, and, I believe, have been, prohibited by rules, or orders, or instructions, issued on the executive and administrative side. That would be the ordinary course, I think, to follow.

2936. I do not doubt that by rules, or instructions of the Government of India, or of the military authorities, any of these practices could be forbidden; but my question to you was this, that if we in England desire to prevent the possibility of the renewal of practices which the evidence shows have continued to exist after they were forbidden by the Resolution of the House of Commons, we must forbid them by law?—If you wish to make them illegal you must forbid them by law; at present they are opposed to orders; if you legislate they will be opposed to law.

2937. Now I will come for a short time to the conclusions in your Report: "1st. In each cantonment there are assigned several quarters for prostitutes; as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." We quite understand each other; your Report refers simply, as far as your conclusions are concerned, to Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow?—Entirely; exclusively.

2938. The phraseology is so general that one has to keep in mind the sentence with which you introduce the conclusions, which is quite clear: "Our conclusions, as before explained, refer to the three cantonments of Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, which we have visited, and to no other"?—Yes, I carefully put that before, and I repeated it there.

2939. No. 1. "In each cantonment there are assigned several quarters for prostitutes; as there are for the followers of many other callings, and, in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." Now, the words you add are, "as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours." Our statement was that in each cantonment there were assigned certain quarters for prostitutes?—Yes.

2940. Why do you object to that statement, and why do you wish to make the addition, "as there are for the followers of many other callings," and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours"?—I do not object to it; but I think the impression that anyone who did not know India would gather from that would be, that it was for prostitutes only that these separate quarters were assigned; whereas it is a part of the regular system under which people who desire to follow certain occupations reside in a particular part assigned to them in the cantonment.

2941. I do not quite see the argument?—Merely that it is not peculiar and special to prostitutes, but is part of a general system which is followed with regard to all occupations, and especially those which are offensive.

2942. But is not that argument open to this reply, that what it amounts to, is to put prostitution on the footing of any other calling?—I was not careful to guard myself against that or any other reply; I wished to put the facts as they stood. My idea, in drafting, was that we wanted to write a Report which would be intelligible to a person not having any knowledge of India, and would represent to him the facts as they stood.

2943. You see the parts which are italicised. You take from, I think it was, our Statement of Facts, and you appear to desire to qualify those statements. Now I do not see that this is any qualification. Our statement was that, "In each cantonment there were assigned certain quarters for prostitutes"; you admit that?—Yes, sir; and our statement is that in each cantonment there are quarters assigned for other callings also.

2944. Now do you mean to detract from the accuracy of our statement?—Not in the least; only to guard against the possible wrong impression which might be drawn from it.

2945. Now I will pass on to No. 8: "Of many of the enclosures it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, owing to the fear of the soldiers, and to the action of the military police, but not owing to any action or orders of the authorities, no natives are allowed to resort to them; though they do visit them at certain hours." Our proposition was that natives were not allowed to resort; that is our broad proposition?—Yes.

2946. Well, surely that is practically borne out by your evidence, as well as by that of our ladies. Without going so far as to say that any rules have been laid down by the authorities that no natives should resort, evidently there has been, perhaps less of late years than formerly, but there has been a desire to do it, and I quite see the reason for it, to exclude the natives from the prostitutes' chaklas frequented by the British soldiers. You would not deny that, would you?—I think I would deny it on the part of the authorities; but certainly not on the part of the military police, that there is no question about. As far as we can gather, the authorities themselves take no steps.

2947. In your mind, who are the authorities?—The cantonment magistrate in the case of the Sudder bazar, and the regimental authorities, the colonel commanding, and the quartermaster under him, in the case of the regimental bazar.

2948. Now, as far as the women were concerned, the police were practically the authorities?—Yes, in practice.

2949. In the spirit?—Oh yes, in practice they were excluded, or an attempt was made to exclude them.

2950. Now I pass to No. 9. "The women are at perfect liberty to leave the chakla or cantonment without permission, either temporarily or permanently"?—Yes.

2951. Now, if women leave the cantonment they cannot return, can they; is not that in evidence, except on conditions?—No, not in the least; they are absolutely free to return.

2952. Except under conditions of submitting to periodical examination?—Oh, no, sir; they come back under exactly the same conditions that they left, whatever they were.

2953. But do you mean to say that in the cantonments that you visited a woman could refuse examination, being diseased, leave the cantonment, and come back again without having to undergo any examination?—If she left cantonments under orders as being supposed to be diseased, having been given the option of submitting to examination or leaving cantonments, and having elected to leave cantonments, then she could not return without the written permission of the medical officer who reported her.

2954. Now suppose she evaded these orders?—And did return?

2955. Vanishing for a period?—That would not be evasion, she has that legal option, she is perfectly at liberty to vanish.

2956. We will put it in this way; supposing she was suspected and under order to come up for examination and evaded that by leaving the cantonment, then do you mean that she could re-enter the cantonment without being called upon to be examined?—Not if she had been brought under the operation of the rules as diseased; then she would not be ordered to come up for examination, but she would be told she must either come up or leave cantonments. If she elected to leave, she could not then re-enter cantonments, without the written permission of the medical officer. This case we are speaking of is that of women in general, quite apart from individual women who are reported to the authorities as supposed to be diseased under the rules.

2957. But does not your evidence show, in many cases, that the undertaking to submit to periodical examination was made a condition of residence?—In regimental bazars; and the number living in regimental bazars is very small in comparison with the total number.

2958. But in regimental bazars that was so?—That was so.

2959. I will go on to 10: "In no case does the chakla belong to the Government, nor has any chakla been occupied by prostitutes, while the property of Government, since 1888. In some cases it is owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government." But this is true, is it not, that the Government have the power if they please to prevent their property being used for the purpose of chakla?—It is not their property; the building does not belong to the Government; in cantonments only the ground does.

2960. But the ground belongs to Government?—The ground does, and they have liberty to resume the buildings for military purposes under certain rules, but only so I think.

2961. Have they no power; can the building be used for any purpose whatsoever against their consent?—I think for any purpose whatever, I am sure for any purpose whatever, unless they could bring it under one of the rules under the Cantonment Act, which would prohibit the exercise of certain occupations in certain parts of the bazar, and the exercise of any occupation in a manner to be unsanitary or unreasonably offensive to the neighbours. *Quâ* prostitution, I think they are absolutely without power under the existing law to prevent a building being used as a residence for prostitutes.

2962. Do you mean that it was not in the power of the Government to suppress a chakla?—No; legally they might move it. They might say, "You must leave here; you must live there;" but they could not suppress it. Of course it is in the power of the Legislature to say anything.

2963. I do not mean the Legislature?—The Legislature could do anything.

2964. I do not mean the Legislature, I mean the authorities?—No, not legally.

2965. Do you mean that they could not declare that a certain building called a chakla, and inhabited by prostitutes, should no longer be inhabited by them?—No, unless they could give such grounds as I have already mentioned, sanitary grounds, or the convenience of the neighbours.

2966. But surely I am not wrong in believing, I imagine we have had it in evidence that they have the power of turning anybody they like out of cantonments?—Any individual; but I do not think, certainly no court of justice would support them in construing that power as empowering them to turn a class of individuals out of cantonments. A discretion must be exercised, although the law allows them to eject an individual without giving reasons; the discretion exercised must be judicial and judicious.

2967. In your view you draw that line?—Yes.

2968. They could not clear a chakla?—No.

2969. But they can direct such prostitutes to leave the cantonment?—An individual prostitute.

2970. Or individuals?—In fact, that power is very rarely exercised.

2971. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Subject to ordinary conditions?—I believe, certainly as the cantonment law stands now, a person can be ejected without assigning any cause whatever; but it is a power exercised perhaps only once in two years in the case of one man; and as far as my knowledge goes, very rarely.

2972. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then that power does exist, and you would wish to say in regard to it that it is a power which practically would not be put into operation except in extreme cases?—It would be an abuse of the power to use it in that way.

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2973. To use it for the purpose of clearing a chakla? —For the purpose of clearing a chakla.

2974. That I quite understand; I see that distinction. "In no cantonment is a register kept of the chakla women; though in certain of the regimental chaklas the head women have kept lists of the prostitutes occupying the chaklas"?—Yes.

2975. Now they may be called lists and not registers, or they may be called registers; practically speaking, it amounts to one and the same thing?—No, I think not, because your statement was that a register of women was kept in the cantonment; now that is a very different thing indeed: the women in an individual chakla only number four or five, and the women in a cantonment would probably number 150. I wish to distinguish between cantonment and regimental chakla; that is the point of the statement.

2975*. In the statement of facts to which reference has been made, page 4, paragraph B., "Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed medical officer at the hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases"?—Yes.

2976. The mistake, as I understand, consists in calling the document a register and not a list?—No, sir; the wording here is "Every woman entered on the register is required to come for examination." That puts the register first, and the examination afterwards. The fact is, every woman coming for examination is entered on the register, so that the examination comes first and the entry on the register afterwards. The hospital register is purely a register of attendance; it is not a register of women who should attend, but a register of women who have attended; that is the distinction.

2977. Then I understand the woman gets on the register, or list, after her first examination?—Yes.

2978. But after that, being on that register, she has to present herself?—No, not necessarily; not in Umballa at all; not in Lucknow at all. At Meerut she had, under the penalty of being reported as supposed to be diseased, but only in Meerut. At Umballa she had, if she was living in the regimental bazar, under penalty of leaving that regimental bazar, and going to live in the Sudder bazar. At Lucknow she might come or she might not. As a fact, the attendance of individuals was most irregular. These registers were kept by the mahaldarnis for the information of the commanding officer; they were not official in any sense of the word.

2979. The hospital lists and the mahaldarni's books, contained the names of women attending periodical examinations, and they became, in fact, registers?—Yes, registers of those women.

2980. Well, then, 15, the metal plates; there is a question of the metal plates. "In one place metal plates bearing numbers were affixed over the entrances of such of the separate rooms in the chakla as were occupied at the time by prostitutes (which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers), of which numbers the object, when first affixed, was that a soldier might be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name and address. This object soon ceased to be secured, owing to changes in the rooms (or houses) occupied by prostitutes"?—Yes.

2981. Were they separate numbers of rooms occupied by prostitutes; where they still exist they would, of course, serve the original purpose of identification?—Yes.

2982. Paragraph 18; "In the only case in which we found a mahaldarni possessing a certificate signed by a British officer of later date than 1888, the certificate was signed by an assistant-apothecary, was dated Gurgaon, where an artillery camp is held, 22nd January 1891, and testified to her being "painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." "Most of the certificates described in the evidence given before the India Office Committee date from before 1888;" and then, 19, "At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis, who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888, had such duties, which were practically the same as formerly, before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and included the care and control of the women under their charge and their presentation for periodical examination?"—Yes.

2983. Did not the mahaldarni referred to depose that there was no difference in the duties of the mahaldarnis after the tickets were taken back, that is to say, after the change of practice in 1888?—Yes; when she was the mahaldarni of the regimental chakla, and that is what we say in paragraph 19.

2984. Then I will take you to 19 again: "At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis, who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888, had such duties, which were practically the same as formerly, before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons." But what this mahaldarni says is this, that there was at that time no difference in the duties after the tickets were taken back?—I think not, sir; she was not then a recognised mahaldarni at all, and had no duties of any sort. Line 1520: "Ten artillery women now live in the British infantry bazar. When the tickets were taken back, the artillery chakla was closed, and remained so for a year. Then the artillery adjutant sent for us back. Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratan." There she speaks of what her duties were until Gujratan superseded her.

2985. She has certificates?—Yes; that describes her duties as they stood until she was turned out by Colonel West in favour of Gujratan; that was when she was mahaldarni of the regimental artillery chakla.

2986. At what date did that occur: "Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratan;" at what date was that?—I do not think I can give the exact date; I do not know when Mina was turned out and Gujratan taken in.

2987. It must be after 1891?—No, not after 1891, I think. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) There was an artillery camp at Gurgaon after 1891, and the apothecary then in subordinate charge of the battery gave her that certificate while she was with the battery at Gurgaon in 1891; she was then a regimental mahaldarni, taking no pay, but these were her duties in connection with the women attached to that battery in the camp at Gurgaon. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) That is probably so.

2988. Her duties, according to her evidence, remained the same?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) Remained the same while she was with the women in the chakla.

2988*. Paragraph 22: "A uniform minimum rate of pay is recognised (as given in the Statement of Facts), the lowest item in which represents two days' sustenance for the women. More is often paid, though in case of complaint the man is not compelled to pay more. The scale is higher than would be paid by natives to women of the same class." Well, now we have it that the man is compelled to pay a minimum rate?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes.

2989. And whether that has grown up by custom without the knowledge of the authorities or not, that is regular?—It is no more regulated, sir, than if a man sues in my court for the price of a loaf of bread, and I find out what the minimum rate generally charged for loaves of bread of that sort is, and I compel the defendant to pay that amount to the plaintiff.

2990. But are you aware that, by the law of England, such a contract would not be enforced?—

Not for the price of a loaf of bread; no, I do not know that.

2991. Do you not know that a contract founded on an immoral consideration would not be enforced?—Supposing A. sells a loaf of bread to B., and there is a dispute as to the price to be paid for that loaf of bread, and A. sues B. in my court, I should find out what was the customary price and make B. pay it. There is no immoral contract there.

2992. My point was this: that if there was this ordinary tariff which, as you say, sprang up as a matter of custom and became a custom having the force of law?—Yes.

2993. Well, I ask you, are you not aware that, by the law of England, any such custom would be bad?—Yes, I know that contracts of that sort would not be enforced by English law. The tendency of Indian law, I think, is to disregard that, and rule in the other direction; I have a private note here by a friend who is Government Advocate of the Punjaub, in which he says that the tendency seems to be in the other direction.

2994. The English law was followed, you mean, in regard to payment by soldiers?—No, I think it was rent for a house used as a brothel.

2995. That is the same thing. The English law was followed at first; I am told that the tendency later has been to set aside that, as not extending to India; not holding in India.

2996. Do I understand from you that that is the statement of the judge-made law of India at this moment?—I believe that is so.

2997. That is to say, by the law as interpreted by the judges in India, prostitution is recognised as a lawful trade?—Yes; the question arose in the case of hereditary prostitutes, dancing girls in the Temple. The question was whether they could recover (I suppose their share of the proceeds of the Temple), and I believe it has been ruled that they can; the English law having been considered and departed from, in view of the difference between hereditary prostitution, such as is universal in India, and the form in which you have it in England.

2998. A judicial decision; was that comparatively lately?—I think I can give you the references: Indian Law Reports, XIII. B. 150, and XIV. B. 90; but what these references mean I do not know; I have very little to do with the Reports; that is as given to me.

2999. I was assuming, I imagine (probably I am right), that that decision must have been quite posterior to the commencement of this custom?—I should think so.

3000. This custom of the rate of pay?—Oh, yes, long after, I should think.

3001. Paragraph 24: "Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living, a customary fee (as in the case of other callings) to the recognised representative of the group to which she belongs. We know of no other various demands." No doubt she incurs debts to shopkeepers; I suppose that is what it means?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) "Banya" is shopkeeper.

3002. We have heard of occasional demands by the police and the blackmailing of the native doctors in one place?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Yes; one case of police and one case of hospital staff. I mention both these carefully.

3003. Then No. 29: "Their life is not a *life of shame*, in the sense in which this is true in England. Most of them are prostitutes by caste, and can feel no *desire to give it up*. Those who do feel such a desire would doubtless occasionally be prevented by debt; but far more often by the almost entire absence in India of all remunerative occupation for women, save hereditary occupation, to which caste restrictions would in most cases be an absolute bar, or manual labour, for which they are unsuited." Therefore I take it that your conclusion there is that once in this life it is an extremely difficult thing for these women, even if they desire it, to give it up?—Once born, I would say; they are born to it, and they must remain.

3004. But they are not all born to it?—The great majority of them. It is so not only with prostitutes but with every class in India; the whole caste system rests on that, and a man or a woman is born to a certain occupation.

3005. Upon what are you basing that observation, that the great majority of them are born to it and must remain?—On my experience of 23 years in India. I constantly have to deal with prostitutes as a magistrate, and as the executive authority. I know as a fact that a very great majority of the Indian prostitutes are hereditary.

3006. But do you mean the great majority of these prostitutes who live in these chaklas, and who are frequented by British soldiers?—Well, in Umballa we ascertained that 31 out of 39 were hereditary; eight had joined the ranks later. I should think that is an unusually large proportion, but at any rate that was the proportion.

3007. But would you say, speaking of all the cantonments in India, from your experience of these three cantonments, that a large majority of the prostitutes frequented by British soldiers are prostitutes by caste?—Certainly; a large majority, I would say.

3008. I have a different impression, I must say. I do not know whether we could get that. You have never made any inquiries in any other cantonments than those three, have you?—No, never; but of course one has something to do with this class of women in the course of one's work, and I have had a long experience in India, and I know no reason to think that the proportion varies in cantonments from what is in cities.

3009. My impression has been this, that in regard to these women a considerable proportion of them, I do not know what the proportion is, I never did know, do not begin life with the intention of becoming prostitutes; they do not belong to that class of prostitutes, but they drift into the chakla from circumstances of destitution; they may be young widows; they may be seduced; they are impoverished, and that is their only refuge. My impression is that that would certainly account for a considerable fraction; I do not know how much?—I think a larger fraction of prostitutes, as I point out in the Report, than in many other trades; I think the fraction might be 10 per cent. or 20 at the outside, of non-hereditary. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) There are whole villages in the Himalayas where the daughters are given up to prostitution.

3010. I was perfectly aware that there was a class for prostitution, but I did not know that they were so largely to be found in these chaklas. Your view, I take it (and I undertand that is the accepted view) is that those who belong to the caste become prostitutes, they never have the sense of shame which, to our mind, would seem to be natural on first entering into that business?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) No, sir, they are not the least ashamed of it; they would be ashamed if you told them they belonged to certain other occupations which they consider lower than their own.

3011. Do you entirely disbelieve in what these girls and women said to our witnesses about their horror of the examination?—I do, absolutely, now. I think my opinion may carry more weight, perhaps, because it has been entirely changed. When I first began this examination, I think Major Wilson suggested to me to ask the women at Umballa whether they objected to examination. I said, "What is the good of putting such a question? There can be no woman, prostitute or not, who does not object;" and, as a matter of fact, the question was not put. I felt so strongly about it as that; but what we heard afterwards has entirely modified my opinion on the subject. I think that on a point of that sort the statements made by these women to the ladies would be almost valueless.

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3012. Why?—If there is one thing more important than another, if you wish to get at the feeling of a native, an uneducated native, on any point, it is that you must absolutely conceal from him or her what your own feeling and opinion on the matter is. From general inaccuracy, and wishing to be pleasant all round, and from generations of servitude, they will always agree with you if they only know what to agree with. These ladies went there full of sympathy, looking at prostitution in the way that English or American ladies would look at prostitution, upon the whole thing as horrible, and the personal examination as a degradation. The women would certainly, whatever their view might be, fall in with that, and say all that the ladies say they said. As evidence of their opinion, I look upon what they said to the ladies as absolutely valueless. One very important point is that at Meerut when some of the Lancers' women denied what they had said to the ladies, there was a chorus of indignation; they stated that "the ladies were very kind to us; they gave us four annas each, and *told us it was disgraceful to be examined.*" It looked as if the idea was suggested to them. That is the impression it conveys to me, knowing what I do of native character.

3013. They might have entertained the same feeling of wishing to please with regard to themselves?—Quite. I do not say it is conclusive by any means.

3014. Are you prepared to say that, as far as you can judge by your own observations and inquiries, they have no objection to the use of the speculum?—Dr. O'Connor, I think it was, told us that they did object to the use of the speculum, because they had an idea that it injured them internally; and the Meerut women themselves said, "We do not mind the examination, but we do object to having anything put into us."

3015. Then I think you are rather of opinion, and you admit, that they are looked upon, the prostitutes, that British soldiers frequent, are looked upon with some contempt by their fellow-countrymen?—Yes, any native who serves or deals with Englishmen in personal matters does lose caste, no doubt. Our servants, I think, do not hold the same position as they would if they did not serve Europeans. That is certainly so.

3016. But you would not put the two cases quite on a par, would you?—I think very much. It is a question of caste entirely, I think. Of course, the British soldier is not only an Englishman, but he is a low caste Englishman; he is not a sahib, as the native would say; he is not a gentleman; that has something to do with it, and I think it is that feeling almost entirely.

3017. Did you tell me that periodical examination was not made a condition of residence in the cantonments at Lucknow?—Certainly not, in any way whatever. A woman, upon coming to Lucknow, was sent to a doctor for examination, as far as the magistrate went, without any compulsion or order; but in a manner which, no doubt, to her took practically the form of an order; she would not distinguish.

3018. "Dr. H. Hamilton was then in charge of the hospital. I understood from him that, while he was in charge, women used to attend rather largely at the voluntary examinations" (I am reading from Major Campbell's evidence, page 30 of the Statements and Notes, line 1,886). "Between the notice of March 1892 and this date, I have issued no other notices, and taken no other action in the matter, save that noted above. In May 1893, I received orders from Army headquarters that in future no special examination of prostitutes was to be permitted, other than what would take place in the case of other contagious diseases. These orders I communicated to the medical officers. From the closing of the chaklas in 1888 till now, under the voluntary system, I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the Sadr bazar as a prostitute, whether she agreed to be examined by the doctor. I never knew any woman refuse. They used to go straight off to the doctor to be examined. I did not explain whether I meant periodical examination or examination preliminary to permission. The doctor sent back a report sometimes that the woman was diseased; in which case I refused her leave to reside in cantonments. Of late I have not always insisted on this examination. In some cases the women themselves state in their petitions that they are ready to be examined"?—Yes, sir, that is what I add. I understood your question at first to refer to permission to reside in the sense in which residence in regimental bazars was conditional in Umballa.

3019. His own interpretation of the system was to encourage it?—Practically she would take it as an order. Practically, to the woman it would come as an order.

3020. Paragraph 35 of the Summary of Conclusions: "The examination is made individually by the British medical officer, and is generally conducted in the presence of the resident native medical officer of the hospital, and in the presence also of the Lock Hospital nurse (called the 'dhai.'). The examination is made on a table (not necessary special), and generally, though not always, with speculum, &c. The women subjected to it speak of it without abhorrence; and apparently have no objection to it on the score of modesty." I want to ask you whether the table at Umballah was not special?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) Not for the examination of prostitutes; it was for the examination of women, a sloping table.

3021. It was not a sloping table?—It was a sloping table which assisted in the examination of a woman for any disease of the vagina, not necessarily venereal.

3022. There was that special table for the examination of the women?—It sloped. In other places it was a straight table.

3023. In page iii of the Statements and Notes we see, in the evidence at Umballa, there is no statement that the table was a table adopted for that purpose; and in the conclusions you say that the examination is made on a table "not necessarily special." What is the meaning of that?—Because in the other two it was a flat table, in the other two hospitals.

3024. What do you mean by a "special" table, simply a sloping table?—No, a special table for the examination of women would be one made particularly for that purpose, with screws, and foot-boards, and different things of that kind.

3025. What was the table?—This was simply a sloping table, higher at the foot than at the head, higher at one end than at the other. If you had a woman in hospital suffering from any disease of the vagina or uterus, you would examine her on that table; that is not necessarily a special table for the examination of prostitutes.

3026. It was not an ordinary table?—No, it was not an ordinary table.

3027. It was a special table?—I should say it was a table with a sloping surface.

3028. (*Chairman.*) As far as I understand, you mentioned three kinds of tables, a perfectly flat table, a table higher at one end than the other, and, as Mr. Stansfeld has said, a more special table, with screws and footboards?—Yes.

3029. And such a table as you describe, only higher at one end than the other, would be applicable to other diseases than the one we are speaking of?—Than the venereal diseases; it would be a special table for the diseases of women, but not a special table for the diseases of prostitutes.

3030. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Do you say there is any incorrectness in Mrs. Andrews' account of what she saw at Umballa about that table—No, sir; it appeared to her as a special table, differing from an ordinary table.

3031. It would be a special table, but not for the examination of prostitutes? — No; not for the examination of prostitutes.

3032. Paragraph 37 of the Summary of Conclusions: "Upon the examination, the women attending it are either dismissed until the next examination day, which they may attend, with liberty and license (unwritten) to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime; or if diseased, are not detained, but invited (with the legalised alternative of being expelled from cantonments) to remain in the hospital." "In the meantime" (those are the words in our statement), "with liberty and license," you have put in the word "unwritten." Now, what is the point of the insertion of the word "unwritten" there?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Merely reading it as it stood, it appeared to mean something like a license, or something, as given under the old system; a ticket, with the fact that the woman had been examined stated thereon.

3033. It is "liberty and license," it is not "liberty and a license"?—No.

3034. You do not mean to suggest that the British soldier would require a written document to satisfy him that she had been examined and was fit?—I think it is exceedingly likely, wherever it would be possible for such precautions to be taken by the British soldier.

3035. In the absence of a written certificate, he would be content with seeing that she had just come out of the examination room?—He would not know; he would not know whether any individual woman had been examined.

3036. Why not; he knows the examination days?—Surely, sir, you do not imagine that British soldiers stand round the examination room to see who goes in for examination and who does not.

3037. I should say it was not unusual. I know this subject very well, and I know that it came out that they used to do it in this country?—I should think it was improbable.

3038. (*Chairman.*) Do you put it aside as altogether improbable?—I should say so; quite improbable.

3039. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) The mahaldarnis list shows what prostitutes had been up for examination and had come back?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) In the regimental bazars. (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Four or five women in each bazar; 12 or 15 altogether, out of 100.

3040. Paragraph 47 seems to be an important one; "No women are compelled to submit to the periodical examination; though in Meerut the system approached very near compulsion. There are no registered women. There are no women reserved for the use of British troops, though there are places (which the women are free to quit, and can find accommodation next door), from which natives are expelled when found there." Well now, do you not think that we have evidence, not only in Meerut but at other places, of something which approaches rather near compulsion? — No, not in either Umballa or Lucknow.

3041. Well, we have some evidence?—With regard to those two cantonments?

3042. With regard to compulsion, clearly?—Not at Lucknow or Umballa.

3043. What do you mean by "compulsion"; what do you require to satisfy your mind in the case of compulsion? — Well, take the case of Umballa; a woman is not allowed to live in the regimental bazar unless she attends the examination, just in the same way that I should not be allowed to go into the dress-circle of a theatre without taking the trouble to dress. It may be of certain value to get a more convenient place, but I do not say that I am "compelled" to dress if I go to the theatre. I may get a slightly better place; she simply gets nearer a certain body of customers; but the Sudder bazar is alongside; it is only a few hundred yards off. I should not call that compulsion.

3044. She would come under the compulsion of having to submit to examination to ensure certain advantages?—To ensure the advantage of residence in the regimental bazar, just as I should dress to ensure the advantage of the dress circle.

3045. You object to that being called compulsion?—Yes, I think so.

3046. But you recognise that it might have been a compelling force, do you not?—Of course it would be an inducement; I would not put it any stronger than that.

3047. You would rather call it an inducement; more pulling than pushing, you mean?—Yes.

3048. I do not much care whether it is pulling or pushing?—Distinctly an inducement.

3049. Are you familiar with the Minute of the present Commander-in-Chief, which has just come over to this country?—I cannot say I am familiar with it, sir; I have read it through.

3050. You gather from it that, in his view, periodical examination is absolutely necessary as the keystone of any system which would be efficient?—I suppose that would be his view.

3051. I think his view is rather a special view?—That periodical examination is necessary in order to preserve the troops in health?

3052. Paragraph 10 says, "The next charge is of compulsory examination at prescribed periods. This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. If it is abolished, all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it. The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Ibbertson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory. The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them. In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer, they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will, it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion;" and paragraph 12 says: "If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient." Your view, I think I understand from you already (because we have been on this topic before), is that a considerable success, a considerable approach towards periodical examination, could be accomplished without anything which you could call compulsion?—I think so, as it was at Lucknow.

3053. But that, from the point of view of hygienic success, the view of the Commander-in-Chief might be correct, that complete efficiency would mean absolute compulsion?—I can give no opinion on the hygienic point, but complete efficiency would certainly involve some compulsion; I think so, at least.

3054. If the examination, to be successful from that point of view, must be periodical, surely its periodicity must be ensured?—It must be periodical, for this reason: if you tell a lot of natives that you are ready to see them any day they like to come, not one of them will come at all; if you tell them you are ready to see them every Monday morning, you have a very fair chance of every one of them turning up.

3055. Surely, from the point of view of the efficiency and value of examination, it must be periodical to be efficient, and it must be assured periodicity to be efficient?—Yes.

3056. And you could not compare the efficiency of a purely voluntary system only affecting a portion of the women (those who might choose to attend), and one which affected all the women, because it was positively compulsory?—That is a question which can only be answered by people who have some experience of the subject, of which I have

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none. I can tell you what I think you could get with compulsion, and without compulsion. What the effect of these two forms of examination would be on the health of the troops I cannot say; that is not in my line.

3057. What do you think you could get by periodical examination, without anything that you can call compulsion?—I think you would get, as you did at Lucknow, practically all the women of cantonments coming, but there would be exceptions. No doubt it would depend very much upon the personality of the medical officer, probably very much indeed.

3058. You think that if you got a delicate-minded, kind-hearted man, he would end by getting a great many women to go?—I think he would, and they would go steadily.

3059. And if you could ensure such a man in every cantonment, you think that would be a kind of compulsion, which you would call "inducement" rather?—Yes; persuasion I should call it, rather, in that case; not even inducement.

3060. As I understand you, as far as your opinion goes, with a doctor of that kind (who is not to be met with every day); with the advantage of the skill, and care, and kindness of such a man, you could have a very considerable success in periodical examinations without anything like compulsion. That is your view?—I demur to the assertion that such a doctor is not to be met every day. Of course there are degrees, but I think that the exercise of the medical profession tends to give men those qualities, and I think you would find many such.

3061. Your view is that the benefits of periodical examination, whatever they may be, could be very largely attained without any compulsion?—Yes, I think so.

3062. And you are aware that you differ, in that opinion, from the present Commander-in-Chief?—No, I do not know that he said anything about compulsion.

3063. You are aware that there are very diverse opinions on that subject, and very contrary opinions on the subject, in the medical profession?—Well, I base my opinion entirely upon what I saw at Lucknow.

3064. (*Chairman.*) I think everyone joins you in your general view, that natives will respond to a periodical invitation, even where it is not compulsory?—That is, if they are sure of kind treatment when they get there; being treated like women, and not harshly.

3065. I noticed just now you took a distinction between a general invitation, which they would not attend to, and a periodical?—Yes.

3066. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Here is paragraph 86 of the Report: "It is impossible to speak so decidedly as to the voluntary nature of the submission to examination, by women seeking permission to reside in the cantonments of Lucknow. It is true that the cantonment magistrate neither had, nor pretended to have, any power to enforce such examination; that he held out no threat and gave no order, and that the woman was simply asked by him whether she would consent to be examined, and in all cases agreed. So far as he was concerned, the examination was voluntary. But, from her point of view, it can hardly be said to have been so"?—That was only examination, not periodical examination; that was the examination prior to permission to reside in cantonments; that could hardly be said to be voluntary; but the subsequent periodical examination was as voluntary as I can imagine any examination to be of any sort, practically spontaneous.

3067. But is it not true that the magistrate himself states that he did not explain to the woman whether he was speaking of that particular examination or a periodical examination?—Yes; but that would have nothing to do with it. When she got the order she wanted leave to reside; she applied to the magistrate, and he said, go and see the doctor. She went to the doctor, came back, and got her leave to reside; she was done with the magistrate then; it was simply the first examination that his remark applied to; she had got all she wanted out of him, and she was finished with him.

3068. Now, you have spoken to us several times about the willingness of a woman to submit to inspection, do you not think that though that might be voluntary, as far as the magistrate was concerned, in fact, as you say here, it was not purely voluntary, do you not think that that remark of yours applies also to her attendance at a periodical examination?—No, sir, I do not think so, for several reasons. Well, one conclusive one is that, as a fact, after Dr. Ranking left, and the examinations were begun again by Dr. Hamilton, women did attend very irregularly; the attendance varied from 40 to 70 week by week; which shows that individual women did not think that attendance was in any degree otherwise than voluntary.

3069. They found out that they were not absolutely compelled to attend every time?—Yes.

3070. But your view is that an order without penalty would almost certainly secure their attendance?—Oh, yes, almost certainly.

3071. Then you went on to say: "The magistrate to whom she was applying for permission to practise her calling asked her to submit to examination, and at the same time postponed his order on her application. Such a request, especially when addressed to a woman who was accustomed to or acquainted with the old regulations, must have presented itself to her mind in the light of a command"?—Yes.

3072. That you think is true as to the particular transaction?—As to the preliminary examination.

3073. And then you add, "It is by no means certain that the success of Dr. Ranking's system did not very largely depend upon this very action of the cantonment magistrate"?—Yes.

3074. "For, without it, new comers might never have come within range of his persuasion, and as the older women died, or left the place, his attendance might have gradually dwindled away?"—Yes.

3075. So that something which was very like compulsion, even though it was only applied in one particular case, was in your view necessary to give his system a chance?—Dr. Ranking's system. But after he left, and when examination had been entirely discontinued, Dr. Hamilton, at the request of the cantonment authorities, gave notice that he was ready to see any women who liked on a certain day of the week; and from that time to the time we went there, or within a week of it, women, varying from 40 to 70, used to come every week. This custom of sending the women to the cantonment magistrate in the first instance was discontinued of late. There was nothing then in the second series of examinations held by Dr. Hamilton, nothing of any sort of persuasion or anything approaching compulsion; it is that fact that weighs with me so strongly, that second examination.

3076. Is not that open to the remark that the system was founded, and they adapted themselves to it, and continued it even when there was no evidence of compulsion addressed to their minds?—Probably that had something to do with their attendance under Dr. Rankin; but the fact that they did not attend regularly—the individuals under Dr. Hamilton—shows that they did not follow the old system.

3077. It shows that they were a little laxer, but still that they attended in considerable numbers?—Anything they have done before will always have weight as to what they are going to do in the future with a native.

3078. You are going to give us to-morrow cases, whatever cases you think are fitting—in the evidence of our lady witnesses which go to show great discrepancies with the evidence which you have got, and which you think are of such a serious character as to lessen the weight of their general testimony.

Now, with regard to those cases, allow me to draw your attention to the last paragraph of your Report, in speaking of the evidence of these ladies; you are speaking of the evidence of these ladies?—Yes.

3079. "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes; condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-abhorrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation." Now I will venture to call that paragraph a peroration, and I will ask you, with the attention you have given it, even since you wrote that Report of the evidence of these ladies, whether you are prepared to contend that this picture which you have drawn is not an exaggerated picture?—If you mean an exaggerated picture of the impression left on my mind by reading the ladies' evidence, and your Statement of Facts, I can answer at once; it is in no way whatever exaggerated; it simply represents the impression made on my mind when I read the evidence of these ladies and your Statement of Facts; I thought, "Good God, how horrible."

3080. What is the impression on your mind now?—After our inquiry, that the picture is grossly exaggerated.

3081. After the evidence you have in the body of your Report, and the evidence by which it is supported, and the evidence you have given before us, do you mean to say that that is a correct statement of the inferences drawn from the whole?—It is a correct statement of the impression left on my mind by the evidence of the ladies and the statement of facts drawn up by yourself and those who assisted you on that evidence.

3082. These ladies went there to discover the truth as they thought they best might; they thought, and I think they rightly thought, that their plan was not to address themselves to the authorities, but go to the women themselves. They went to the women; they visited the ten cantonments; and they made their report to those who asked them to go out and make the inquiry; and the result of the inquiry at this moment is that their report is admitted by the late Commander-in-Chief as in the main correct. I take it that you and Lord Roberts would differ?—I do not know. I believe their report to be in the main correct so far as the bare statement of facts goes: I believe it to give the impression that those facts would produce upon the mind of an individual unacquainted with India, and that impression is almost entirely incorrect, although it is, as far as I can judge, an honest impression.

3083. But here is a distinct picture which you have drawn; you are talking of exaggerated picture, here is your own picture. Now I know that evidence well, and I know your evidence well, and, if I were in the witness-box, I would say yours is the grossly exaggerated picture?—There is a difference of opinion; that is the impression left on me by the evidence as I read it.

3084. I thought that you might; I was in hopes that you might have been disposed a little to tone down that picture?—I do not think I can fairly, sir. I think it is an honest representation of the impression I got of the state of facts described by these ladies as it would present itself to anybody who did not know India.

3085. But I would put this to you: Is not this picture of yours one which suggests, which naturally would suggest, to the reader this view of these ladies, that they had, perhaps, very good motives, but were utterly unreliable as witnesses upon whom a Department or a Government and a Parliament might depend for their judgment and their action?—I do not think you can depend in the least upon their evidence, so far as it is taken from uneducated natives, at any rate the native women and the dhai.

3086. I am not asking you whether you would depend upon the testimony of the native prostitutes, you are now speaking of the evidence of our American missionary ladies?—What they saw. Yes; I would depend absolutely upon that; what they got from the women I would not depend upon; not so much because I look upon prostitutes' evidence as unreliable, as because it is an art, the getting a precise statement of fact out of a native at all. Nobody would succeed under the conditions.

3087. This paragraph of yours is a summing up; a description of your view of the character of these ladies' evidence, and if anyone believes that last paragraph, they cannot believe these ladies' evidence?—It is the impression which these ladies' evidence produced; the facts, as I say, are correct; the inferences which are suggested, and the impressions produced seem to me very incorrect indeed.

3088. Then I will put it in this way; I quite agree with you that if the picture you have drawn is an accurate, justifiable one, that we should hesitate to found action upon the report and evidence of those ladies, but my proposition is, as to which I understand you are not disposed in the least to approximate, that your Report is itself an exaggeration; I understand that you maintain the accuracy of your Report?—As a picture of the impression produced on my own mind by reading the evidence and your Statements of Facts, I think it is an honest picture.

3089. And you maintain that?—I maintain that.

3090. I will leave it there. I have a certain number of questions with regard to the special hospitals, and so on, I will put to you, Dr. Cleghorn. Now at Umballa the old Lock Hospital at the time of your visit was used as a branch of the general cantonment hospital?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn*). Section 2 of the General Hospital.

3091. It was a separate building at a considerable distance?—A separate building at some two or three hundred yards distance.

3092. It was used for venereal diseases of women only, and for any other diseases to which prostitutes might be subject?—Any sick prostitute might go to it if she wished.

3093. I mean those were the limits; venereal diseases of women only; does that mean of prostitutes only?—Prostitutes only.

3094. Venereal or other diseases of prostitutes?—Venereal or other diseases of prostitutes.

3095. That is the way to put it, but, of course, it was mainly a prostitutes' hospital?—A prostitutes' hospital.

3096. And it is still called a Lock Hospital?—Locally, a *rundi* hospital; the women's hospital.

3097. In the hospital there is, or was, a register of patients referring to the regiments to which they are supposed to belong?—At Umballa, yes.

3098. And there was a list of prostitutes who were periodically examined under the head of regiments?—A list of prostitutes periodically examined, yes.

3099. And there was a memorandum book of women absent from examination?—No special book, sir.

3100. Book No. 4 containing several memoranda?—That was a book of letters and correspondence pasted in and amongst them them were these memos. to the cantonment magistrate about these women.

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3101. (*Mr. Wilson.*) In line 79 it is called a file of correspondence?—A file, that is what we call it, in which we paste all bills and letters.

3102. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, the examination room, did it contain a special table?—It contained a sloping table.

3103. Have you got the evidence, 1319: "(*Q.*) Did you see the usual appliances in the examination room?—(*A.*) We did. (*Q.*) Was the table specially constructed?—(*A.*) It was. (*Q.*) How was it constructed?—Well, it was peculiar. The other tables were of the ordinary sort for the most part; that is, a level top. (*Q.*) A horizontal top?—(*A.*) This was an inclined plane; the top of the table arranged so that the woman would lie with her head several inches below her hips. (*Q.*) And the higher end was near the light?—(*A.*) The higher end was near the light." That was a special table there?—I found the same.

3104. You have no objection to calling it a special table?—No, sir, I found the same.

3105. With reference to the reports and records on which you have made your Report, we shall probably examine Dr. Kate Bushnell to-morrow. At Meerut the general hospital there has two branches?—Two branches.

3106. Except that one is not built?—The main building is not built, sir; it was only in 1892 that they introduced the term "general hospital."

3107. The contagious branch is the old Lock Hospital?—The old Lock Hopital.

3108. The in-patients are women only? — Are women only.

3109. Prostitutes only; they are all prostitutes with venereal except six.

3110. Have you any knowledge of any members of the hospital staff ever extorting money from women?—The women said that the native hospital assistant in the hospital at Meerut took money from them.

3111. Took money from them?—So they said.

3112. He threatened to accuse them of being diseased when they were not?—Yes, keeping them in hospital too long.

3113. Well now, at Lucknow, the contagious branch there is also a separate building, 200 yards off the main building, is it not?—200 yards off the main building.

3114. And at that distance?—About 200 yards.

3115. It is the old Lock Hospital?—The old Lock Hospital.

3116. For prostitutes only? — For prostitutes only.

3117. It has its examination room?—Yes, for examining separately, an examination room.

3118. It is called the General Hospital?—The Cantonments General Hospital.

3119. From February 1891 up to the opening of the new barracks in November 1892, the so-called Lock Hospital was a general hospital open to all cases whatever; then it was a general hospital?—Dr. Ranking says so. He commenced this system of seeing other patients as out-patients at this venereal hospital, at this Lock Hospital.

3120. But as far as the in-patients were concerned, they were always venereal?—Always venereal.

3121. He only saw out-patients there who were not venereal?—He had six or seven perhaps a year, who who were not venereal, at the hospital, and then they started this Cantonment General Hospital in 1892.

3122. I have no other questions to ask you; is there any evidence which you desire to offer to us?—With regard to those cantonment general hospitals, they have been drawn up on the same plans as military hospitals. In a military hospital there is a station hospital, and sections 1 and 2. They wanted to assimilate, I suppose, these special hospitals in cantonments to these military hospitals, and they built the cantonments general hospital with a general hospital, and then special sections 1 and 2 (1) for contagious diseases and cholera and small pox, and (2) for venereal cases. But it was the same thing. So long as these periodical examinations were continued, there must be a hospital for venereal diseases, must there not, and they considered that these examinations were entirely voluntary, and they continued the old system of having a separate venereal hospital, and called it Section No. 2; but it was the old Lock Hospital undoubtedly, in every way.

3123. But is there not this speciality about these Lock Hospitals which are now entitled branches of a general hospital, which is not yet built; the larger proportion of which is in some cases unbuilt? Is not that somewhat misleading? These practically are Lock Hospitals for prostitutes?—Yes, they are, practically, of course. Yes, they are the old Lock Hospitals for prostitutes, and no other change has taken place except that they have been made a section of the Cantonment General Hospital.

3124. They are separate buildings?—They are separate buildings.

3125. Buildings always used as Lock Hospitals?—Always used as Lock Hospitals.

3126. And which are used practically for the same purpose now?—Practically for the same purpose now.

3127. Is there anything else you would like to tell us?—No, except this, that England in India is a military power. The military authorities consider the efficiency of the soldiers most important, and, of course there has been evasion of the rules, locally, by the local officers, in their endeavours to prevent disease amongst the troops, and diminish disease. They have got a very strong idea (I do not know with what truth) that these periodical examinations greatly diminish disease amongst the British troops, and when the British Government gives 11,000 men to keep up the losses caused by venereal they can do away with the whole thing.

3128. If they would do what?—Give fresh men for the diseased men, they could do away with the whole thing. That is the way military men look at it.

3129. Well, we are not constituted or empowered to discuss the hygienic question. — These are the motives which actuate them.

3130. I will not enter into it now, as if I did I would be entering on a tremendous field.—But these are the motives which actuate them locally.

3131. There is nothing else that you desire to say to-day?—No, sir. About what you call the peroration, that was the impression on my mind entirely on reading the evidence, simply due to people unacquainted with Indian habits and customs drawing wrong inferences. I agree with Mr. Ibbetson that their facts in the main are quite correct; the facts they observed; but any person going to India as they did, must have drawn wrong inferences from the information they received.

3132. I will put another question to you as a fair man, and I feel sure you are; these ladies went there for a very short period, and they were ignorant of India, of course?—Quite.

3133. Do you not think that considering their ignorance of India, their investigation has been a remarkable piece of work?—Yes; I think so in many ways.

3134. I think so; I think we all think so?—Oh, yes, of course, and they went there with a good intention.

3135. It would be impossible to be right in all minor points, to gauge every answer or the value of every answer which a prostitute or a mahaldarini might make?—They got at the main facts.

3136. Here is the minutes of the Commander-in-Chief, paragraph 17: "Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons. They knew nothing of the country, or of the character of the people. The women and other natives with whom they conversed soon found out

what they wished to establish, and played up to them; give a native a hint of the line of argument you want supported, and every answer will tend the way you incline. This will not be controverted by those who know India." I would ask you first of all whether you agree with this somewhat stringent proposition founded upon no knowledge, that I am aware of, that Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell went to India with the intention of establishing a certain proposition ?—I know nothing about the intention.

3137. Do you not think it is quite as likely that they went there with the hope of establishing the truth ?—I should hope so. Yes, that is what I thought they did in the first instance.

3138. And I think it too. — I think they have proved these things, that the periodical examinations were going on ; that the chaklas were there ; that the regimental women lived in the regimental bazars, and that they accompanied regiments on the march. I think beyond that there has been, as Mr. Ibbetson has said, a good deal of wrong inferences drawn on the facts which they observed.

3139. Wrong inferences, and, may be, wrong impressions ?—Yes, it would have happened to anyone unacquainted with India.

3140. I would just ask you further this question : because I have met with this argument before. Mr. Ibbetson has said that if you give a native a hint of what he desires him to say he will be all the more inclined to agree with you. That would quite as much apply to your examination as to the examination by the ladies ?—No, because Mr. Ibbetson was a skilled examiner of witnesses.

3141. Precisely. Mr. Ibbetson was a skilled examiner of witnesses ; one is a skilled examiner of witnesses and a well-known official ; and do you not think the women would be all the more inclined to say what he wished than what the ladies wished ?—No ; they denied at Lucknow before us absolutely that they were examined at all.

3142. (*Sir James Peile.*) Is there not this difference, that you, in your Report, do not place implicit reliance on what the women tell you, whereas the ladies accepted all that was told them ? — (*Mr. Ibbetson.*) Every statement there is the result of half-a-dozen questions instead of one. They said at Meerut the police took them off to the hospital. In a criminal case I should not have put that down——

3143. In some cases you do not believe what they tell you ?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) No.

3144. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Are you prepared to say of these ladies that they implicitly believed everything that these prostitutes told them ?—They state there as if they did.

3145. No, they do not ; where do they ?—The general evidence gives you that idea.

3146. I think you had better bring evidence of that to-morrow morning, because I do not see it at all. They brought their evidence here, and they stated what they were obliged to state, what evidence was given to them, just as you do ?—But does not reading that evidence give you the idea that these women were brutally and harshly treated by the local officers, including the medical officers; do you not get that idea from reading it ?

3147. Do you mean it as a general proposition ?—As a general idea that you drew from the evidence that these women were harshly treated.

3148. No, but that these women were occasionally harshly and brutally treated by the British soldier ?—A drunken soldier will treat a woman harshly and brutally in England.

3149. Perhaps so.—You make India the exception ; you place her apart ; you say the British soldiers are brutes out there ; that they are worse in India than they are in England. We do not admit it.

3150. I beg your pardon ; I have never said anything about it ?—No ; you do not say it, but that is the impression we get from reading the evidence—the Commander-in-Chief, everyone gets that impression from reading it.

[The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned till To-morrow, at Half-past Eleven o'clock.

TENTH DAY.

Tuesday, August 15th, 1893.

At the India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

PRESENT :

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, M.P., the Chairman, presiding.

The Right Honourable JAMES STANSFELD, M.P.
Mr. H. J. WILSON, M.P.

General Sir DONALD STEWART.
Sir JAMES PEILE.

Major General O. R. NEWMARCH,
Secretary.

Mr. DENZIL IBBETSON, C.S., and Surgeon-Colonel CLEGHORN, re-called ; and further Examined :

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3151. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now, Mr. Ibbetson, I believe you are prepared to give us a certain number of instances in the evidence of these ladies which show, in your view, serious discrepancies compared with your own observation, and which tend to lower the value of their evidence ?—Yes, sir. The first instance is answer 726 of the ladies. Your question was : "And the result of all your visits and inquiries has been, has it not, to your own minds, clearly this, that the women were only admitted to the cantonment by the process of passing through the Lock Hospital, being ascertained to be what they call fit ? —(*A.*) That was what we understood in all the cantonments." Then there is a further point : "The native doctor at Meerut, in this same Lock Hospital, said that if they did not come for examination they would be expelled from the cantonment." The point to which I take exception is that in all cantonments women are admitted only after medical examination. That was certainly not so at either Meerut or Umballa.

3152. What is your objection ; I did not catch it ? —It is said that in all cantonments women are admitted to reside only after medical examination : that, I say, was not so either at Meerut or at Umballa, two out of our three cantonments.

3153. Your objection is that their statement in answer to Question 726 to the effect that women are only admitted to reside in the cantonments after examination does not apply to Meerut and Umballa ?—Yes.

3154. Now you are simply referring to Meerut and Umballa, and you have nothing to say about the other eight cantonments, have you ?—No, I simply say that this is not true of two out of three cantonments which we visited.

3155. Of course it may be true, as far as you know of every one of the other eight ?—So far as I know.

3156. And your evidence with regard to Meerut and Umballa applies to what period ?—Ever since 1888.

3157. Well, now then the next ?—Answer to Question 530 ; a cognate point. The question was : "Well, now, at Meerut, did you make any inquiry of the women ? I have a note here that in some cases the number of women apportioned to the number of men is very much smaller than in other cases. Did you ascertain at Meerut how such conditions were met ? —(*A.*) We asked the women in the Lancers regiment how they did when there were too few women there, and they said they took in more. We said, where did they get them, and they said from the bazar ; and then they said they took them after examining them." That is the point to which I take exception again, on the same ground ; that there was no examination previous to admission at Meerut.

3158. I did not understand, Mr. Ibbetson, that you deny that the women gave them this evidence. Did you deny that that was the fact ?—I think it very probable that there may have been a misunderstanding of what the women said or meant ; I think it is almost certainly so in some cases where there appears to be a discrepancy.

3159. Do you undertake to say that in some cases the women did not say what the witnesses say ? —I do not for a moment deny that the ladies understood that that was what the women said ; but whether the women said what was not true, or what they did say or mean was not understood I cannot say ; either contingency is possible, I think.

3160. But have you any ground for supposing that these ladies may have misunderstood the evidence of these women except your own opinion that it was *à priori* not improbable on account of their ignorance of the native tongue ?—Not in this instance.

3161. Are you at all aware, have you read their evidence with sufficient care to know, what precautions they took to ensure, as far as they could, an accurate understanding of the evidence offered by the women there ?—Yes.

3162. That they took persons with them who were familiar with the native tongue ?—Yes.

3163. Now we go on to the next ?—Answers 409, 410, and 854.

3164. Do they all run together ?—They run together. The effect of them being that at Lucknow all the women living in the chakla had to be registered. I do not know that it is necessary to read the whole of the three questions and answers. Question 409 : "Did you yourself hear from any of the girls or women there anything concerning the mahaldarni's daughter ?—(*A.*) They said that the mahaldarni's daughter was registered, as all in that neighbourhood had to be." Question 410 : "All in that building ?—(*A.*) That was the expression. This was at our last visit to Lucknow, and it was after this change had been made in the chakla, and the mahaldarni was reported to have been dismissed, and she was living near by, just a few steps from the chakla in a little building there, and she had

several girls living with her, and one of these girls who lived with her, when we went to see the mahaldarni, stated that the mahaldarni had gone to the Lock Hospital, and had taken her daughter with her. But we did not understand that the daughter was not a virtuous woman. She said the daughter was virtuous, and did not receive the visits of soldiers, but that she was registered, that they had all to be in that neighbourhood, and that therefore she was obliged to go to the Lock Hospital." And Question 854 runs: "What was it that she said?—(*A.*) She told me that when a girl was a candidate for a life of shame she went to the mahaldarni first, and that then the mahaldarni took her to the cantonment magistrate, and she paid nine pice to be registered."

3165. To whom was 9 pice to be paid?—Well, really it was an anna for the stamp on the application for permission to reside, and 1 pice, for the form on which the petition would be written, and I suppose the other anna to the petition writer who wrote the application, that would make 9 pice; it was clear what was referred to was the ordinary application for permission to reside in cantonments, which had to be made by everybody, male or female, who wished to reside there.

3166. This was an application, was it not, on the part of a prostitute to reside there for the purpose of prostitution?—For permission to reside in the cantonment for her own purposes, whatever they might be.

3167. I do not remember at the moment, you will tell me, whether the application would imply the condition as a part of that permission to reside in the quarter where prostitutes reside?—I think not, sir. Yes, it would specify the house, certainly, to reside in the quarter in which prostitutes reside; as any person's application would specify the house in which he wished to reside.

3168. But now the mahaldarni looked upon that as registration, apparently?—The mahaldarni says nothing here: apparently this is what the women said.

3169. You quoted just now from the mahaldarni, did you not?—No; they said it about the mahaldarni.

3170. Do you deny the accuracy of this record; is it part of your view that the women did not tender this evidence to these ladies?—Probably what they said was understood to mean registration and did not. I should think that was the most probable explanation.

3171. Is that your view?—That is my view. Of course, it may be that they used the word "registri," which would be the Hindostanee word for registration; I cannot tell, of course.

3172. That is all you have to say upon that point?—Upon that point.

3173. Then we pass to the next?—Then there is a group of some 12 or 14 answers which simply amount to this—they all hang together—Questions 238 to 240, 528, 1196 and 1197, 527, 525, 526, 254, 242, 243, 176 to 178. What they amount to is this: that there were at Meerut at the time of these ladies' visit, regimental chaklas apportioned to different regiments—one the Lancers' chakla in which five women were living; then the Artillery chakla, in which nine women were living; and then the Infantry chakla, in which thirty-two women were living; and that the women in the Lancers chakla belonged to the Lancers' regiment.

3174. Whose evidence was that?—I think the ladies took their facts mainly, apparently, from the hospital lists of women who had been examined; and as regards women in the Lancers' chakla, I suppose that was the women's statement.

3175. What was your last statement, that the women in the Lancers' chakla belonged to the Lancers?—Yes, that was the last; that was the women's statement.

3176. That was the women's statement?—That was the women's statement, that they belonged to the Lancers. My objection to that is, that at the time of the ladies' visit to Meerut, the regimental chaklas had been closed. What they heard called the Lancers' chakla was, as appears plainly from their own evidence, a small chakla in the Sudder bazar; and the only connection it had with the cavalry was, that certain women who had been living in the cavalry regimental bazar had, when they were turned out, come and settled in that chakla, so that the women who were living in it had belonged to the regiment, so far as living in the regimental chakla goes, but did not at the time of the ladies' visit; they had no connection whatever with the regiment, they were living in the Sudder, a long way away from the regimental lines.

3177. What I understand you to say, in point of fact, as your objection, is, that these women who used to call themselves the Lancers' women, had been turned out of the Lancers' chakla and had to live in a small chakla in the Sudder bazar. Do you deny that they still considered themselves to be appropriated to the Lancers?—Oh, yes, sir, they had no connection whatever with the Lancers when they went to live in the Sudder bazar; they would not consider themselves as belonging to any regiment.

3178. How do you know that they would not consider themselves as belonging to any regiment?—They told us so.

3179. What did they say to these ladies? Did they not tell these ladies that they belonged to the Lancers?—That is the evidence given; but I suspect what they did say was, that they had belonged to the Lancers' regiment; I do not think they would have said at that time that they belonged to the Lancers' regiment, or rather I should modify that. I think it is exceedingly probable that they would say that they did belong to the Lancers' regiment, in the way that a native of that class would make a loose statement of fact, which if she was cross-examined upon before it was recorded, the exact fact would have come out; you hardly ever get an exact fact from a native on the first statement.

3180. What I understand your view is that these are not reliable witnesses, it is probable that they said they belonged to the Lancers, but that is no proof that they did?—I think, very probably, they said so.

3181. Is that any impeachment of the evidence of these ladies?—Absolutely no impeachment whatever of the good faith of the ladies, but a very strong impeachment of the value of the evidence as they have recorded it here. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) And the inferences drawn. They simply say that the women did say so, and that if they did say so their evidence is accurate.

3182. Then the point arises on what I have called your peroration. That imaginative part, and which is an attack on the evidence of these ladies, and is not an attack on the evidence of the persons whom they examined?—I did not mean it as an attack on the evidence of those ladies; I simply meant it as an impression left on the mind after reading the evidence of these ladies.

3183. Well, look at it again if there is any doubt about its meaning. Now, let me see, what points have we got here. I think it is advisable that I should re-read that. As far as we have gone, I do not see that any questions that you have cited of evidence that you do not rely upon, has the slightest application to the 107th paragraph of your Report?—No, sir, because the 107th paragraph of the Report deals, not with the facts which, as I say, are in the main accurate as recorded by the ladies, but with the inferences, with the impressions which the reading of the facts, as presented, would, I think, produce upon a person who did not know India; whereas these instances that you asked me to pick out were of the bare facts themselves, which I considered to be incorrect, apart from the impressions.

3184. You are presenting to us now the evidence upon which you justify that last paragraph?—Not in

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the least, sir. I do not now attempt to do that; that would be quite a different point.—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) That is a separate question—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) If you remember, sir, yesterday I considered most of the bare facts stated to be correct, some of them to be incorrect, and the suggestions and inferences to be generally incorrect. You said, "Will you give us instances in which the bare facts are incorrect?" and those I have picked out, sir.

3185. Well, we will make that perfectly clear before we have done. Question 3078: "You are going to give us to-morrow whatever cases you think are fitting, in the evidence of our lady witnesses which go to show great discrepancies with the evidence which you have got, and which you think are of such a serious character as to lessen the weight of their general testimony." Now with regard to these cases, allow me to draw your attention to the last paragraph of this Report. Speaking of the evidence of these ladies then I quote this last paragraph?—Yes.

3186. Well, now, I say: "What is the impression on your mind now?—You say: "After our inquiry, that this picture is greatly exaggerated." Then I say: "After the evidence you have got in the body of your Report, and the evidence by which it is supported, and the evidence you have given before us, do you mean to say that that is a correct statement of the inferences drawn from the whole?"—You say: "It is a correct statement of the impression left on my mind by the evidence of the ladies and the statement of facts drawn up by yourself, and those who assisted you on that evidence." I say: "These ladies went there to discover the truth, as they thought they best might; they thought, and I think they rightly thought, that their plan was not to address themselves to the authorities, but go to the women themselves. They went to the women; they visited the 10 cantonments; and they made their report to those who asked them to go out and make the inquiry; and the result of the inquiry at this moment is that their report is admitted by the late Commander-in-Chief as in the main correct. I take it that you and Lord Roberts would differ?" You say: "I do not know; I believe their report to be in the main correct so far as the bare statement of facts goes. I believe it to give the impression those facts would produce upon the mind of an individual unacquainted with India, and that impression is almost entirely incorrect, although it is, as far as I can judge, an honest impression." So that you admit that they are honest, and say that their impressions are entirely incorrect. I say, "But here is a distinct picture which you have drawn; you are talking of exaggerated pictures; here is your own picture. Now, I know that evidence well, and I know your evidence well, and if I were in the witness-box I would say yours is the grossly exaggerated picture?—(*A.*) There is a difference of opinion; that is the impression left on me by the evidence as I read it. (*Q.*) I thought that you might; I was in hopes that you might have been disposed a little to tone down that picture?—(*A.*) I do not think I can fairly, sir; I think it is an honest representation of the impression I got of the state of facts described by these ladies as it would present itself to anybody who did not know India." I think I have read enough to show that what you were to come here to do to-day was to justify that last paragraph of your Report, which does not at all concern itself with possible inaccuracies in the evidence tendered to them by the prostitutes in these cantonments, but assails their evidence and their conclusions from beginning to end. Now, I want something serious?—That was not in the very least what I understood. In one question, which I cannot lay my finger on at the present moment, I think you asked me about the *suggestio falsi*, and the remarks that the Generals made in their Reports, and I think I said I believed the statements of fact to be in the main accurate; in some cases inaccurate; and the suggestions and inferences to be generally incorrect. I believe the impression which would be left by the language here used, the inference to be drawn, would be in most cases incorrect. You then asked me, as I understood, to specify the cases in which the facts were inaccurately stated.

3187. I asked you to specify cases of serious discrepancy?—Serious discrepancy.

3188. (*Chairman.*) Page 14?—Page 14. It was before this, I know, a good deal.

3189. And the bottom of page 13; I see something about serious discrepancies at page 14?——

3190. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Question 2884, page 14: At a previous part of the examination I say to you: "Will you point out any serious discrepancies on any important point between their evidence and the evidence which you report as facts?—(*A.*) Do you mean as regards bare statement of facts? (*Q.*) Any evidence must be evidence of facts; of course, a fact may be a statement; I am not speaking of their inferences"?—I understood that I had simply to deal this morning with their statement of facts made, and not with any suggestions or inferences contained in the way in which facts were put.

3191. Precisely; but you were impugning their evidence, and you were to show that they were not to be trusted?—I say that on certain points the evidence is not accurate; I have given some and I will give more.

3192. I beg your pardon, you are not sticking to your guns?—I beg your pardon.

3193. You have ended your Report with that high-faluting attack upon these ladies in most general terms imputing no reliability to them, not dealing with the evidence of other people tendered to them, and which it was their duty to put forward, but suggesting that they were persons capable themselves of great exaggeration and not to be trusted. Now I will read that again, that there may be no mistake about it. Paragraph 107: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt, beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes; condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-abhorrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation," and I say that I find no shadow of foundation for the justification of that picture, and I call upon you to produce serious evidence to justify that picture which you have drawn.

3194. (*Chairman.*) I understand that you have not come nearly to an end of the passages on which you rely?—No. But one moment, will you allow me to say something about what Mr. Stansfeld has said with regard to this paragraph; I object entirely to your interpretation of the paragraph, sir. It certainly is not what was meant, and I think it is not what would be understood by many people reading it. I cannot put the matter clearer than I have put it two or three times before. I look upon the statement of facts as bare facts as in the main correct; but I do think that those facts read by any person unacquainted with India, or rather this presentation of those facts read by any person unacquainted with India, would produce upon the mind of that person an impression such as I have pictured in the last paragraph of my report.

3195. If I understand you rightly, both yesterday and to-day, you object not so much to the facts brought forward as to the way of putting them?—Not merely to the way of putting of them, but to the suggestions following from the facts. I will give an instance which, I think, I have given before. It is stated that the chaklas have high walls, and that a chokidar was found at the gate, the chokidar being interpreted to be a policeman. As a fact chaklas have high walls, but all buildings of that sort in India have high walls; the chokidar was there not as a special guard put on the chakla, but as an ordinary policeman in one case, and in another as the watchman who is put on most buildings whether private or public. The impression which these two facts, given without explanation, would invariably produce upon the mind of any English reader who knew nothing of India would be, that there was some sort of confinement or restraint in the case of a chakla; while the facts are true, yet that impression is distinctly false.

3196. That is precisely what I meant by "the way of putting them." You do not deny the facts, but you say that the isolated unexplained way is likely to produce an erroneous or misleading impression?—I entirely believe that that was the impression put upon the minds of the ladies, but that only strengthens my case: if these facts produced that impression upon the minds of these ladies, they would produce the same impression upon the minds of any other persons similarly ignorant of India.

3197. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) First of all, I would ask you whether, supposing the evidence they received and reported to this Committee upon the construction of chaklas, and about the function of the guards that may be in the neighbourhood of the chaklas for certain portions of the day or night; supposing that were incorrect, do you put that forward as one of the serious discrepancies which are to lower the value of the evidence of these ladies themselves?—No, sir, I do not; and that is precisely what I have not attempted in what I have done to-day—attempted to justify the last paragraph of my Report. That is not based upon discrepancy; I distinguish very definitely, indeed, between discrepancies of fact, where the ladies, either through misunderstanding or through false statements made to them, have actually stated what is not the case; and on the other hand, cases where the statements themselves are true, so far as the facts go, but the impression produced by them is misleading. I am sorry I cannot make myself clearer, but that distinction in my mind is very strong.

3198. I think you must carry it one step further. You say that the suggestion conveyed by certain evidence given to these ladies, now you are not speaking of their evidence, but of the evidence which they reported to this Committee, are you, of others; you are speaking now of the evidence of the women, the prostitutes?—I am speaking of the evidence given by the ladies before you.

3199. Now what do you mean by the evidence of the ladies; do you mean their own evidence, or the evidence they received and have given to this Committee?—The evidence they gave to the Committee included two classes of facts; one class what they had seen themselves and could speak to of their own personal knowledge, and the other class what they could speak to on the authority of their informants; but they were both evidence given to this Committee.

3200. To which of those two do you confine your remarks?—I do not confine my remarks to either.

3201. (*Chairman.*) Do you think you can find inaccuracies in what the ladies say themselves as well as in what they had reported to them?—I can only put my finger on one or two small inaccuracies in what the ladies say themselves.

3202. Perhaps we might dismiss that part of it?—Yes.

3203. Then you would confine yourself to what they report as having been told them by the women?—Yes.

3204. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now I think we understand something, thanks to the Chairman's question, that the imputation is not upon the evidence given by these ladies themselves, but upon the character of some of the evidence which they reported, and by which I understood from Mr. Ibbetson the ladies may have been unduly impressed, attaching too great a value to it. Is that what you would say?—There again, so far as discrepancies of fact go, I have nothing to say against their evidence where they say that they saw it; but as regards the misleading nature of the suggestions made, and of the inferences to be drawn from the evidence, I distinctly include the ladies' evidence as to the facts which they saw.

3205. Well, to-day we were speaking at this moment about the construction of the chaklas, and the way in which they are guarded, and this is the beginning of the picture. You say: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust." Now show me the evidence of these ladies which justifies you in that picture of trembling groups of miserable women pent up within high walls and guarded gates?—I can tell you the evidence; I cannot quote the numbers of the answers, because I did not come prepared for that; but there is evidence throughout, I think the ladies will support me, to show that the women were ashamed of their life, deplored the necessity of living that life, felt that they could not get away, and wished they could, that the chaklas and the hospitals struck the ladies particularly as having high walls and strong gates. I remember the expression "strong gates" is used more than once, and that guards were found either within or at the gate of the chaklas. If that is so, that justifies my picture.

3206. The facts are undoubted. You cannot dispute the facts that their description of these buildings is on the whole an accurate description?—Of the buildings, distinctly, yes.

3207. And you cannot dispute their statement of the vicinity of certain guards?—No.

3208. But you yourself have chosen from that evidence to draw this conclusion, that they intended to suggest a highly-coloured picture?—I do not say that they intended to suggest anything, sir.

3209. Stop, stop. The very first words of the last paragraph are: "A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn"?—A thing can be suggested without its being intended to be suggested. I was going on to say, if you will allow me to finish my answer——

3210. But I would like to understand you as we go along. I understand now that you prepared the first lines of this paragraph by saying that a picture has been suggested, without being intended to be suggested?—I cannot say whether it was or not.

3211. You withdraw?—I do not withdraw anything, nor do I modify anything.

3212. You cannot have it both ways. Your first statement was that it was suggested, but not knowingly suggested?—It is suggested by the evidence. I do not know whether it was suggested knowingly or unwittingly.

3213. You began by saying it was not; the shorthand writer will read your evidence, and then you will know; I will put you another question; we will try to get at the meaning of this first paragrapn; do you mean suggested by the ladies' evidence, their own evidence, or by the evidence which they cite?—Both.

3214. Now, then, show me a case in which the ladies, in their own evidence, suggest anything justifying that "picture"?—The walls of the chakla and the guards are entirely the ladies' own evidence.

3215. Will you refer me to the passages in their

own evidence ?—I shall have to look through it for that.

3216. You were to come prepared to cite these particulars ?—I think not. I certainly did not understand that I was. I understood that I was to come prepared to cite discrepancies in fact.

3217. You were to come prepared to cite discrepancies justifying that paragraph ?—That I did not understand in the least.

3218. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But you surely cannot deny the general understanding with which we parted was that you were to bring evidence of serious discrepancies calculated to diminish the value and weight of their evidence ?—Yes, sir, as regards accuracy in point of fact; that I distinctly understood, and that I consider I have brought.

3219. Yes, but the evidence of those ladies ?—Yes.

3220. What I want, I am not sure that you quite apprehend the distinction that I draw ?—No.

3221. I will just point it out to you. It was their duty to report all the evidence which they received ?—Yes.

3222. Some of the evidence would be more reliable and some more exact than others. You yourself have done the same, you have drawn your own conclusions ?—Distinctly.

3223. Therefore, if you are arraigning their value as witnesses, you must deal with their own evidence, and not with the evidence of these women, which it was their duty and business to report ?—I understand, sir. Then my answer to that is this: I did not understand that that distinction was to be drawn; I took it that I was to produce instances to you which should show that the evidence was unreliable on points of fact; but if you confine the question to whether I consider that the ladies' evidence as regards matters which came to their personal knowledge is unreliable, then I say, No; I can point to certain slips and inaccuracies, but none of any importance; nothing, certainly, that would impugn the reliability of the evidence as to what they saw. Their good faith has never been impugned or doubted by me.

3224. Will you proceed with your instances ?—Answers 218 and 219.

3225. What are they ?—"218. Set apart ?—(*A.*) We saw the registers and their names. I refer also to the registers in the Lock Hospital, that the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments. (*Q.*) You say were set apart or were apportioned, but by whom ?—(*A.*) By those in authority." That I say is distinctly in conflict with fact. Those entries in the Lock Hospital registers were simply addresses; the bazars in which the women were living.

3226. Then I say, "Set apart ?—(*A.*) We saw the registers and their names. I refer also to the registers in the Lock Hospital, that the women were apportioned to what we knew were European regiments." Now, then, in Statements and Notes appended to your Report, page 56, I find this (this is Meerut): "Lists of prostitutes.—These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows:—Number (these are serial); name; date (being that of examination); the numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are—Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women" ?—Yes, sir.

3227. They drew their inferences from these very documents which you yourself quote ?—Yes.

3228. And you cite that as an instance of serious inaccuracy ?—I say there was no apportionment by those in authority.

3229. Do you say there is no record of apportionment ?—There is record of residence, as here.

3230. No residence. "At the top of each sheet is noted the bazar or regiment to which the women belong" ?—Yes. Well, I say that means nothing more than that they were living in the bazar of that regiment; they were allowed to live there.

3231. Then to come to these lines: "Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; Infantry, 34 women; Sudder bazar, 65 women;" and you say that does not mean in the least that these women belong to the regiment as they are stated in this document to have done——

3232. (*Chairman.*) What does it mean ?—It means that permission was given to women to live in the bazar of the regiment on condition of attending for examination; but there was absolutely no apportionment of women by those in authority to different regiments.

3233. Do you mean they were allowed to reside there for some other purpose, not to be used by the soldiers in the regiment ?—No, they would be used by the soldiers in the regiment, no doubt; but the women would not be told off in any way. A mahldarni would be put in and would bring what women she chose; they were not in any way apportioned to the regiment by those in authority.

3234. They could not be used by other people, but by the regimental men ?—They would not be, probably. I should say certainly would not.

3235. But you would not call that apportionment ?—Not by people in authority.

3236. You mean that the people in authority do not send for them, or hold themselves responsible; they permitted them to come in ?—They permitted them to come in; it was purely optional and voluntary.

3237. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How do you know, except from the words themselves, what was the meaning of the person who indited this document, who kept this register ? What was in the mind of the man who kept the register except, "The Royal Artillery, five women; 5th Lancers, three women; infantry, thirty-four women; Sudder bazar, sixty-five women ?"—I think I have the evidence of the Civil Surgeon of that particular cantonment ?—(*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) They were not then residing in the regimental bazars, at the time these registers were in force, the headings were continued although they lived in this small chakla in the Sudder bazar.

3238. I do not know whether I can put you any questions, or else I should be told that Mr. Ibbetson is not responsible for your answers ?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) I do not think we asked at Meerut any questions about that; we thought it was so obvious.

3239. Now, let me ask you this question: Up to what date did the women reside in these regimental chaklas ?—In Meerut ?

3240. Yes ?—July or August 1891, I think, sir.

3241. Where do you find that ?—It is noted at line 670 of my Report; it is not in the evidence; it was a note taken by Major Wilson after we had closed our examination of the cantonment magistrate, and got up to go. I wanted to know the date in preparing our Report; I knew he had the date; I asked him for it, and I took it down.

3242. Therefore your Report contained an important statement as to the date up to which these regimental chaklas were occupied, which you did not receive in the evidence, which is not to be found in the evidence upon which your Report is based ?—The Report puts the statement; it says "the chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or August 1891." It puts it as weakly as may be; but there is nothing in the evidence to support that; at least, no definite statement.

3243. Is there not something in the evidence which will throw some doubt about it in this latter passage which I have been quoting: "Lists of prostitutes. These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists

how that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893" ?—Yes.

3244. Now, are you perfectly certain that they did not remain in the regimental chaklas after that date in 1891 ?—Yes, in this particular instance I am absolutely certain ; because the ladies saw them in what they call the Lancers' chakla, which was the small cnakla in the Sudder bazar. Their own answers show that it was not the Lancers' chakla.

3245. At that time you say they had removed ?—They had removed.

3246. From the regimental chaklas they were removed, and yet I find them here put down as appropriated or belonging to the Royal Artillery, 5th Lancers, the Infantry, and the Sudder bazar ?—The Sudder bazar, of course, yes.

3247. And you admit that in all probability they were practically, they had practically appropriated themselves to those regiments ?—Not in the least; after they had left the regimental chakla, not in any way.

3248. I thought you said, in answer to the Chairman, that no doubt, as a matter of fact, they would act (to use the phrase) as though they belonged to those respective regiments.

3249. (*Chairman.*) I understood you to mean while they lived in the regimental bazar ?—While they lived in the regimental bazar, yes.

3250. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then all this is based on the assumption that they had left the regimental chaklas in 1891 ?—No, sir ; but I say that they were not apportioned by authority to certain British regiments even while they were living in the regimental bazars ; and that, after they had left the regimental bazars, still less were they so, because then they had no special concern with any regiment whatever.

3251. (*Chairman.*) I think I see what you mean ; that while they were living there they voluntarily gave themselves up to these men, and after they left they were not even voluntarily confined to the British soldiers ?—No.

3252. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And that you consider as a serious discrepancy ?—I think that the assertion that those in authority had apportioned women to British regiments is a very serious assertion.

3253. Well, now, will you proceed ?—You asked me just now, sir, whether I had finished the question which we were at before the discussion began. There was one point I had omitted with regard to that. I may add it now. I had pointed out, I think, that the Lancers' chakla and the Artillery chakla had been closed : but I did not explain that what the ladies thought to be the Infantry chakla was really only the 32 women living in the Lal Kurti bazar, which, as we have explained in our Report, in Meerut in particular, is not a regimental bazar at all, but practically a portion of the Sudder bazar, and these women would have no special connection of any sort with the Infantry ; the bazar is known as the Lal Kurti bazar, simply because it has grown up between the Infantry lines and the Sudder bazar ; it is an extension of the old Infantry bazar.

3254. (*Chairman.*) It means that those women had no connection with any regiment ; in fact, that they were common prostitutes ?—Absolutely.

3255. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then what is your next point ?—The next point is a group of answers, from 614 to 634, saying that women accompanying regiments on the march were guarded by European soldiers ; seven answers lying between questions 614 and 634.

3256. Yes.—Now I believe it to be not the case that women on the march have ever been guarded by European soldiers, and I think that it is possible that the misunderstanding may have arisen in this way. In answer to Question 614 the ladies say that Gora means European or European guard. Now it means European or British soldier ; but it certainly does not mean a European guard at all ; and if what the women said was merely that the Goras took care of them, that would not mean that guards were placed over them. Moreover it is very possible that a Hindostanee expression was used which would bear two interpretations ; it might mean that the men associated themselves with the women sexually, or it might mean that the men accompanied them on the road ; and there may have been a misunderstanding.

3257. (*Chairman.*) Would this word Gora mean a man who associates with them ?—No, the verb put just afterwards.

3258. Would that particular word gora ?—No, if they said the Goras accompanied them the word used to express "accompanied them" might also mean associated themselves with them sexually.

3259. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Then what you desire to say, I understand is, that the evidence of the prostitutes tendered to these ladies was not correct or reliable evidence ?—I think it has been misunderstood probably, almost certainly.

3260. (*Chairman.*) You mean a misunderstanding arising merely from imperfect knowledge of Hindostanee ?—Well, the expression might be used in either of two ways, and I think the wrong way was taken.

3261. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) What do you understand to be the real meaning of the term Gora dandawalla ?—Gora dandawalla undoubtedly means the European guard, but Gora alone means simply European.

3262. I think that is precisely what they say ?—They say Gora, meaning European—European guards—the next line.

3263. But this is the evidence of the women ; they themselves use the term Gora dandawalla ?—Yes, sir ; but the ladies go on to say "that was explained to us to mean European guards with batons. This term was used very often, Gora, meaning European, European guards." Now if they understood Gora used alone without the dandawalla to mean European guards, that certainly would give a wrong impression.

3264. Very well, now I understand from you that you impugn the accuracy of their evidence in answer to Question No. 614 on the ground that you interpret that answer as meaning in their minds that Gora meant a European guard ?—Not at all, sir ; I impugn its accuracy, because all that we have heard and all that I know of the facts convinces me that it was not the case that the women on the march were guarded by European soldiers, and I suggest that as a possible explanation of the inaccuracy on that point. I do not lay any stress upon that. That may be the way in which the misunderstanding arose.

3265. This habit of kindly suggesting the reasons which make these ladies unreliable witnesses, instead of contenting yourself with producing counter-evidence to that which they produce, seems exceedingly confusing and hardly appropriate ?—Very well, sir. I will produce the evidence on which I found ——

3266. (*Mr. Wilson.*) Are you aware that it is a practice for the quartermaster's party to march with the bazar frequently during the night ?—No, sir ; the evidence we have is to the contrary effect ; the bazar goes at night and the regiment marches in the morning.

3267. Certainly the regiment. I said the quartermaster's party marches in advance of the regiment with the bazar during the night ?—I am not aware of that ; in fact, I do not know what the quartermaster's party is.

3268. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) The case is this : when a regiment is on the march, a party called the quartermaster's party with the camp colour men goes on ahead every day to mark out the following day's camp. As a rule, the bazar moves late at night, after all the business of the day has been completed, because the shopkeepers and those who supply the troops cannot get away till the evening. This party is not charged with the duty of guarding the bazar ?—That is the "line-dori," sir. I should have known that ; I did not know the quartermaster's party.

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3269. (*Chairman.*) I would take up a point which fell from Mr. Stansfeld. I have turned it over in my mind since he spoke, and I think it would be better if you would confine yourself to pointing out the discrepancies without accounting for them. It is very courteously intended no doubt as regards the ladies, but I think it is open to the objection that it is merely conjectural on your part. Should Mr. Stansfeld, or any of the other members of the Committee ask you if you can account for the discrepancy, that would be the proper time to answer; but I think in the first instance you should confine yourself to saying what you think is the discrepancy.

3270. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May Sir Donald Stewart supplement what he said by saying whether it is the fact that the quartermaster's party never travels at night?—

3271. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) My experience is that they march during the day.

3272. (*Chairman.*) You think it very unlikely?—

3273. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) My experience is that they start as soon as possible after a regiment arrives in camp; they go on during the day for the purpose of marking out the new camp, if possible, before dusk.

3274. (*Sir James Peile.*) They have got their own business to do, I presume?—

3275. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Yes.

3276. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I will only just put one more question to you. What the women are reported by these ladies to have told them was this: that there was a certain number of men called Gora dandawallahs, and that they understood to be "European guards with batons. This term was used very often, 'gora' meaning European guards. 'Dandawallahs' was explained variously, men with batons, men with police authority, men with guards authority, and so on;" at any rate, whatever it meant, "these men were told off to take care of them," that was the women's evidence?—Yes.

3277. And your objection is what?—That, as a fact, women travelling in camp are not accompanied by European guards on the march.

3278. Not by Gora dandawallahs?—No.

3279. Then you deny from evidence you have taken, that what these women said on this particular occasion was true?—

3280. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I think I can explain, now what Gora dandawallahs means, they are men who are told off to supplement the rear-guard and the quarter-guard of regiments in camp at night. They patrol round the camp armed with sticks to prevent thieves from getting into the camp.

3281. (*Chairman.*) Then these are the people whom you describe as Gora dandawallahs?——

3282. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) I did not know that it was the custom in British regiments; it is a common custom in native regiments to have a few of these men patrolling round the camp at night to prevent thieves from getting into the tents.

3283. Granting that is the explanation of Gora dandawallahs, do I understand you to say that that would not be the practice for the people so described by Sir Donald Stewart to accompany the women on the march?—That is my impression from the evidence we have taken.

3284. Not even of those sort of people that Sir Donald Stewart describes?—They would patrol round the women's camp when pitched, but they would not accompany the women on the march, I understand.

3285. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) If these women stated that any of these men accompanied them they would not state what was the truth?—I believe so.

3286. (*Chairman.*) They might state that Gora dandawallahs accompanied them, but the meaning of that term is another kind of person?—I do not think that would be so.

3287. I thought you meant that Gora meant a man, a person with whom they consorted?—No; if they said Gora simply ——

3288. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You did not say just now that they said Gora without dandawallahs?—No. I said, *if* they said Gora without dandawallahs.

3289. In Question 614: "They said they accompanied the regiment when marching, and we asked how their expenses of travelling were borne, and they said the expense was borne by the Government, but the colonel provided the carts and a certain number of men, they said Gora dandawallahs"?—In many cases there is no Hindostanee word given at all.

3289*a*. What is your next point?—Answers 544 and 354.

3290. In Answer 544 it is stated that the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' women who lived in the regimental chakla, said that they made their complaint to a European guard. What complaints?—Complaints about non-payment, I think it was, sir. Yes, if cheated out of their pay, to a European guard who had a tent in the chakla, and was changed every six hours.

3291. Now, where is the statement about European guard?—That is question 544:—"(*Q.*) You were at Umballa on the 2nd March and saw some of the prostitutes?—(*A.*) Yes; of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who they said was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla. They started to call him, but we would not let them, because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them. The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel."

3292. That is the evidence of the women?—Yes.

3293. The ladies did not see the guard?—They did not see the guard.

3294. Then what have you to say about that?—That the colonel of the regiment and the quartermaster of the regiment denied that there was a guard on the chakla at all, or that there was any tent for a European soldier within the chakla; and it seems almost impossible that there should have been a tent for a European soldier in the chakla.

3295. Where is this? Umballa?—Yes; it is referred to at Question 544.

3296. Was it not at Umballa that the quartermaster said there were no women's tents, and it turned out that there were?—The quartermaster said he saw no tents.

3297. He drew a plan?—Yes; that is the man. The colonel knew of them, and he said there was no guard and no tent.

3298. And now what is the evidence upon which you rely; the colonel's evidence?—Yes, and the quartermaster's.

3299. The quartermaster made a mistake about the tents, did he not?—He simply said that he had no knowledge of them; he did not say there were none.

3300. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) No man could be put on duty without the colonel's knowledge?—No.

3301. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) You are disposed to impugn this piece of evidence given by the women to these ladies?—Yes.

3302. Did you cite that as an instance of the ladies' inaccuracy?—Oh, no, sir; I presume they have reported it accurately.

3303. Next?—Then the question of the old Lancer's mahaldarni at Lucknow, the answers are 467 to 472, 896 and 903 to 917.

3304. What is the subject?—The dismissal of the Lancers' mahaldarni at Lucknow; it is stated that she had been dismissed between the two visits of the ladies to Lucknow; that she had been promised the appointment when the chaklas re-opened, and that she had been told to take girls and live on their earnings as she did "about this time." As a fact she had been dismissed in 1888 when the chakla was first closed,

and both the cantonment magistrate and the medical officer absolutely denied ever having made any promise whatever to her; having ever contemplated the possibility of the chaklas being re-opened, and having ever advised her as to means of livelihood.

3305. Are you reading from your own evidence?—I am not reading; I am giving it from memory.

3306. This is in your own evidence?—This is in my own evidence, sir; or rather, the evidence given before us.

3307. (*Mr. Wilson.*) This happens to be a point that attracted my attention, the evidence about it occurs at several different places; and you saw the cantonment magistrate, I think, on two different occasions?—Yes.

3308. And he supplemented his statement?—I do not recollect that.

3309. It took me some time to unravel it, but if you will allow me, I will just read the narrative as I make it out now, and I will give you line for line for it where it occurs in the evidence. There used to be four mahaldarnis; in July 1889 three of them, namely the artillery, the infantry, and cavalry, were dismissed?—With effect from 1888. That means the sanction was received in 1889; the formal orders.

3310. Yes, I have got it, with effect from the 15th July 1888, one year previous to the time when the sanction was received?—Yes.

3311. That is to say, they were dismissed retrospectively?—That means that they really were dismissed in July 1888; but the formal orders cancelling the establishment sanction and abolishing the appointments were not received till 1889.

3312. I will go on with my narrative, "the fourth mahaldarni was continued as dhai of the Sudder bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be the second matron of the Lock Hospital, at 10 rupees a month"?—Yes.

3313. The cantonment magistrate says, "I cannot say what change this made in her duties"?—Yes.

3314. "The matron, receiving 12 rupees a month, is still employed in the hospital," "the one receiving 10 rupees has been dismissed," "with effect from the 1st of February 1892," "and her place taken by a compounder," "the dismissed woman applied for leave" "to live in what is termed the Lancers' chakla with five women she had, and I gave it to her in the ordinary course"?—That is not so, I think.

3315. "There has been no dhai borne on our books since 1890, only matrons," every one of these is a quotation?—Yes.

3316. Well, now, this fourth mahaldarni, the ten rupee woman, whose name is Amiran, was continued as regimental dhai from July 1888 to July 1889?—Sudder dhai, not regimental, I think.

3317. I beg your pardon, as regimental dhai from July 1888 to July 1889, and then as dhai to the Sudder bazar chakla to December 1890?—Yes.

3318. Then she was on the hospital staff for 13 months?—Yes.

3319. The cantonment magistrate says: "I cannot say what change this made in her duties, the medical officer will know"?—Yes.

3320. The medical officer, Dr. Ranking, says, "Amiran was under my orders, I find from the hospital assistant that she lived with the women in the chakla. I do not know exactly what her duties were"?—Yes.

3321. A few lines further on he says: "I hardly remember the woman, I did not give her orders or have any concern with her." The hospital attendant says: "they were to attend to cases down there, such as diarrhœa and the like." Amiran says: "I used to get 10 rupees from the hospital and live close to the Sudder chakla and look after the women." The kotwal says: "Amiran used to take the women to inspection and report disturbances to the police, and look after the women"; and you, in your Report say: "In the establishment bills for 1891 there is a dhai on 10 rupees per *mensem*, who is shown as on duty at Sudder bazar chakla"; she asked for leave "to keep five women in the Sudder chakla, and I gave it to her in ordinary course"?—In the Sudder chakla, you said the Lancers' chakla before. That is right in the Sudder chakla, no doubt; I thought you said Lancers' chakla before, that is what I demurred to.

3322. I will give you the references afterwards: The net result is that three women (mahaldarnis) were kept and paid by the cantonment magistrate for a year improperly; and Ameran was kept and paid by the cantonment magistrate for 3½ years (to February 1892) improperly as mahaldarni?—Then I do not agree with that result.

3323. Is that true?—No, I think the net result is not right; and I think that one point of the narrative is incorrect with reference to living in the Lancers' chakla.

3324. Look at line 2012, it says "the dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers' chakla, close to the Sudder chakla, with five women she had and I gave it to her in ordinary course"?—It is very difficult to follow; there are three women; we were very much puzzled ourselves, their names are so much alike, Amirjan, Miro, and Amiran, page 40 of the Statement and Notes. "Amirjan used to be the mahaldarni at the Sudder some eight or nine years ago, for two or three years; then she was turned off before the chakla was sold, and Amiran took her place. She was appointed by the doctor and cantonment magistrate. Amirjan afterwards was made matron to the Lock Hospital, some six years ago. Up to the time the chakla was sold she used to come to the Sudder chakla once a day to see that all was right. She did not come after the chakla was sold. But Amiran stayed on till she was turned off, some two years and a few months ago, since when there has been no dhai there. I think she was turned off because inspection was stopped. She used to take the women to inspection, and report disturbances to the police and look after the women." Then line 2011, "The dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers' chakla, close to the Sudder chakla, with five women she had, and I gave it to her in ordinary course." That seems to be so, sir; she seems to have gone to the Lancers' chakla, too, as well as Miro; I had forgotten that. What is known as the Lancers' chakla in the Sudder bazar; it is not the chakla in the regimental bazar.

3325. I have given the exact quotation "what was termed the Lancers' chakla"?—Yes. But with reference to the net result, may I say something in regard to the net result, as you state it?

3326. Yes. I asked you if that is correct?—The three women were doubtless dismissed in 1888, although formal sanction to the abolition of the appointments was only received in July 1889; that is what is meant by sanction being received to dismissal with effect from a certain date.

3327. (*Chairman.*) You mean that the dismissal actually took place at the time mentioned as that from which effect is given to it?—From which effect is given to it; for instance, my leave may be gazetted after it has expired, but it does not alter the fact that my leave began on a certain day which is the day with effect from which it is gazetted.

3328. (*Mr. Wilson.*) An order was issued that the chaklas were to be stopped and closed, and did it require a further 12 months to give effect to that?—Not in the least; effect was given at once, but what was delayed was formal sanction to the emendation of the establishment scale. You had a certain establishment scale sanctioned by Government, bearing on it three appointments in the regimental chaklas; these appointments had been abolished, and the formal orders for their abolition were received, in the Finance Department no doubt, in 1889, effect having been given to the abolition in August 1888.

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3329. Can a magistrate stop paying money to women properly appointed 12 months before he gets an order to do so?—Oh, yes, before he gets the formal order abolishing the appointments. Orders are constantly issued demi-officially, or in the manner described. One point more. I think you say this woman was improperly paid for 3½ years.

3330. It appears to me so?—She was given a properly sanctioned appointment as one of the two matrons of the Lock Hospital, so that the payment was not improper. She was not employed as matron of the Lock hospital apparently, as one was sufficient. The two appointments had been made on the assumption that they would be employed also in the general branch of the cantonments hospital; but at that time the general cantonments hospital had not been built.

3331. She was on the establishment?—As a hospital matron.

3332. And worked as a mahaldarni in the Sudder bazar?—The doctor's evidence says that she did not work as a mahaldarni practically; she seems to have done little or nothing there; she did not work as a Lock Hospital matron certainly.

3333. She did no hospital work?—She did no hospital work.

3334. If she was not doing mahaldarni's work in the Sudder bazar, she was a fraud?—She was doing nothing. Her office was practically a sinecure. Oh, yes, that is so. That is not the woman to whom I refer here; the mahaldarni of whom you have been speaking is not the woman with reference to whom I raised this point; the ladies' evidence is that the woman of whom you spoke was dismissed, and also at the same time a second mahaldarni, the Lancers' old mahaldarni, called Miro. Now she had been dismissed when the chaklas were closed in 1888.

3335. Where does that come in?—Questions 467 to 472, 846, 903 to 917.

3336. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Now the next point?—The next point, 450, 454, and 507. In these answers it is stated that the Lancers' mahaldarni at Lucknow was paid ten rupees a month.

3337. Which is that one?—Miro.

3338. Miro was paid?—Ten rupees a month by the cantonment magistrate. As a fact she had not been paid by the cantonment magistrate since 1888, when the chakla was closed.

3339. By whom had she been paid?—By the cantonment magistrate, when she was paid up to 1888.

3340. After 1888?—After 1888 she would not be paid anything; she would take fees from the women.

3341. Subsequent to that her evidence is that she took fees?—From the women whom she kept. That is her own statement, I think.

3342. That is her own statement to you?—Yes, I think it was.

3343. Then your statement is simply that you took the evidence of Miro yourself, and she said that she was not paid except by fees, after 1888?—And, moreover, we know as a fact that she was not. Only two women were paid by the cantonment magistrate, one was Amiran and the other Amirjan, and that is borne out by the establishment bills; it must have gone into the establishment bills if she had been paid.

3344. And you asked the cantonment magistrate and the doctor?—Yes.

3345. Now, then, will you go on?—In the answer to Question 484 it is stated that at Meerut the West Kent mahldarni said that when she wanted new women she used to get from five rupees to 50 rupees from Colonel Plowden; it must be Colonel Plowden, the cantonment magistrate; without any difficulty whatever.

3346. That was her evidence, was it?—That was her evidence. Colonel Plowden had gone home and we did not see him; but his head clerk, his officials stated that it had never been done within their knowledge. As a fact, a cantonment magistrate could in no case, even before 1888, have had anything to do with the supply of women for a regimental chakla, but only for the Sudder chakla. He had no concern with the regimental chakla; he could only have to supply them for the Sudder chakla.

3346A. Do you say that, before 1888, he used to supply women for the Sudder chakla?—No; for I do not know. But if he had anything to do with supplying women, that could only have been for the Sudder chakla.

3347. Yes?—It is impossible that such advances should have been made from Government funds; because the accounts are audited by the Accountant-General, and the money must be drawn by a cheque countersigned by the officer in command of the station, or, rather, I think, signed by him; and Colonel Plowden's circumstances were such that we may be pretty certain that the money was not advanced from private funds; in fact, it stands to reason no man would advance money so. We have asked all the officials that came before us about the possibility of such a thing, and they all treat it as absolutely impossible.

3348. Do you know where Colonel Plowden is now?—No, I do not—he is in Europe, he has left India permanently.

3349. Is he in this country?—I do not know at all.

3350. But now here again, all that you suggest and believe is that this was false evidence given to the ladies?—I think it is just possible that the women may have said something about advances before 1888. I do not know whether it would have been possible before then; I cannot tell.

3351. That is hardly worth considering what is just possible; but I understand that you bring this forward as a serious mistake in the evidence, if it was a mistake, and that mistake was the mahaldarni's mistake?—Either that or a misunderstanding of what she said.

3352. Do you not think that it would be as well to suppose that what she said has been recorded, and to say that it was a mistake on her part?—I think, under the circumstances, if it was possible for these advances to be made before 1888, as to which I cannot speak, then I think it is more likely to be a misunderstanding than a false statement by the woman.

3353. We will leave it in that way; we shall see by-and-bye. I understand what your position is; that you deny and think you have disproved the evidence as reported of this mahldarni, and you suggest that they may have misunderstood her?—They may have misunderstood her, or she may have told a lie. I do not for a moment say it is necessarily a misunderstanding.

3354. Will you leave it there, and will you go on?—Question 696 and Question 1350, the statement being that at Umballa women were detained in hospital on account of *menses:* that was not so, I believe.

3355. You say that is untrue?—I think so, sir.

3356. Whose statement is that in the evidence before us?—The lady's. She said: "We had been told at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders chakla that there were certain of their number there for that reason; we asked when we went there, and there were eight patients there, and a number of them were there for this reason. That was stated to us, and the dhai confirmed it."

3357. Therefore the evidence that the dhai at the hospital confirmed a statement previously made that women were there on account of their *menses*?—Yes.

3358. And you say that that statement was incorrect?—Yes.

3359. You do not say that it was unfitting that they should accept the statement from the dhai of the hospital and record it?—No, sir, not at all. I do not see how they could have checked that, except by reference to the doctor.

3360. Will you tell me, before I pass on, whether you mean to say that at no period at Umballa were women in hospital during their period of menstruation?—Not after 1888, and certainly not at this time.

3361. Very well, then, go on?—In Questions 716 and 717 and 1112 it is stated that at Lucknow women who did not attend the examination had to leave the cantonments. As a fact, in Lucknow, the Rules were not put into force at all, and that is not in accordance with fact.

3362. You mean at no time?—Not since 1888.

3363. You have one more, have you not?—Question 749. This is a group of similar points. It is there stated that the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' women at Umballa were turned out of cantonments if they did not attend the examination. This is on the face of it wrong.

3364. What is your comment upon that?—That it is on the face of it wrong, I think; because it was only the women living in regimental bazars who went to examination at all. They would be turned out of the regimental bazar, but not out of the cantonment. And in Question 751, and in Question 1346, it is stated that at Umballa the Gordon Highlanders' women would be fined and imprisoned if they did not attend examination, and that all the women would be taken before the cantonment magistrate, and severely scolded if they did not attend, and would be made to go.

3365. What do you say of the evidence?—As a fact, there would be no fine and imprisonment for not attending examination, and it was not even suggested that any women except those living in regimental bazars should go to examination. Even they would not be taken before the cantonment magistrate.

3366. But only regimental?—Only women living in regimental bazars were supposed to attend examination, and the only penalty for non-attendance was exclusion from the regimental bazars.

3367. Is that all?—That is all on that point.

3368. That is the end of your list?—No, sir, not quite.

3369. I thought you said you had only 14 cases?—I counted a group of questions as one. The next is Question 727 and Questions 1444 and 1445. It is stated that at Meerut the women were taken to the periodical examination by the police. That was not so.

3370. You do not propose to suggest that it was not stated to the ladies?—Oh, no; as a fact, probably what was said was—may I explain and make a suggestion? You would rather I did not. Very well, sir.

3371. I do not see why you can?—I think it is almost certain to one who knows the language what was said. What she said was they were taken by the chaukidar; and in fact the chaukidar, who is a hospital servant, was sent down to tell them what day. The chaukidar was understood by the ladies to mean police, which in some places it does.

3372. (*Chairman.*) What does it mean here?—Here it means a watchman, a hospital servant, who was used as a messenger, because he was a man who had nothing to do in the daytime.

3373. (*Mr. Wilson.*) May I ask you to look at line 1271 of your evidence?—Ah, that was a woman reported under the rules as supposed to be diseased. That was not a periodical examination, that was a special examination under the Rules of 1890. There is no doubt that the police would be used to warn the women to attend for examination under the Rules.

3374. The police are sometimes used?—Never for periodical examination, this is a question of periodical examination; the two are very distinct.

3375. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Is that all?—Questions 863 to 867. At Lucknow new women were taken to the doctor for examination by the inspector. It says by the inspector, but I presume the inspector of police is meant; I know of no other inspector. That again was not so.

3376. Do you mean that your evidence shows that they were never accompanied to the examination room?—Yes; we asked particularly about that because it was an important point how far the police did interfere in these matters; and our evidence shows that the woman simply had her application returned to her, went off to the hospital herself, and came back without any interference on the part of the police.

3377. How many more have you got?—Four more.

3378. (*Chairman.*) All making one group?—No, I have just come to the end of one group, and I have three separate questions, not groups. The next one is 1458 and 1459, in which a distinction is drawn as to attendance at periodical examination between women for the use of British troops and those for the use of native troops, and it is stated that in all cases British women would have to leave cantonments if they did not attend such examination. That is not in accordance with fact, I think?

3379. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) What do you say is the fact?—That as regards periodical examination there is no distinction between women for the use of British and native troops, and that in no case would women for the use of British troops have to leave cantonments merely because they did not attend examination.

3380. What would happen to them?—Nothing at all, except at Meerut, where they would be reported "supposed to be diseased."

3381. What would happen then?—Then they would be warned that they must either attend for examination or leave the cantonments.

3382. Yes?—Or at Umballa, if they were living in the regimental bazar they would have to leave the bazar, that is all, sir.

3383. These are your instances?—Yes, sir.

3384. I want to know how far they are an impugnment of these ladies themselves, because it is on that point that we wish to call them here to be ready to reply?—Nothing whatever, sir. I have already said that so far as the statement of what the ladies saw is concerned, we have nothing more to say.

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3385-6. (*Chairman.*) Is there anything new that you ladies wish to say arising out of what Mr. Ibbetson has said, in respect of your own evidence. I do not think that anything that you profess to have seen yourselves has been called in question, do you know anything that has? I do not seem to remember anything.

3387. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) It is the credibility or accuracy of the people whom you yourselves examined that has been alluded to?—(*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) It is exceedingly difficult for us to understand what was said; we would have to see the proof.

3388. (*Chairman.*) That I understand; you say you do not notice anything that you wish to speak about as regards your own testimony?—(*Mrs. Andrew.*) I had only one thing, and that was in regard to the impression produced as to our description of a chakla. My description, I am speaking for myself, of the high walls of the chakla conveying an idea as if the women were prisoners. I may say that that was not my intention, because I described also chaklas which had no walls, it was simply a description of the chaklas that I intended, and that was what I was called upon to give, and did not seek to convey the impression that the

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women were prisoners. Then as to the chaukidar, Mr. Ibbetson used the expression "at the gate." I did not say "at the gate," I said "inside the courtyard." There was a chaukidar inside at Lucknow, and at Bareilly, and I did not convey the impression that he was there to keep the women prisoners. I mentioned the chaukidar at the chaklas to indicate cantonment supervision of the chaklas.

3389. As to the point you just mentioned in the paragraph at the end of Mr. Ibbetson's report, I may remind you that Mr. Ibbetson did not wish in anything that fell from him to convey that you had drawn that picture intentionally, only that that was the effect that it would produce on the mind of the person reading your story, even without any wish on your part to produce it. It was the effect that would be produced even though you had not intended to produce it; it was the sense of a prison that was created by the evidence?—(*Mr. Ibbetson.*) That was quite my meaning.

3390. Not that the ladies intended it?—Not the least.

3391. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) On the contrary, I understand you, Mrs. Andrew, to distinctly say that you put no such construction upon the evidence, and did not consider that the women were confined as if in a prison?—(*Mrs. Andrew.*) That is what I meant, exactly. (*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) I should simply like to say that, as a whole, as to everything in the evidence, I deny that we ever meant to draw any such picture.

3392. (*Chairman.*) As it is important and valuable, I am glad to hear that from you; but again, on the other hand, Mr. Ibbetson does not say that you intended to produce that effect, only that the picture you drew was liable to produce such an effect on the mind of a person studying it without a knowledge of India?—(*Mrs. Andrew.*) As to "crowds of trembling women," we undoubtedly saw those women, being women ourselves, under different circumstances from what these gentlemen of the Commission could possibly see them. They did show the deepest feeling, and that not after an expression of sympathy on our part always; by no means; but right at the first; simply our coming to them as respectable women seemed to touch them so deeply, and then we did express our sympathy with them, and we felt it, and we feel it to-day.

3393. Then so far as that is concerned, what Mr. Ibbetson said of the effect produced by your evidence is not incorrect. He says a picture of "trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust," would be produced?—I should say, not incorrect as regarding their expression of feeling as women to us.

3394. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) And even before you had indicated any special sympathy?—Yes.

3395. (*Chairman.*) So far, Mr. Ibbetson's reading of your evidence is not an incorrect reading apparently?—(*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) I would like to say further, that aside from that one point in the sentence which relates to the women's own objection to the examinations, I deny that the picture could lawfully be drawn.

3396. Only that one feature of it which I have mentioned?—(*Mrs. Andrew.*) Expressing their shame in regard to the examinations. We expressly said that they did not emphasize complaint as to their surroundings in any way, except as to the examinations, but whenever these were touched upon they did break out in very deep feeling.

3397. You dissent from the view of the general effect produced by your evidence which Mr. Ibbetson puts forward, except in so far as the grief and dismay of the women is concerned?—In regard to the examinations.

3398. In regard to the examinations; but as far as that one feature of the picture is concerned Mr. Ibbetson's view of the evidence is correct?—Except as to the setting he places it in, as if there were "trembling groups of miserable women pent up within high walls" as if they were in a prison.

3399. But here as regards the grief and dismay and shame of the women; as regards that Mr. Ibbetson's view of the effect produced by the evidence is not an incorrect one?—Not if he means to express it as referring to that.

3400. Of their grief and shame at the examination?—Yes.

3401. Well, now, I think it is the general sense of the Committee that Mr. Ibbetson has had an opportunity of setting forth the discrepancies which he thinks he sees between the evidence which you bring, and the results of his own investigation. As far as the Committee can charge their memories at this moment without reading the evidence, and as far as you ladies can charge your memories, we do not see that any point has been raised by Mr. Ibbetson this morning which brings your personal testimony into question. Mr. Ibbetson's strictures seemed to relate mainly, if not altogether, and I think altogether, to the testimony which you collected from the other people. So far we do not think that you are called upon now, or will be called upon, to make any rebutting statement in reply to Mr. Ibbetson's strictures. But we are quite aware in our own case, and probably in yours the same remark applies, that it is not always easy to carry in one's mind every incident in an examination which has just taken place, but when one sees it in black and white to-morrow it is possible that we shall see that we have overlooked some points. I do not think we have, but it is possible that we may, and I believe that it will be the wish of the Committee that if you then having read the evidence feel any wish to be re-examined, or to have an opportunity of saying anything in reply to Mr. Ibbetson on your own personal testimony, you should have that opportunity; but failing such desire on your part, and failing any discovery by any of us that such re-examination is called for, we think the matter may rest where it is. I understand that to be the sense of the Committee.

3402. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) I think so.

3403. (*Chairman.*) If there is any wish on your part after you have read the evidence to be heard again, we shall endeavour to have it done.

3404. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) There is one question I want to ask Mr. Ibbetson. Has M. Samiullah Khan a competent knowledge of English?—(*Mr. Ibbetson*). He knew a little English, not much, he could not talk, or hardly at all; he did not talk English.

3405. Is he a good Hindustani scholar?—Oh, yes; accomplished.

3406. Where was he born?—He is a Delhi man, he had a translator always with him, an interpreter to help him.

The Witnesses withdrew.

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3407. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Dr. Kate Bushnell, have you now examined the several sets of books and papers which were mentioned in your former evidence as having been seen at the lock hospitals in certain cantonments, and brought by Dr. Cleghorn from India?—Yes, I have examined them.

3408. Of the records of the various cantonments which I shall mention, do they comprise that taken at Meerut? What are the books and documents mentioned in Dr. Cleghorn's note, the Special Commission evidence, line 3320. First, are there not registry sheet of prostitutes attending examination, classified according to regiments?—Yes, there are.

3409. According to what regiments?—Three

regiments, Artillery, Lancers, Infantry; and then another classification under Sudder bazar.

3410. And to what date do they come down?—They came down to the 24th of April 1893.

3411. Now, what do these records show with regard to the result of examinations between June 1891 and April 1893?—They show 2,297, or 83·3 per cent. were healthy.

3412. Of the women examined?—Of the women examined.

3413. That is to say, of the examination?—Of the examination, that 130 women, or 4·7 per cent. were diseased, and sent to hospital; 330 cases, or 12 per cent. were marked "menses"; and it was not easy to determine what proportion of them were confined in hospital.

3414. But the result of these examinations was that 83·3 per cent. of the women were undiseased?—Have you looked at the Admission and Discharge Book?—I have.

3415. What is the date of the last admission?—The last admission is the 22nd of May 1893.

3416. The total number of in-patient cases in 1892 was how many?—Was 172.

3417. And how many of the 172 were non-venereal?—Seven.

3418. Now, take the Visitors' Book and Diary; have you compared that book with the evidence you gave of its contents; see your evidence Questions 1189 to 1195, and you find that the book confirms that evidence with some discrepancies as to numbers, &c., which were written down from memory after leaving the hospital?—Yes; I find it so.

3419. I would ask you again; it was down on your evidence beforehand; we might as well get it repeated here. If I remember right during these visits, you either took notes at the time or you took notes as soon as possible after you left the hospital, and whilst your memory was fresh. I think you told us that when you got back into your cab you took the notes there and then; you did not wait till the end of that day to put them down?—That was the answer to Question 1209. Shall I read the answer? "I took notes. I went right out, and got in my cab, and put the figures down. It would not have done, I did not think it would, to take them down there; but I did not wait to get home to my stopping-place, but put them down in the cab. There might possibly be an inaccuracy, but I think they are perfectly correct, because I fixed them perfectly in my mind, and put them down just as soon as I was outside the hospital."

3420. Now, among other entries in this visitors' book, did you find an entry made since your visit on 3rd March 1892; was that the date of your visit?—No, that was the date of the entry.

3421. The entry made on 3rd March 1892, since your visit, did you find an entry made of a recommendation of medical examination for the women who accompanied the West Kent regiment to Chakratta?—Yes, I found it, and it corroborates evidence that Mrs. Andrew gave in answer to Questions 616 to 523.

3422. What was her evidence?—To the effect that the women were going to Chakratta. I will not be able to give it till referred to it. (619) "What information did they give you?—(*A.*) They said they were taken in covered carts, and taken care of by European guards on the march, that they accompanied the regiment. Then at an another interview at this same place there were two women present, and one said that when the soldiers were on the march they went with them in carts, and that Europeans guarded them." More particularly (Question 621) "What regiment was that?—(*A.*) This was the 50th West Kent. Then he said that their winter quarters were at Meerut, and their summer quarters were at Chakrata." (Answer to Question 622.) "And later a woman, in talking with me, dreading to see us go away, said, will you not come to see us when we go up to Chakrata."

3423. Well, now, what entry in the Visitors' Book seemed to you confirmation of the evidence of Mrs. Andrew?—That the women said that they intended to accompany the regiment when they marched to Chakrata. This is a recommendation that they be examined before they accompany the regiment to Chakrata.

3424. That was a recommendation, of date March 3rd, 1892, that certain women proposing to accompany the West Kent Regiment to Chakrata should be examined before they were permitted to do so?—Yes.

3425. You produce the entry? These entries are all before us? Have you got the entry?—I have the entry before me.

3426. Have you got the Statements and Notes appended to the Blue Book? Will you look to page 56, line 3,381? How does that read?—"On 3rd March 1892, he notes that he recommended a medical examination of the women who accompanied the West York to Chakrata." West Kent is as the notes read in the Diary and Visitors' Book of the Meerut hospital.

3427. Then is it West York or West Kent?—West Kent.

3428. Now, shall we go to Umballa? What did you see there?—We saw the attendance register.

3429. Did that show classified lists of women?—It does.

3430. Will you give us the last date of examination of those classified lists?—Well, the 18th Hussars, "2–8–92" the Royal Horse Artillery, 12th July 1892.

3431. What was the last date of examination of the Royal Horse Artillery?—The date given here, which I imagine is incorrect, a mistake in the copyist, is "12–7–92"; 7th of July, the date should be the 2nd of August 1892, for the Artillery bazar.

3432. Well, then, the Gordon Highlanders, you find the last date of the examination?—8th of March 1892.

3433. And the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders the 15th of March 1892?—The 15th of March 1892.

3434. The 7th Dragoon Guards?—The 27th of October 1891.

3435. And the Infantry?—The 3rd of November, 1891.

3436. And when we come to the percentages of the women who were fit or otherwise, am I right in understanding that they refer to the examinations for the six months previous to the last date, with regard to the 18th Hussars, the Royal Horse Artillery, the Dragoon Guards, and the Infantry; but with regard to the Gordon Highlanders they refer to the period from February 4th to March 8th 1892, the whole of that period during which they were there; and as to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, to the period from January 26th to March the 15th of the same year?—Yes.

3437. Now, in your evidence, or in Mrs. Andrew's evidence (Question 1328), the Gordon Highlanders, I find, were not mentioned; you omitted the Gordon Highlanders in the recapitulation of the regiments in answer to that question, did you not?—Yes, it was omitted.

3438. Was the mahaldarni's register produced here also up to the same date?—Of one of the regiments it was, of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

3439. The Hussars; was it not the 18th Hussars?—No; what was shown us was of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; but what has been sent home is the 18th Hussars.

3440. Then the one that you saw has not been sent home?—No, it has not been sent home. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) It did not belong to the hospital; we only happened to get it from a mahaldarni. (*Dr. Kate Bushnell.*) As I said it was in the hands of a mahaldarni, but kept exactly as the hospital record was, and in the same handwriting as the hospital record.

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3441. Then the register that you saw was in the mahaldarni's hands ?—In the hands of a mahaldarni.

3442. And kept by her ?—Not kept by her ; she had the custody of it ; the handwriting was the same as the register in the hospital.

3443. The handwriting was that of some hospital official ?—Of some hospital official.

3444. This one that is produced, do you recognise the handwriting ?—I recognise it as the same as the one in the register proper of the hospital, I should say.

3445. So that these were officially kept in the hospital ?—The two are here for comparison, if you wish to see them, that they are in the same handwriting.

3446. I understand you to say that the handwriting was official handwriting ; but do you mean the whole body of the thing ?—I mean the whole body of it, that the two books are kept in the same handwriting.

3447. You have handed to me here two books, one of which appears to be a copy of the other, and they both appertain to the 18th Hussars ; they are entitled, "Attendance Registers of Women who Volunteered for Examination." Well, now, this larger book, I understand, is the general register applying to all the regiments ?—Yes, the book belongs to the hospital.

3448. That, I presume, was kept at the hospital ? That was kept at the hospital.

3449. Very well. There is a smaller book here, which was in the hands of the mahaldarni, which applies only to the regiment in connection with whom she was fulfilling her functions as mahaldarni ?—Yes, sir.

3450. And these two are the 18th Hussars, and these two are exact copies of one another, and up to date ; and when you say that the handwriting is the same, I understand you to mean that the entries in the various columns are by the medical officer in each case ?—Yes, sir.

3451. And then did you besides seeing these attendance registers see another register in the hands of a mahaldarni belonging to another regiment ?—We did ; in the hands of the mahaldarni of the Argyll and Sutherland regiment.

3452. Was it like these in form, the same form as these ?—I think it was, as I remember it.

3453. And initialled by the doctor in the same way ?—It was initialled by the hospital official in the same way.

3454. Well, now, with regard to Umballa. What do the records show as to the condition of health of women at the time of the examination ?—Of 555, over 75·5 per cent. were "fit" ; that is, healthy.

3455. Is "fit" the word used ?—"Fit" is the word used.

3456. Yes ; go on ?—Eighty, or 10·9 per cent., were sent to hospital as diseased ; 100, or 13·6 per cent., were marked as *menses*.

3457. Did you also see the correspondence book ?—We did.

3458. Did that contain several letters reporting cases of supposed disease of different women down to the 10th of March 1892 ?—It does.

3459. Did it report a case of a patient wishing to leave the cantonment, a case of the 9th March 1892 ?—It did.

3460. What was that case ?—It is a letter addressed to the cantonment magistrate by the European physician-in-charge, Dr. Wardrop, to report that a woman named Begum, a patient in this hospital, that is in No. 2 section, wishes to leave the cantonment ; will you kindly see that she does leave ?

3461. Is not that followed up with a copy of another letter ; what was the date of that, the 9th of March ?—The 9th of March 1892.

3462. Is there any reply on record ?—No, there is no reply on record.

3463. In the Statements and Notes, page 54, I find the same reported, near the bottom of the page, line 3312 : On the 9th of March 1892, he informs the cantonment magistrate that a patient in hospital, Section 2, wishes to leave cantonment, and asks him kindly to see that she does leave. That confirms ?—Yes.

3464. That book also contained, among other letters, two already in evidence. I will refer you to Question 1331 and to Question 1333 of your evidence ?—It contains those two letters.

3465. What was it you said about them (Question 1331) ? "Did you see a copy of any letter to the cantonment magistrate ?—(*A.*) There was a letter to the cantonment magistrate, dated 21st December 1891. This letter named six girls that were supposed to be diseased, and requested the cantonment magistrate to order them for inspection." That is the letter which you found ?—That is the letter which we found. It mentions seven women.

3466. Well, then, Question 1333, "Did you see another copy of a letter dated 18th January 1892 ?—(*A.*) We did. This was addressed to the cantonment magistrate, saying that the prostitute named in the margin of that letter had been indicted by a soldier of a certain regiment named, as having given him disease, and requesting that that woman be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day." It ought to be indicated ?—Yes ; it ought to be indicated.

3467. Did you find that letter in this correspondence book ?—We found that letter under that date.

3468. Well, now, we pass to Meean Meer ; did you see the correspondence book ?—I did.

3469. Did you find any evidence confirming your own statement in answer to my Questions 1226 and 1228 ?—We did find such evidence.

3470. What did you find ?—A letter stating on what date a certain doctor had taken charge of the cantonment. That evidence was given so as to apply it to the registration ticket to show that the initials in the registration ticket that we procured corresponded to the records in the hospital as regards the surgeon in charge. The second letter was a statement to the effect that the medical officer has the honour to inform the cantonment magistrate that the undermentioned did not appear at the bi-monthly inspection, and respectfully requested that they be made to appear on the 8th instant. The reading is slightly different in the hospital book before me "—— has the honour to report that the undermentioned prostitutes were absent from inspection to-day, and to request the favour of their being made to present themselves for inspection on the 8th instant" ; and there are three names following, the names of three women.

3471. Did you find somewhat numerous entries of women being sent for inspection ?—We did.

3472. Did you find one particular entry on the 1st of September 1891 of an order for the removal from the list of prostitutes ?—Yes, we have found it.

3473. What is that ?—To the Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer. —— "has the honour to report that the undermentioned prostitutes were absent from inspection to-day, and requesting the favour of their being sent for inspection on the 4th instant" ; and then a further note says, "Begum, on retirement, wishes to have her name removed from the list of prostitutes" ; showing that there was a list of prostitutes kept.

3474. Did you find in the same book copy letter of Surgeon Grainger to the Cantonment Magistrate about the duties of mahaldarnis ; have you got a copy of the letter ?—I have got a copy of that letter.

3475. What is the date ?—The 12th May 1890. "—— Medical surgeon, Meean Meer, has the honour to recommend that Jimani, the present mahaldarni of the Lock Hospital, be dismissed. She is lazy, ignorant of her work, and on the evening of the 9th inst. she allowed two prostitutes to leave the hospital when they had been ordered to be detained. She has never given the slightest assistance in the matter of

encouraging prostitutes to present themselves for examination, and does all she can to hide their disease. He will recognise the impossibility of carrying on the work of the Lock Hospital satisfactorily whilst such a person remains matron.—*J. Grainger*, Surgeon."

3476. She was matron, was she ?—She was matron apparently, called also mahaldarni.

3477. Well then, you found a copy of another letter from the same surgeon, dated 25th April 1890 ?—Yes, I have it here.

3478. Does that bear upon the question of voluntary attendance ?—It seems to.

3479. Will you read what the surgeon says ?—In writing to the officer commanding the Artillery, he says, "It is possible only healthy ones (that is, healthy women) turn up," and suggests, "the possibility of the voluntariness being increased" by means of the mahaldarni, &c.

3480. You had better read the letter ?—Do you wish me to read the letter in full ?

3481. Yes ?—"To the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery, Meean Meer.—A number of Royal Artillery bazar prostitutes come regularly for examination at the Lock Hospital, and this being voluntary on their part, it is possible only healthy ones turn up. Undersigned would suggest the possibility of the voluntariness being increased by the application to the mahaldarni in sending diseased women to the Lock Hospital as soon as they become diseased without waiting for the usual fortnightly inspection. (Signed) *T. Grainger*."

3482. It appeared to be the view of that medical officer that this is a proceeding which would increase their disposition to go ?—Yes, their voluntariness.

3483. We will go to a book of requisition for tickets ; you have found that, have you not ?—There is a note in the white book, at line 3,120 : "The duties of the mahaldarnis practically continue the same."

3484. The same as when ; as before 1888 ?—Just so.

3485. That is something you thought worth noting ?—We thought so.

3486. Is that a statement in the evidence of what we have called the "White Book," that the duties of the mahaldarnis practically continued the same since 1888 as they were before ?—That is as I understand it.

3487. Is there any reference to a date there ?—No, not immediately ; it says, in a note before, "it is believed that no certificates of this nature have at any rate been granted since the Lock Hospital rules were cancelled," and then it says : "The duties of mahaldarnis continue the same," and the inference is that that is since the hospital rules were cancelled.

3488. Well, now then, we will pass to the book of requisition for tickets ?—I have it.

3489. Have you got your evidence, Question 1299 ?—I have it.

3490. What was your evidence there ?—It should be 1229.

3491. 1229 : "Did you see a book of blank forms with counterfoils addressed to the cantonment magistrate ?—(*A.*) We did, and this requested the cantonment magistrate to give prostitute——a ticket enabling her to pursue her avocation, as she is enrolled to appear regularly at the bi-monthly inspection at the venereal hospital of Meean Meer cantonment. (Signed) ——— Surgeon, Cantonment Hospital." Now I ask you have you got that book ?—We have that book ; the reading of the order is slightly different, it says : "Please supply a prostitute's ticket to ———, who resides in ——— ———, Meean Meer, and attends the periodical inspections at the Voluntary Venereal Hospital. ——— Surgeon-in-Charge of Voluntary Venereal Hospital."

3492. This book is a book with counterfoils, is it not ?—It is.

3493. And you can number the counterfoils ; how many requisitions to the cantonment magistrate for licensed tickets does it say on the 1st of May 1892 ?—Twenty-one.

3494. For what period was that ; is that all in one day ?—That is all for one day.

3495. Does it say on counterfoils of tickets in respect of the 19 new requisitions on 15th June 1889 ?—It does.

3496. Therefore that is evidence that the issue of tickets at any rate endured longer than May ?—Yes, than the 1st of May ; it shows that it continued until the 15th June 1892.

3497. At any rate, on the 15th June a requisition was made for 19 tickets ?—Nineteen tickets.

3498. According to the Military Reports before us, page 18 on line 904 : "Women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892 ; it was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer ; I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continued," and it appears from what you have now produced, that at any rate requisitions were made as late as the 15th June ; that is so, is it not ?—Yes, sir.

3499. Those requisitions on that date, the 15th June, as well as on several other dates do you find some, and how many issued for the women in the Royal Artillery bazar ?—I counted 20 that were for the Royal Artillery bazar women.

3500. Have you seen the Report of the commanding officer for the regiment dated 19th June 1893, and does it state that no tickets had been issued for the regiment since February 1891 ?—Yes, I saw that statement ; it is page 2 of the supplementary sheet, line 95, under Meean Meer. The evidence of Captain Goff, commanding the Royal Artillery. That note says, "No registration of prostitutes or issue of tickets in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present battery came to the station, February 1891."

3501. What you find is that 20 tickets were issued in 1892 ?—Yes, sir ; since this book was opened, not since 1892. It is since February 1891, according to this book some 20 tickets have been issued for the Royal Artillery.

3502. Up to what date ?—Up to June 15th, 1892.

3503. What is the date of the latest issue of tickets to women in the Royal Artillery ?—I have not the book at hand, now, I passed it on to Sir D. Stewart, but, I think, June 15th 1892 ; those that are turned down refer to the Royal Artillery.

3504. You produce a ticket here which you obtained from one of the women ; what was the date of that ticket ; was not the date of the year 1892 ?—It was dated 1892, headed 1892 ; that we procured at the Artillery bazar chakla.

3505. (*Mr. Wilson.*) At Meean Meer ?—At Meean Meer.

3506. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Did I understand you to say that you found 20 tickets were issued to the women of the Artillery ?—Yes, 20 counterfoils left are of the Royal Artillery.

3507. Since the beginning of that book ?—From February 1891 to June 15th 1892. Within that time 20 tickets had been issued to the Royal Artillery bazar prostitutes. That fact, which is testified to by the counterfoils of this book, is inconsistent with the statement of the commanding officer in his Report ?—It is.

3508. (*Sir James Peile.*) Who issued the tickets ?—The Order for the tickets has a blank for the signature of the cantonment hospital surgeon.

3509. Yes ; but does the Royal Artillery officer take any part in the matter there ?—I would not be able to state.

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3510. I find here it is said, no issue of tickets in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present batteries came to the station. Does that show that it was done by the Royal Artillery?—It seems to me that that shows a jugglery of words, unless it means that the tickets were not issued by the cantonment magistrate to the prostitutes, because it was not customary at all for the commanding officer or the regiment itself to issue tickets under any circumstances.

3511. He goes on to say, five women who resided in the Royal Artillery bazar until the present month have now left—that is, June 1893, so that there were five women residing in the bazar to whom these tickets might have been issued.

3512. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) But surely the tickets would not be issued by the commanding officer.

3513. (*Sir James Peile.*) I was simply taking what is quoted; what he said.

3514. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) So that his view, I suppose, would be that he had not issued or asked for any ticket. I do not see any inconsistency in that; it is very likely, I think?—The ticket itself bears on it certain initials that we interpreted as meaning Artillery bazar prostitutes, Sudder bazar, Meean Meer.

3515. Let us pass on to Peshawur. Did you see a register book there?—I did.

3516. What does it show as to the continuation of weekly examinations with the regimental classification?—It shows that the Royal Artillery examinations were continued up till the 29th of February 1892; that the Royal Welsh Fusiliers were continued up till the same date.

3517. What became of the regimental women when they were turned out of the regimental chaklas?—They were finally all turned together into the Sudder bazar; the Sudder bazar women proper seem to have been examined up to January 18th 1892, and then the examination of all of them continued up to the date before given, 29th February 1892.

3518. In this case of Peshawur, does the register book enable calculations to be reliably made as to the percentage of healthy as compared with diseased women, as in other cases?—No, it is not given in such shape that the results of the weekly examinations can be very readily made out.

3519. And therefore you have not endeavoured to work out conclusions which you would not think would be reliable?—I am afraid they would not be certain.

3520. Is it stated anywhere when the periodical examinations ceased? Is the date given in the evidence attached to what we call the White Book, the Military Reports?—The White Book does not state the date when the periodical examinations are officially reported to cease; but the same book does state, in line 2,182 that no register was kept since 1888, although other reports from the same place give April 1891 as the date of discontinuance, although other reports from the same date——

3521. What are those reports?—They are to be found in line 2182 and 2318.

3522. Paragraph 4. Peshawur Office; and what evidence did you find to the contrary?—We find it in the book itself. The registers continue up to February 29th 1892.

3523. There is a reference here to certain manuscript reports, if I read it aright, as if the same as you and Mrs. Andrew saw, and referred to in your evidence, Questions 1288–98, and as confirming that evidence?—That manuscript report is the annual report of the Cantonment Hospital in Peshawur for the year ending December 31st 1891.

3524. And how does it confirm your evidence?—In many particulars—first, as to one copy being kept in the Hospital itself, this is marked "office copy;" second, as to its being written, not printed; then, third, we gave a sort of a rough sketch of what these annual reports were like, which corresponds quite closely to the original document.

3525. Well, now, we go on to Sitapur and Rawal Pindi. We will take those two together?—There were no reports sent from Sitapur or Rawal Pindi; we have no documents.

3526. You made a request for them?—We made requisition for the annual reports at both those places.

3527. Which, I suppose, went out, I take it. Well, now, we will take Benares. Have you got a record of the admissions of indoor patients?—That record is here.

3528. Does it confirm your evidence in any special particulars?—It does, especially as regards the proportion, and the large proportion, of cases of *menses* taken care of in hospitals. As stated in answer to Question 1430, up to the time we visited the hospital there had been 34 in-patients in the hospital, and of those 34, 25 were for menses.

3529. During what period of time?—From the first part of the year up to the date of our visit. Our visit was March the 12th. From January 1st to March 12th there were 34 patients; up to that date there had been 34 patients; of these 25 were entered as *menses*. I wish to say here, in Mrs. Andrew's evidence we noticed that it stands that there were 37 *menses*. That is a typographical error which was over-looked.

3530. Will you go on. Is there any further confirmation that you derived from that?—No; I think not. We called for the registration list of chaklas, but it was not sent. We record in our Journal that there were 16 names on this list.

3531. And that also has not been sent here?—That has not been sent.

3532. Well, now, I will pass to Bareilly. Did you see a visiting book there?—We saw the visiting book at Bareilly.

3533. I think on reference to your evidence, Question 1357–58?—We saw that book, and it confirms the points as regards the surgeons and others who visited the hospital from time to time.

3534. What points does it confirm?—We mentioned the names, which have been left blank in the proof, of various surgeons and others who had recorded their visits in this visiting book at Bareilly, and the book confirms our statements.

3545. As to the names of the surgeons?—As to the names of the surgeons.

3536. Do you find that last entry of voluntary inspection; and under what date is there an entry of voluntary inspection, on the 14th January, 1893?—There is; 22 women reported themselves for voluntary inspection; none were found diseased.

3537. Did you see the admission-book?—I did.

3538. Did you find anything confirming your evidence in answer to Question 1362?—I did. That is in regard to the variety of cases treated at the hospital. The question is—"Did it contain any other cases save venereal?—(*A.*) Yes, it contained a good many cases besides venereal; cases, such as rheumatism and ague, dysentery, hepatitis, and other diseases." Those are recorded in the admission book.

3539. Your evidence was based upon an inspection of that book, was it?—It was.

3540. Have you anything to say about the hospital account book, showing the wages of the staff?—There is a hospital account book for Bareilly in which is entered on a loose sheet the establishment of Cantonment Hospital, Bareilly. There is mention made of the salary of the matron and the dhai; the matron's salary, 15 rupees, and the dhai's, 5 rupees. That is what they told me, and what we gave in evidence.

3541. And that is confirmed?—Yes.

3542. Did you see the annual report?—We did. In my evidence I speak of that. I refer to sixteen cases of secondary syphilis which appeared in this annual report. I note those cases in the annual report as sent.

3543. Does the annual report mention a certain Mrs. Barrett ?—This is another annual report, not an annual report of the patients, perhaps it went with it, but it is in the physician's handwriting, simply an annual report speaking in a more general way of the hospital. In that annual report mention is made of Mrs. Barrett, matron of the Lock Hospital, a woman whom we interviewed when we were there.

3544. I see there is a reference to your evidence, Questions 1378–79. What was that evidence ?—The question is in relation to this matron of the hospital ; was she an Englishwoman ? The answer is : "She said her mother was Portuguese, her father Scotch ; she was living in the immediate neighbourhood, and was connected with the hospital in some way. The girls said she examined them every other day. We went over to her home and interviewed her ; but this dhai so interfered with us that we did not get a great deal of information. She said she received 15 rupees a month.

3545. Mrs. Barrett ?—Mrs Barrett.

3546. As matron ?—As matron of the hospital.

3547. Well, now, is this the same lady referred to in what we call the White Book, line 571 to 573 ?—It is the same woman.

3548. And line 716 to 720. Now, how is she referred to there ?—First of all, line 571 to 573, page 12.

3549. This is the report of Major-General Graham : "Apparently the majority of these houses (in the chakla) belong to the matron of the cantonment hospital. This I have only just ascertained, and am issuing orders that she must either relinquish her post as matron or her connection with the houses." Now, does that refer to this Mrs. Barrett ?—I judge it does.

3550. The other reference is 716–720 (page 14) : "Mrs. Barrett is the name of the owner of most of the houses occupied by prostitutes." So that Mrs. Barrett was the paid matron of the hospital and she owned the chakla ?—She owned the chakla.

3551. (*Mr. Wilson.*) This is a statutory declaration made by Mr. E. Morgan, late head assistant of the Commissioner of the Lucknow Division, made the 22nd of June 1893, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Cooper, at Bombay :—

Copy of Declaration of Mr. E. Morgan.

I have since the year 1887 taken an interest in the subject of regulated prostitution in India. This subject was at that time brought before the District Conference at Lucknow of the church of which I am a member ; and it was often discussed by missionaries and others visiting Lucknow who were guests at my house. In December 1887 I accompanied Mr. Alfred J. Dyer, of London (now of Bombay), during part of his investigations in Lucknow into the working of the system of regulated vice ; and I from to time in the interval kept myself informed by personal observation of the working of the said system locally. On 3rd May 1893 I went to the Lucknow Sudder bazar (cantonment), between the hours of 4 and 5 p.m. I went to the barracks or serai provided for the residence of prostitutes kept for English soldiers. This is the place which was visited by Mr. Alfred S. Dyer in my company in December 1887. It is called by the natives "chakla waste Gora ke" (places of resort for soldiers, to prostitutes).

In this place I counted over fifty rooms. They are occupied by women and girls of different castes (no Europeans or Eurasians). I went up to the woman in No. 53, to the left as I entered the square. Her name was "Chidana." Of course she did not know my purpose in visiting the serai. She offered me a seat, but I at once, to avoid any advance, inquired of her whether the women were still examined. She replied, "Oh, yes ; once a week." In answer to further questions she said that all women who are visited by soldiers have to go through that ordeal ; that she and others had tickets, and they took these once a week with them to the Lock Hospital.

At this juncture three other women came up to the room No. 53, who said their names were, respectively, "Hafizan," "Jumun," and "Elahi Jan." I left, saying I would return on some future day. While this conversation was going on I could see that a soldier had come to one of the opposite rooms, No. 20.

The serai presented the same appearance that it had done in December 1887, and on several occasions when I had visited it for information between that date and the present occasion, 3rd May 1893.

From the serai, on 3rd May 1893, I went to the Lock Hospital, the same building that I visited with Mr. Alfred S. Dyer in December 1887. I found on 3rd May that there were seven women in the hospital under treatment for venereal complaints. The native doctor's name is "Moula Baksh." The female jamadarni (warder) is "Amir Jehan." I was told by Moula Baksh that the examinations are four times a month. The former native doctor, whose name is Moula Baksh also, has been pensioned, and lives in the Sadr bazar. I was informed that the visiting surgeon is Surgeon Lane, and I have ascertained that there is such a person.

The respectable natives speak disparagingly of this system of Government prostitution.

A lock hospital used to exist within the city of Lucknow, but the inhabitants petitioned against it to the Viceroy, saying that the system was disgraceful and open to abuse. The hospital was abolished in that place by order of the Government of India somewhere between 1868 and 1870. This is within my own recollection.

Having seen a printed statement implying that the Government had ceased to own the above-described barracks or serai for prostitutes at Lucknow, and were, therefore, not responsible for its continuance, I called, on 26th May 1893, upon a native banker in the Sadr bazar, Lucknow, named "Salig Ram." He told me he had bought the serai of the Government for 4,000 rupees, and that one of the conditions of the sale named by the cantonment authorities was that he must not turn the women out, but maintain the property for the purpose of their residence. He would be glad to sell the property to me or others, he said, to be used for legitimate business, but the military authorities would not permit it. He would be thankful to be rid of the bother and the shameful income.

Benares, Bareilly, and Cawnpore.

On 19th May 1893, between 7 and 8 a.m., I went to the Sadr bazar, Benares, accompanied by Mr. W. Orman.

In a street about two hundred yards from the European married soldiers' barracks we found the quarters of the registered prostitutes. About eight women were sitting in front of their dwellings. I found that one of these, by name "Bhuguanti," is the hospital dhai (nurse). I learned that she lives among these women, and that her duty is to see that any woman who gets diseased goes immediately to hospital. Bhuguanti receives a salary from Government. I saw the hospital and the native doctor in charge. His name is "Safdar Beg." He informed me that Surgeon-Captain Paterson was in superior charge, and that the women were examined once a week.

In conversation with a married sergeant of the West Yorkshire Regiment, in the course of my inquiries at Benares, he said that the system of regulated prostitution demoralised the men of the Army, while the natives generally viewed the whole thing as shameful ; but many soldiers were disgusted at this machine-like provision for their vice, and, refusing to consort with the registered women, went to a place called "Rajaka bazar," a mile away out of the cantonment.

I visited the Sadr bazar at Bareilly, on 29th May 1893. I was informed by two natives that the houses

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occupied by registered prostitutes are now owned by a clerk in the cantonment magistrate's office, whose name was given to me as Hyland ; and that his wife is employed in the hospital where these women are examined and treated. Mr. A. J. Hyland's house was pointed out to me, and I went to see him. He told me he was head writer in the cantonment magistrate's office ; and that it was correct that he had purchased the property where the registered prostitutes live. He also said that his wife is nurse in the hospital, and visits the women at their dwellings and sees that no diseased woman remains out of hospital. If any woman conceals disease and does not enter hospital she is liable, when found out, to be taken before the cantonment magistrate and punished.

I also visited the hospital where Mrs. Hyland is employed. The compounder informed me that the name of the native doctor is "Kurreem Buksh," and that he had been in charge for several years.

I have since seen Mr. Alfred S. Dyer at Bombay. On informing him of my visit to Bareilly, he turned to the note-book which he carried with him during his investigation at Bareilly in December 1887. I read therein that at that time Mr. Hyland stated to Mr. Dyer that Mrs. Hyland was in charge of the women at the Lock Hospital at Bareilly, and that he himself was cantonment magistrate's clerk. I also read therein that Mr. Dyer saw the native doctor, whose name was "Kurreem Buksh." It appears, therefore, that the same persons are in charge now as in December 1887.

I visited Cawnpore on 23rd May 1893. I went to Mirpur, the part of the Sadr bazar where the prostitutes resorted to by soldiers reside.

The name of the native nurse in charge of the women is "Rookwin." I asked some of them why they lived here, and did not go to any other part of the town. I was met with the reply that they were kept there for the soldiers, and were subjected to examination once a week. They said they had no alternative but to abide by the "hookum" of the "Sircar" (order of the Government). The system of regulated vice seemed to be no less in operation here than in the other places which I have described.

(signed) *E. Morgan*,
late Head Assistant to the Commissioner,
Lucknow Division (23 years).

Declared this 22nd day of June 1893,
Before me.

(signed) *C. W. Cooper*,
Chief Presidency Magistrate and
Justice of the Peace, Bombay.

SEAL.

3552. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) How does he identify Mrs Hyland with Mrs. Barrett ?

3553. (*Sir Donald Stewart.*) Are they the same person ?—Mrs. Barrett lives in the house that Mr. Hyland lives in ; she is called Mrs. Hyland ; they live in the same house ; the name Hyland is on the gate.

3554. (*Mr. Stansfeld.*) Is there no Mrs. Hyland ?—We did not ask.

3555. But I mean, unless Mrs. Hyland and Mrs. Barrett are the same person, did you ascertain whether there was any other lady better entitled to the name ?—We did not.

3556. (*Mr. Wilson.*) But you understood, or some persons told you, that she was sometimes called one and sometimes the other ?—We know that she is sometimes called one and sometimes the other name. We interviewed her personally ; but of course we would not ask such a question directly of her.

The Witness withdrew.

Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, recalled ; and further Examined.

Mr. D. Ibbetson.

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3557. (*Mr. Wilson.*) I want to ask you a few questions, Mr. Ibbetson, to clear up certain points. So far, I think, there is some evidence that the hospital staff at Meerut acted very much as mahaldarnis, and I refer you to your evidence, the evidence you collected, line 1537, where it says, the chaukidar of the hospital used to tell the women to go. At line 1538 it says the hospital assistant visited the absentees ?—Yes.

3558. At 1554 it says : "If new women come, the doctor knows, because we tell of them ; and the hospital assistant makes inquiries also" ?—Yes.

3559. At 1428 the doctor says the hospital establishment would report when new women came ?—Yes ; when new women came.

3560. My question is, whether that is not evidence that the hospital staff acted as mahaldarnis in getting the women to come ?—That would not be in any degree the business of a mahaldarni, I think ; but there is no doubt that the medical officer used his hospital staff to make inquiries about new comers, and about the reason why women absented themselves from examinations. Instead of reporting them at once to the magistrate without inquiry, he sent either his chaukidar or his matron, or his hospital assistant, to see what the matter was.

3561. That is to say, he did not deal with them merely as patients when they came to the hospital ?—No.

3562. But he employed those people, or they employed themselves to drum them up and to get them to come there ?—Yes, and to find out the cause of the absence.

3563. I want you just to look almost at the end of the report of your evidence, line 4002 ?—That is not my evidence ; that is the Report of the General.

3564. It is included in your statement ?—I wished to explain that before, but I was stopped ; it is printed with my evidence, but has nothing to do with the evidence or the Report. The reports of the seven cantonments were submitted to the Committee separately. These three, it was felt, had become useless because we had inquired into the state of matters in these three cantonments ; but the Government of India thought that it would not be wise not to send them, and so asked me whether there was any objection to printing them as a sort of Appendix to our Report, and I said, "Not the least." I looked through them to see if there was anything that might conflict with our Report. I found there was not, and I printed them at the end. They form no part of our Report in any sense of the word.

3565. You have just said you looked through them to see if there was anything that would conflict with your Report ?—If I had found there was anything in serious conflict, I should have asked that they be sent separately.

3566. They are sent with the Report ?—They are sent with the Report.

3567. I want to ask you a few questions to see whether they do conflict. If you look at line 3998 you will find that Major-General C. E. Nairne, C.B., commanding the Meerut district, says : "Regarding the actual facts at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Bushnell I cannot, therefore, speak of my own knowledge ; but perusal of all the instructions issued from time to time, and the well-known strictness of my predecessor, the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enable me to state positively, that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past" ?—Yes.

3568. Do you agree with that statement in view of

the evidence you have collected ?—I do not know any point in which the Act has been infringed at Meerut, even taking the rules under the Act as part of the Act.

3569. Now then, in the same way will you look at Major-General Low's Report, he being the general commanding the Oudh District. At line 4453 he says : "So far as I am aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out." You do not agree with that ?—Absolutely, I should say, except in so far as that voluntary examination has been held ever since 1888. In all other respects the system has been abolished entirely ; more completely than anywhere else, I should say ; and so far as the examination now is voluntary, there is not now a continuance of that old system, the old examination being compulsory.

3570. At line 4470 he says : "There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them." I want to ask you, was he playing on the word "regulation," nor did he really not know what was going on with the military police ?—I can only say I think it is almost certain that as a fact he did not know. I found that the cantonment magistrate and other officials that we spoke to did not know in the least that there was this action on the part of the military police, turning the natives out of Gora chaklas. If that is so, it is still more probable that the General himself would not know that.

3571. But in view of the evidence you have got from the women, at line 1770 : "If the soldiers do not pay we cannot do much ; but the military police sometimes make them pay. The men sometimes pay, and then take the money away again. The men do sometimes beat us when drunk, but very seldom. The guard takes them away." From the provost-sergeant, at line 2371 : "Up to 10 p.m. we never interfered with natives who had any sort of business there ; only with loafers. At line 2366 : "We used to go at 10 p.m. to clear it of men without a pass, and at 12 p.m. to turn out all British soldiers. Natives are not allowed in the chakla. If we found any male natives there by day or night we turned them out ; and if they offered any opposition we reported them to the cantonment police. There is no order to that effect ; but it is not right for natives to go where British soldiers go for their women." You say, of course, that that was wrong ?—No, I think he is right as to the regulation. There is no doubt as to the practice, that natives were turned out of all the chaklas ; but there was no regulation preventing the natives from visiting them ; in fact, there were men who did so.

3572. Will you look at line 4486, paragraph 9 : "No women are authorised to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now." That is Lucknow ?—Yes.

3573. You do not agree with him about that ?—Yes ; quite. This was written in 1893. Oh, yes, that is quite true.

3574. Do you agree with him, or disagree ?—I agree with him entirely.

3575. You know that Dr. Ranking says, at line 2282, that the matron and the dhai performed the operation : "The examination was made by me, in the presence of the hospital assistant and the dhai, the last inserting the speculum ?—Yes.

3576. And that Dr. Ranking did it up to last year ?—Ah, but that year was not 1893 ; last year was 1892. I am speaking of the time at which this was written ; and, moreover, paragraph 9 refers to the duties of the mahaldarni in the chakla.

3577. The duty of examining the women I am speaking about ?—I see you mean, as a fact, when this was written there was a woman who received pay as a hospital matron and used to take part in the examinations of women. That is so ; yes, sir.

3578. In two instances ?—No, in one instance. Amiran had been discharged long before that ; before April 1893.

3579. I seem to have omitted the reference there. I will not stop with it. There is a second case. I unfortunately have not got the figures ?—Amiran is described just below, line 2315 and 2310, but she was turned off in December 1891, and a compounder appointed in her place.

3580. I have missed putting in the reference. Well then, if you look at paragraph 14, line 4498, he says that women on the march are not allowed with the men ; you do not quite agree with that ?—I do not agree with that.

3581. At line 4503 you still think he is correct about the guard ?—I think he is correct about the guard.

3582. Line 4525, do you agree with him about that, that no medical examination would be required ?—Entirely ; unless she had left the cantonment because she had been reported as supposed to have been diseased, or as diseased and not remaining in hospital ; in that case a medical examination would be required.

3583. Will you look at line 1895 of the evidence, and you will see that Major Campbell says ; "I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the Sudder bazar as a prostitute whether she agreed to be examined."—Yes, and that he had discontinued of late. You will find that stated in his evidence and in the doctor's. That custom had been dropped. It had continued until recently, but it had been dropped at the time.

3584. You think he is speaking purely of what was in existence at that moment when you were going round ?—His report is dated before we were going round, I think ; and describes what was in existence on the date of his Report, I presume.

3585. I believe considerable changes took place a fortnight or three weeks before you went ; a lot of women had been turned out, after all the Indian newspapers had said you were coming ?—No, I do not think anybody had said we were coming. I did not know till June 2nd that I was going.

3586. But the newspapers all said somebody was coming ?—I do not remember that ; I presume the General's report describes the state of affairs on the 20th April 1893.

3587. Will you look at 2220 ?—This is said by Surgeon-Major Ranking. He says : "When a new prostitute came to the place she brought a petition with an endorsement from the cantonment magistrate asking for a report on her condition" ?—Yes ; he had been away from Lucknow for some years.

3588. Yes, certainly ?—Oh, yes, it used to be so, there is not the least doubt about that : we did not define the date exactly, but it was, I fancy, two or three months before we came, perhaps three or four months, but not more than that, I think Major Campbell told us that the practice was discontinued.

3589. Dr. Ranking was there when the American missionaries were there ?—He left the same month ; I think he was there when the ladies came.

3590. So that that was perfectly true when they were there ?—Yes, perfectly.

3591. Just to take up certain points, Mr. Ibbetson, if you will turn to your report at the beginning. I will ask you to look at page 3, line 92, it says : "All land included in the cantonment boundaries is the property of the Government" ?—Yes.

3592. I believe it is never sold ?—I believe never. Only building grants are made.

3593. So that when that land was granted to the prostitute Hira to build a chakla it was without payment ?—I should think so, like all other land.

3594. The point was discussed the other day, and General Roberts was under the impression that land was sometimes sold ?—He is much more likely to know than I am, of course.

3595. I took it that the word "granted" meant without payment ?—I understood it so, certainly ; but

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of course he is more likely to know than I am what the custom is.

3596. Turning over several pages I will ask you to look at page 11, line 538, I think in reference to that case of that girl whom the ladies proposed to get away from the chakla. You say this in the Report: "The fact that a police constable thought otherwise is merely another instance of the extraordinary persistence of established observances among natives?"—Yes.

3597. But you know it is stated in the ladies' evidence that the magistrate said that the police did not know the law had changed; it is not the policeman clinging to a custom, but the magistrate said "the police did not know that the law had changed; the policemen knew nothing about the matter." Major Campbell, in his statement to you, does not deny having said that?—I do not think we asked him about that.

3598. But he would know what had happened?—He had read the ladies' evidence, but I take that to mean nothing more than that they said "How is it that those policemen say so and so," and he would reply in an off-hand way, "Oh, they would know nothing about it."

3599. I understand that the ladies maintain that they gave a correct statement of what the magistrate said, and he said the police did not know?—Yes.

3600. He did not complain of them that they had forgotten or that they were exceeding their duty, but he declared as a fact that they did not know what the law was?—Well, I do not think we asked Major Campbell any question about that, but he had read the evidence, of course.

3601. Then it would stand, of course?—Yes.

3602. Then I will put this to you: if the police did not know the law and did not know of a change in the law, is it likely that any women would know of a change in the law?—The women would be less likely to know than the police. Certainly, if that is the point, the women did know, as we know from the ladies' evidence.

3603. Now I will ask you to look at page 14 of your Report, at line 697—the question about the women being known by the regiments?—Yes.

3604. You say there "This was a mere name signifying nothing"?—Yes.

3605. "Women living as they did in the Sudder bazar ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment"?—Yes.

3606. Will you look lower down at line 710, you repeat the statement to the same effect?—Yes.

3607. Well, now, I want you to look at line 1488 of your Report?—Yes.

3608. And you will find there "On three or four occasions since the weekly examinations were discontinued he found an outbreak of disease in a regiment (generally, if not always, the Artillery) and sent the matron to ask the women living in the bazar of that regiment to come to him?"—Yes.

3609. If you will also look at line 1246 of the Appendix you will find: "For November (1889) there was a falling off in the number on the register owing to the closing of the infantry chakla on the departure of the 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers for Burmah." Putting these two passages together does it not suggest that the names of the chaklas were something more than mere names, and were connected with these two regiments?—No, I think not, not with respect to the chaklas I mention in paragraph 35 of my Report. The point is that the chaklas to which you refer in the subsequent passages of my Report, and of the evidence, are chaklas in the regimental bazars. They no doubt contained women who practically confined themselves to the men of that regiment; but these three particular chaklas that I mention in paragraph 35 were chaklas in the Sudder bazar, or in what was practically a part of the Sudder bazar, that was the Lal Kurti, or Infantry bazar, at Meerut, and in two cases the women still retained the name of the Lancers' women, and their chakla was called the Lancers' chakla, because it was occupied by women who had been in the Lancers' bazar, and had been turned out; but directly they came into the Sudder bazar they ceased to have any special connection with the regiment.

3610. I ask you to look at line 1218 of the Report at page 23: "Those entries are nothing more or less than addresses"?—Yes.

3611. And notwithstanding in the two cases that I have mentioned, the women living in a chakla under a particular name were supposed to have in fact diseased the men of a particular regiment, you still think it has nothing to do with it; it is nothing more nor less than addresses?—Not at all, sir. In the case which you mentioned, in which the Artillery women were supposed to belong to that regiment, they did live in the bazar of that regiment, and they were confined to that regiment; but these cases which I mention in paragraph 35 were entirely different. I am only speaking of three individual chaklas in this particular paragraph. I am not speaking of chaklas generally: "Where, as in some cases the group of women who had occupied one of the regimental chaklas (or the greater number of them) moved with their mahaldarni into separate quarters in the Sudder bazar, they continued to be known as the women, and the building they occupied began to be called the chakla, of the regiment to which they had belonged. But this was a mere name signifying nothing. The women, living as they did in the Sudder bazar, ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment, which never had any concern whatever with the building which they occupied; at Meerut an enclosure like to but smaller than the Sudder chakla; at Lucknow a small row of ordinary houses open to the street. This accounts for the 'Lancers'' chaklas spoken of by Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell, as still existing at Meerut and Lucknow." And then I go on to speak of the Lal Kurti or British Infantry bazar at Meerut which lies "outside the regimental limits, and is in all respects but name, a portion of the Sudder bazar." I only mean that paragraph to refer to these three chaklas, and not at all to chaklas in general.

3612. In order to be quite clear, will you say exactly to what three chaklas you refer?—I refer to what the ladies call the Lancers' chakla at Meerut, and to what they call the Lancers' chakla at Lucknow, and to what the ladies call the Infantry chakla at Meerut, as they existed at the time of their visit, and to those three only.

3613. Is it not rather a pity you did not indicate this?—It did not strike me as open to misinterpretation; one does not know how one's English may be understood.

3614. Look at your marginal heading "Misconceptions regarding regimental chaklas?"—It would have been better to have said, certain regimental chaklas.

3615. It would have been better to have said three regimental chaklas. I think it makes a picture which you did not intend?—I did not in the least; if it were interpreted as referring to chaklas generally, it would be very misleading. There is no question that women residing in a regimental chakla would be practically confined to the men of the regiment in the bazar of which they lived.

3616. Take another subject, page 21, line 1088 of the Report, and likewise line 1100, which is just below?—Yes.

3617. You see that the mahldarnis had books ?—Yes.

3618. They are in the same handwriting as the hospital books ?—The entries were.

3619. Relating to the same persons ?—Yes.

3620. And initialled by the same surgeon ?—I believe so.

3621. Do you think they differ in any important respect from a certificate ?—Not in any respect I should think. In regard to the women living in the regimental chaklas, I should think it was a joint certificate to all women in that particular chakla.

3622. So that if tickets to particular women were abandoned, and these mahaldarnis' books were kept, it amounted practically to the same thing, except that it gave the mahaldarni a little more control over the women ?—Just the same with respect to the women regarding whom these books were maintained.

3623. It would also be true that any soldier knowing that any woman had been to examination on a given day, and finding her at large, would know practically that she was healthy ?—Yes, he would ; because if she did not stay in hospital she would be ordered out of the cantonment probably.

3624. Will you turn to page 35 of the Report, line 1892, this is a general question about what constitutes a voluntary examination or a compulsory examination ?—Yes.

3625. I want just to try to get exactly your view on the point ; I want to put this question to you : that supposing the caretaker of these offices in which we are at this moment, was required to attend at Westminster Abbey on Sundays under penalty of not being allowed to remain here, would his or her attendance at the Abbey be voluntary, or not ?—I should say it would be voluntary if he had the office of caretaker of another office close by at the same pay but not quite so conveniently situated at his disposal. Just that difference there would be in this case. All the penalty that the women incurred was transfer from one bazar to another not quite so convenient to them. It seems to me there is no compulsion there, but it is purely a question of what you mean by a word. I suppose no two men would agree.

3626. Now I get on to the summary of conclusions at page 42 ; I want to direct your attention again to the opening words of No. 1 and Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 33, 44, and 47 ?—Yes.

3627. Now, I want to ask you, do you not think the opening words of those paragraphs are calculated to convey to the ordinary reader, who has not much time, and who wants to see what the conclusions are, that they have a very much wider application than merely the three cantonments you visited ?—The whole of the conclusions, no doubt, would convey that impression, if you took them without reading the lines before them.

3628. And that if such words as these had been used " in each of the three cantonments," and " in no case in the three," and so forth, instead of saying " none," " no," it would have made that impossible ?—Yes, only that I should have had to do that probably in almost every one of my 48 headings.

3629. It only applies to those I have given you. I want to ask you whether you happen to have seen the " Times of India " of the 6th July 1893 ?—No, I never see the " Times of India " except by the merest chance ; that I am sure I have not.

3630. This is given : " The Report of the Committee " (that is your Committee) " on the Contagious Diseases question makes out a strong case for the Government of India. In nine cases out of ten the orders given by the Government of India have been scrupulously observed." And then it goes on to throw imputations on the ladies ?—That is purely imaginary.

3631. It has produced that effect ?—Our Report was not published ; it is a confidential document presented to the Government of India. We have none of us said anything to anybody, that is the pure imagination of a penny-a-liner.

3632. It refers to several of the points of your Report ?—That may be.

3633. Printers' boys and people of that sort may have got access to it ?—When they begin by saying that nine out of ten cantonments are to be reported upon, and mentions certain points in nine out of ten cantonments, it shows the whole thing is imaginary, because we only went to three.

3634. But it says that this Report, which is bound up in a Blue Book, and which is called a Blue Book, and which will be considered of greater authority than the military Reports at the end. The impression that is produced on a person who has read it is, I think, that it relates to the whole ?—I do not think even the proofs were passed on the 6th of July. Yes, I passed them on the 4th or the 5th, but they were only just passed.

3635. I only want you to see how liable it is to misconception ?—I do not say it is misconception ; I say it is imagination. I doubt if that man had ever seen the Report, or known anything about it.

3636. Will you look at your conclusion in clause 35, you state there : " The examination was made individually by the British medical officer " ?—Yes.

3637. You have already, I think, admitted one case, and I have said there was another which I could not give the reference for, and in which the actual examination was made by the dhai ?—Yes. Well, unless there was some sign of disease, in which case the officer, who stood where he could see what was going on, and if he saw the slightest suspicious appearance, or had any doubt on the subject, used then to go down and examine ; that is what we then understood.

3638. Still it is not strictly correct that it was made by him where in two cases out of the three it was made by the woman ?—I doubt the second case ; and in the one case I should say it was absolutely correct to say that the examination was made by the medical officer, although the actual insertion of the speculum might have been made by the dhai under his superintendence. (*Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn.*) If the medical officer was present and deputed the duty of examination to the other, and it was done in his presence ; it was certainly done by the medical officer if he was looking on.

3639. Now, will you look at the summary of conclusions, page 47, paragraph 41 ; if I have read the rules correctly this is not correct in two respects : " If a woman suffering from a contagious disease leave the hospital before being formally discharged." Now the words of the rule are " Leaves the hospital before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder." There is an important distinction, surely ?—Do you think so ; sufficiently important ?

3640. I will tell you what I think the distinction is, that if the woman was found to be incurable she would never be discharged. She has to be pronounced free from the disorder before she can go away at all ; is not that so ?—That is so. I merely took the words as they stood ; they seemed to me to be almost the same thing as the rules.

3641. I ask you upon these rules, is it not the case that a woman who is incurably diseased could not be legally discharged ?—She would have to leave can-

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tonments or stay in hospital always, one or the other; she could not get the certificate unless she was free from disease.

3642. Further on in the same paragraph it says that if she left the hospital she would be liable to the like penalties?—Yes.

3643. Now she is not liable to any penalties, I take it, provided she would go out of the cantonment?—She would be ordered either to return to hospital or to leave cantonments; and if she disobeyed and did neither she would be liable to be fined or imprisoned.

3644. Excuse me, if she leaves the hospital before she has been pronounced free from the disorder, she has to leave the cantonment?—Yes.

3645. This is the only thing that is ordered there and there?—Yes.

3646. And then if she commits a fresh offence by not leaving the cantonment she becomes liable to penalties?—Yes.

3647. But she does not make herself liable to these penalties by the mere act of leaving the hospital?—No, I think that is so.

The Witness withdrew.

Adjourned.

Dear Mr. Russell, Dunbar, Scotland, 12 August 1893.

WILL you oblige me by showing the enclosed note to the Members of your Committee, with my request that it may be annexed to the report which I understand will accompany the Despatch from the Government of India, explaining the action taken in that country to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons on the subject of the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in Military Stations.

Believe me,
Yours very truly,
ROBERTS.

To G. Russell, Esq., M.P.,
&c., &c., &c.,
India Office.

Dunbar, Scotland, 11 August 1893.

HAVING read the reports of Mr. Ibbetson's Committee, in regard to the working of the rules dealing with the abolition of Lock Hospitals, &c., in cantonments in India, and also the reports of the officers commanding the seven stations which the Committee did not visit, I frankly admit that the statements of the two American missionary ladies, who made a tour through Upper India in the cold weather of 1891–92, for the purpose of inquiring into the matter, are in the main correct.

I hoped and believed that the orders issued to give effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons had been everywhere obeyed. In some stations the rules have been strictly enforced, but in others it now turns out this has not been completely the case.

I deeply regret this, and I feel that an apology is due from me to the ladies concerned. This apology I offer unreservedly.

In doing so, I would remark that, I think, it would have been better if the missionary ladies had been commended to the care of the authorities in India. We could have assisted them to carry out the work on which they were engaged; omissions and shortcomings would have been remedied at the time; a great deal of unpleasantness would have been avoided; the ladies themselves would have found their task considerably lightened; and there would have been less chance of their drawing wrong deductions from some of the circumstances which came under their notice, as in sundry instances they would seem from Mr. Ibbetson's Committee Report to have done. This was owing, no doubt, to a want of knowledge of the language, and of the habits and customs of the people of India.

ROBERTS.

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Enclosure in above	-	-	-	-	Amended circular by Quartermaster-General	,,
Telegram	-	19 August 1893	Secretary of State for India	Viceroy	Government of India Despatch, No. 134 (Military) must be published	203
Ditto	-	23 August 1893	Viceroy	Secretary of State for India	Has no objection to publication of Despatch No. 134, provided subsequent correspondence is published.	,,

APPENDIX II.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 9 July 1887.

BISHOP of Lichfield calls attention in House of Lords to existence of official regulations for provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars, British and native. I apprehend the system is indefensible, and must be condemned. Meanwhile please prepare full report in your Military Department, and send home, with copies of all Orders and Regulations in force bearing on this subject, as distinct from the Indian Contagious Diseases Act, against which also very strong representations are being made throughout this country.

Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 75 Military, dated 29 March 1888.

My Lord,

I HAVE received and considered in Council your Lordship's Military Despatch, No. 17, dated 24th January 1888, replying to my telegram of the 9th July 1887, asking for a full report on the alleged existence of official regulations for the provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars, together with copies of all orders and regulations in force bearing on the subject.

Provision of prostitutes for regimental bazaars in Indian Cantonments.

2. Your Lordship now forwards copies of reports from the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and from the Quartermaster General in India, from which it appears that the system does not exist at all in the Bombay Presidency, and to a very limited extent in Madras. Major General Chapman's letter, though it does not expressly say so, leads to the inference that the system, though not regulated by specific General Orders, is recognised officially in the Bengal Army, and I understand that it has been made the subject of confidential instructions to commanding officers of divisions and districts. If this is so, I shall be glad to be furnished with copies of such instructions, and to receive, as soon as possible, the further communication promised in paragraph 2 of your Despatch, which will, I trust, report the steps taken by the Commander in Chief in India for limiting the action of the military authorities in all cantonments to what is really required to give effect to the provisions of the Cantonment Act in the matter.

3. Meanwhile, the matter is attracting attention in this country, and I attach copies of questions which have been put in the House of Commons on the subject, and the replies which have been given. In accordance with the promise made by Sir John Gorst on the 23rd February, I forwarded, for the careful attention of your Government, a letter by a Mr. A. Dyer, which has been published * and extensively circulated amongst Members of Parliament and others here, and which, if accurate in its main facts, leaves no doubt that the regimental bazaar system is in force in many of the military cantonments in the Bengal Presidency.

* In the "Sentinel," March 1888; six copies sent herewith.

4. I request your Lordship to favour me with a very early reply to this Despatch, and I trust that the further report will afford the fullest information obtainable as to the actual position of the regimental system, and the steps taken by your Government to stop such practices as those complained of in the letter of Mr. Dyer, if such are found by you to actually exist. In making this request, I need hardly say that I am fully satisfied that in any measures which the military authorities have thought it right to adopt, they have been actuated by the single desire to maintain the efficiency of the Army by the mitigation of the evils of prostitution.

5. I should also be glad to receive from you the official reports upon which your Government acted when, in Februrary 1887, they ordered the re-opening of certain Lock hospitals which had been experimentally closed in January 1885 (*see* paragraph 3 of Military Despatch from your Government, No. 41, dated 1st March 1887).

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cross.*

Enclosures.

House of Commons, 23 February 1888.

Mr. Williamson. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he has knowledge of the scandal of licensing of prostitutes in military stations in India by the public and military authorities.

Whether his attention has been called to the last official report, wherein it is stated with satisfaction, with respect to Sitapur, "that the houses of these registered women are well kept."

Whether he is aware that at Sitapur there is one licensed harlot to every 11 soldiers, and that on a recent march to Lucknow a number of these women were sent by the commanding officer as an escort to the men *en route* to the exercise camp there, who pitched their tents near to those of the English soldiers night after night.

Whether the tents of these women are placed in prominent positions, and that soldiers are put over them on patrol duty.

Whether the Chaplains of Scotch regiments, such as the Seaforth Highlanders, have to endure the humiliation of being moved with the regiments which are accompanied by these licensed harlots.

And whether he will promise to take immediate steps with the view of cancelling this licensing of immorality in India.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

In July 1887 the Secretary of State, in accordance with a promise made to the Bishop of Lichfield in another place, addressed a Despatch to the Government of India on this subject. Communications have since passed which are not yet complete.

The official information, however, which is so far in the possession of the Secretary is at variance with the statements upon which the question appears to be founded. These statements are contained in a report which has been published and circulated in this country, dated Umballa, 14 January 1889, and signed Alfred S. Dyer. The Secretary of State will send this document to the Government of India, and request a detailed report on the various allegations therein contained. If anything like the practices alleged by Mr. Dyer prevails in India, measures will be taken to secure that any such practices shall be stopped forthwith.

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28 February 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is the case that in the cantonment of Benares a number of prostitutes were told off by the Government authorities to accompany the troops to the musketry camp during the musketry practice of 1886.

And, whether such an arrangement is common in India.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

I already stated last week that the Secretary of State has no information which corroborates such statements as that implied in the question, but that he was in communication with the Government of India on the subject.

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1 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is the case that in the cantonment of Muttra the medical officer, under the Contagious Diseases Acts, reports complaining that the regimental matron lacks energy, and does not take trouble to attract good-looking women," and suggests that "she should be got rid of, and a more suitable woman appointed."

Whether he further reports that, "if, as a precaution against venereal diseases, women are necessary to be entertained, steps should be taken to ensure that attractive women are kept."

And, whether similar recommendations have been made by the medical officers of any other cantonments.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

I can only refer the honourable Member to the answer which I gave to him on Tuesday, when I informed him that I had "already stated, last week, that the Secretary of State has no information which corroborates such statements as that implied in the question, but that he was in communication with the Government of India on the subject."

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2 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware of any official Report entitled "Thirteenth Annual Report of the working of the Lock Hospitals of the North Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31 December 1886," signed by "J. Richardson, Surgeon Major, Officiating Sanitary Commissioner for the North-West Provinces and Oudh"?

Whether there is a copy of that Report in the possession of the India Office?

Whether he is aware that the Report referred to states, with respect to venereal diseases among the troops, that "The present ratio is still higher than the mean of the previous five years, and also than the mean of five years prior to the opening of the Lock hospitals."

Whether he is aware that, in the Report referred to, the medical officer for the cantonment of Bareilly, in order to meet the increase of venereal diseases which has taken place under the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts system, states that, "It is proposed to endeavour to induce a greater number of prostitutes to reside in cantonments, by making their residence there more attractive," and continues, "Assistance would be given from cantonment funds, which are in a flourishing condition, to enable women to furnish their houses so as to make them convenient both for themselves and for their visitors."

And, whether he is aware that there are in the Report other similar recommendations?

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

No copy of the Report referred to has been yet received at the India Office.

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6 March 1888.

Mr. James Stuart. To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the "Twelfth Annual Report of the working of the Lock Hospitals of the North Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1885 " is in the India Office ; and, if so, at what date it was received there.

REPLY by Sir J. Gorst.

The Report referred to was never sent home. In a Despatch, dated 11th August 1887, the attention of the Government of India was called to the want of regularity in the transmission of provincial reports on Lock hospitals, and, in consequence, that Government issued circular instructions to local Governments and administrations, dated 29th September 1887, and for their regular transmission in future.

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8 March 1888.

In reply to Mr. Stuart, Sir J. Gorst said :—As questions on this subject are becoming frequent I trust the House will allow me to make such a statement as will, I hope, obviate the necessity for more.

A letter from Umballa, which contains statements shocking to the moral and religious sentiments of many persons in this country, has been extensively circulated, and it is upon this letter that the questions seemed in the first instance to be founded.

I stated at the outset that the official information in the possession of the Secretary of State was at variance with this letter. Similar charges were made in 1873, and were officially denied by the Government of India. But I promised that the letter should be sent out to the Government of India, and that they should be requested to submit a detailed report on the various allegations therein contained, and that, if anything like the practices alleged in the letter prevailed in India, measures would be taken to secure that any such practices should be stopped forthwith.

As to the Acts for the repression of disease which are in force in various parts of India, the attention of the Government of India has been called to the strong representations made in this country against the maintenance of such Acts, and a full report upon the entire subject has been asked for, and is expected shortly to arrive. But the Secretary of State has no power to withdraw this matter from the cognizance of the Legislative Council of the Governor General and the Legislatures of Madras and Bombay, to which the duty of making laws for India has been delegated by Parliament ; nor can he sanction any statement being made by me in the House of Commons which would prejudge that full consideration of the whole subject by the Secretary of State in Council which will take place as soon as the report referred to arrives.

Of the reports mentioned in the question, all are in the India Office except No. 1, and, as I informed the honourable Member on Tuesday, No. 6.

For the reasons already stated, the Secretary of State declines to express any opinion at present upon the conclusions drawn by the honourable Member in the second paragraph of the question.

The cantonment referred to in the third paragraph is in the North-West Provinces, and I have already twice stated that the reports from this district have not been received.

The Secretary of State does not consider it necessary to ask for further district reports till the full report now expected has been received.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 4 May 1888.

ADVANCE COPY, my Military Despatch 75, dated 29 March 1888, paragraph 2. When may I expect copies of confidential instructions and report of steps taken by the Commander in Chief. Quartermaster General's Memorandum of 17 June 1886 has been published in newspapers here. Is it authentic ? How has it obtained publicity ? Send telegram for answer in Parliament.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 7 May 1888.

MY Military Despatch of 29 March 1888. Regimental bazaars. Can I state that the system of provision of prostitutes in regimental bazaars therein referred to, if it exists, has, as directed, been totally prohibited. If not, please order at once.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 8 May 1888.

YOUR telegrams received. As document quoted is authentic, perfectly inconsistent with report of Quartermaster-General, 2nd August 1887, and strict inquiry necessary. Utterly indefensible.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 15 May 1888.

YOUR Military Despatch, 27 March. Last night House of Commons informed regimental system stopped. Contagious Diseases Act suspended, and while Cantonment Act maintained, regulations now under revision by Government of India. I wish you to await receipt of Despatch by next mail, 18th May, before issuing these revised regulations.

Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 123 (Military), dated 17 May 1888.

My Lord,

I HAVE received and considered in Council your Lordship's Despatch in the Home Department, No. 6, dated 27th March 1888, on the question of the operation of the (India) Contagious Diseases Act, and the cognate subject of the rules passed under the provisions of the Cantonment Acts of 1880, for inspecting and controlling brothels, and preventing the spread of venereal disease.

Operation of the Contagious Diseases Act, 1868, and of the Cantonment Acts of 1880.

2. I am glad to find that your Lordship agrees with me in thinking that these two subjects should be separately considered. With regard to the first, I observe that the Contagious Diseases Act was, at the time of your writing, in operation only in the towns of Madras and Bombay, and in the town of Bassein, in Lower Burmah, in which latter place it has been applied at the special request of the Municipal Committee.

3. Notwithstanding the reasons for thinking that the enforcement of the Act has not been unproductive of good from a sanitary point of view, your Government have come to the conclusion, on other grounds, that it is no longer desirable to maintain the Act even in its present limited area, and not being now prepared to propose a more extended application of the law, you have decided therefore to suspend its operation in the localities above mentioned.

4. This is a matter which is by law within the discretion of the Government of India, and I assent to the course you have taken, but as it appears from your Despatch under reply that you were of opinion that the operation of the Act had, on the whole, been beneficial in those places in which it had been in force, I request that the effect of the suspension of the Act may be carefully watched, and that you will from time to time communicate the result for my information.

5. With respect, however, to the second point for consideration, that is to say, the operation of Section 27, Clauses 7 and 31, of the Cantonment Act, No. III. of 1880, the matter stands on a different footing, and is more strictly limited in its application.

6. I am aware that the subject has long been one of anxious consideration in India from the time when the measure was first brought into operation by the Government of the late Lord Lawrence until the present date, and that the protection of the health and efficiency of the British garrison as a paramount duty of the ruling power has been kept steadily in view. The maintenance generally of the cantonments in a proper sanitary condition, the prevention and cure of ordinary disease (mentioned in the 6th section of the 7th clause of the Act), and the preventing the spread of venereal disease (mentioned in the 7th section) are equally matters of the highest importance; and all infectious disease ought to be dealt with as a question of police. No examination should be imposed upon women compulsorily, but, on the other hand, no person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed in the cantonment except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all.

7. The result of the latest inquiries which you have instituted into the operation of these rules, and the experiment tried in 1885–86 of suspending their operation and closing the Lock hospitals in 15 of our larger cantonments, have shown the necessity for some regulations for the repression of prostitution and the prevention of venereal disease within cantonments. The duty is therefore imposed upon the Government of endeavouring to give effect to the existing law by rules framed on the principles I have above indicated. The rules which have been framed under Clauses 7–31 of Section 27 of Act III. of 1880, appear to me to require careful revision; and in such revision the principle should be steadily borne in mind that the efforts to control prostitution, and to mitigate its attendant evils, should not be developed into anything that can assume the appearance of an encouragement of vice by the Government and its officers. There should be no regulations which can be justly construed into a legalisation of prostitution.

8. I desire, however, to express my hope that the operation of the regulations will be confined within the smallest possible area round cantonments, and that it may be found practicable to restrict the exercise of the authority given in Section 31 of the Act of 1880 within the narrowest limits, especially in the neighbourhood of towns.

9. Since I received your last Despatch a paper has been placed in my hands, purporting to be a copy of a circular Memorandum issued from Army Head Quarters in India, and I learn from your telegram of the 8th instant that such circular is authentic. I have no reason to doubt that the copy placed in my hands is correct; and, although it has already been withdrawn, I feel bound to express my deep regret, in which I know your Excellency shares, that any such document should ever have been issued, nor can I in any way reconcile its contents with the report made to you in Quartermaster General's letter, No. 3713 B., of 2nd August 1887, and contained in the enclosures to your Despatch of the 24th January 1888.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cross.*

Despatch from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 136 (Military), dated 14 June 1888.

My Lord,

I FORWARD herewith, for the information of your Lordship in Council, the accompanying copy of a Resolution which was passed by the House of Commons on Tuesday, the 5th June. It will, of course, receive at your hands that careful consideration which a Resolution of the House of Commons deserves, and I request that its terms may be communicated to the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cross.*

Enclosure.

House of Commons, 5 June 1888.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 193 (Military), dated 15 October 1888.—(Received 5 November 1888.)

My Lord,

IN reply to your Military Despatch No. 136, dated 14th June last, we have the honour to inform your Lordship of the action taken by us in conformity with the instructions conveyed in your communications marginally noted, on the subject of the regulations under the Cantonment Act, aad in pursuance of the Resolution of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888.* The steps taken to repeal the Contagious Diseases Act (XIV of 1868) and local Acts subsidiary thereto, are reported in our Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), of 16th October 1888.

Telegram, dated 9th July 1887.
Despatch No. 75, dated 29th March 1888.
Telegram, dated 4th May 1888.
" " 7th May 1888.
" " 8th May 1888.
" " 15th May 1888.
Despatch No. 123, dated 17th May 1888.

* Received under cover of Despatch No. 136, dated 14th June 1888.

2. In our Military Despatch No. 81, dated 18th May 1888, we informed your Lordship that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that we had directed the cancelment of all circulars relating to this subject. Reports have been made by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within these limits has been abolished, and that all Circulars relating thereto have been cancelled.

3. We explained to your Lordship in our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July, that we proposed to abandon the power contained in the provisions of Section 27(7) of the Cantonments Act (III of 1880), and in the corresponding Acts in Madras and Bombay, which authorised the Local Governments to make rules to provide for "inspecting and controlling brothels, and preventing the spread of venereal disease." And we stated that we proposed to deal with these matters under a general power to make rules for the exclusion from cantonments of persons whom it is inexpedient to permit to remain in them, and for the treatment of persons suffering or suspected to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder. Accordingly upon receipt of the sanction given in your Lordship's telegram, dated 19th September 1888, we introduced, on the 12th instant, the new Cantonment Bill, in which provision has been taken to such general power.

4. In paragraph 7 of our despatch No. 81, dated 18th May 1888, we informed your Lordship of our intention to revise the regulations framed under the Cantonment Act. In furtherance thereof we directed the assembly of a Committee to revise those portions of the Cantonment Rules which related to Lock-Hospitals and prostitutes, and the regulations framed by the Committee are now under our consideration.

5. In obedience to your Lordship's Military Despatch under reply, we forwarded, on 26th July, copies of the Resolution of the House of Commons to the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Governments of Madras and Bombay, and to all Local Governments and Administrations, with instructions that, pending the issue of new regulations, the existing rules should be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution. On the 18th August the Bombay Government replied that these instructions had been carried out. On the 20th the Quarter-Master-General in India forwarded a copy of a confidential Circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts, directing that, pending the issue of revised rules, no registry of prostitutes was to be kept, no tickets were to be issued, nor compulsory examinations held.

It will be seen from the telegram from the Madras Government, dated 31st August 1888, that the instructions were carried out in all commands in that Presidency, except the Bangalore Division, in which the compulsory examination of women had been stopped, but the registration and granting of licences continued under the control of the Civil power; it was at the same time stated that the Resident had been requested by the Commander-in-Chief, Madras Army, to issue the necessary orders on the matter.

The attention of the Foreign Department was drawn to the fact in our Military Department Memorandum No. 3704–D, dated 4th September 1888; and we now submit copy of a telegram, dated 7th September, from the Resident at Mysore, showing that the necessary instructions have issued.

6. The Government of Bombay, on the 21st August, having telegraphed that they proposed to discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals, we informed them on the 29th that their suggestion was approved; and the Quartermaster-General having already given effect to this proposal in his confidential Circular above quoted, which states that the Cantonment Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution, orders to this effect were also conveyed to the Government of Madras, in Military Department telegram dated 28th August; and we were informed on the 31st that the instructions had been communicated to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the "Indian Contagious Diseases Act" and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camps or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licences to practise prostitution, have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be be worked as voluntary institutions.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Dufferin.*
F. S. Roberts.
G. Chesney.
A. R. Scoble.
C. U. Aitchison.
C. A. Elliott.
J. Westland.

No. 3006–E. Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, the 26th July 1888.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *E. H. H. Collen*, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India.

In continuation of Military Department Letter No. 2315–D, dated 14th June 1888, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to request that you will move His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to draw the attention of Commanding Officers of cantonments to the fact that it is the intention of the Government of India to reconsider the rules framed under the Cantonment Acts.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules, the Government of India desire that, in view of the recent resolution of the House of Commons on the subject [copy attached], the existing rules should be so worked that there shall be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licences to practise prostitution.

Copy forwarded to—

The Secretary to the Government of {Madras / Bombay} Military Department, for the information of His Excellency the Governor in Council.
The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.
The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.
The Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.
The Home Department.
The Chief Commissioner, Burma.
The Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.
The Chief Commissioner, Assam.
The Chief Commissioner, Mysore.
The Resident at Hyderabad.
The Agent, Governor General, Central India.
The Agent, Governor General, Rajputana.
The Foreign Department.

House of Commons, 5 June 1888.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India. is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises or permits snch measures ought to be repealed.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary, Government of Madras, Bombay, dated 26 July 1888 (No. 3007–D).

Following letter No. 3006–D, dated 26th July, has been issued to Quartermaster-General in India.

The Governor General in Council desires that similar instructions may be issued by the Governments of Madras and Bombay.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of Bombay, Poona, to Secretary to Government of India, Military Department—(No. 68–M., dated Poona, 18 August 1888).

Your telegram No. 3358–D. Instructions contained in letter and telegram therein quoted have been carried out.

No. 12, Cantonment Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, 6 August 1888.

Circular Memorandum from Major-General *E. F. Chapman*, C.B., R.A. Quartermaster-General, in India, to General Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts.

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital rules, framed under Clause 7, Section XIX. of Act XXII. of 1864, and continued under Section 2 of Act III. of 1880.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is, in fact, to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Military Department, Poona, to the Secretary to Government of India, Military Department—(No. 69–M. dated 21 August 1888).

YOUR letter No. 3006–D. of 26th ultimo. This Government proposes to discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals. Does Government of India approve ?

Telegram from Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department, Ootacamund, to Secretary to Government, Military Department, Simla—(dated 28 August 1888).

YOUR No. 3358–D., 16th August. Immediately on receipt of letter No. 1921–D., Army requested to carry out instructions contained in paragraph 3 thereof and to cancel Quartermaster General's circulars. Similarly, directions were given on receipt of 3007–D. Army now reports circulars cancelled by notification to all commands, and copies 3007-D. communicated to General Officers commanding Divisions for guidance. Reports of action taken by them are shortly expected, on receipt of which further communication will be made. Please see my 5730, despatched 22nd August.

Telegraph from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department—(No. 3608–D., Sanitary, dated Simla, 28 August 1888).

YOUR telegram 28th. It is to be clearly understood that the existing rules are now so worked that there is no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licences to practise prostitution in the cantonments of the Madras Army. Also please discontinue compulsory detention of women under treatment in Lock Hospitals.

Telegram from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of Bombay, Military Department—(No. 3611–D., dated 29 August 1888).

YOUR's 21st. Government India approve discontinuance compulsory detention women under treatment in Lock Hospitals.

From Secretary to Government of Madras, Military Department, Ootacamund, to Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, Simla—(No. 5927, dated 31 August 1888).

YOUR 3608–D., dated 28th August. Compulsory examination and registration of prostitutes and the grant of licences to them have been discontinued in all commands of this presidency except Bangalore division, in which compulsory examination of women has been stopped, but registration and the grant of licences continue under control of Civil power. Resident has been requested by Army to issue the necessary orders in regard to these points. General Officers commanding divisions and districts have been informed that, pending issue of final orders by Government India on the subject, Cantonment Lock Hospitals are to be worked as purely voluntary institutions.

Memo. from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department—(No. 3704–D, "Sanitary" Lock Hospitals, dated Simla, 4 September 1888).

IN continuation of Military Department No. 3006–D., dated the 26th July 1888, the undersigned is directed to inform the Foreign Department that, from a telegram received from the Government of Madras, it appears that the registration of prostitutes and the granting of licences is still being continued at Bangalore, and to request that early communication be made by wire to the Resident at Mysore in view to ascertain if these practices have been stopped.

2. The undersigned is also to ask that it may be ascertained by telegraph, for the information of the Military Department, exactly what action has been taken in the cantonments in the administrations under the Foreign Department, on Military Department 3006–D, dated the 26th July 1888, in respect to the orders contained therein.

3. The Military Department would be glad if, in making the enquiry, the Foreign Department would be so good as to inform the various administrations that the Lock Hospitals are to be worked as purely voluntary institutions, and that compulsory detention of women is to cease.

Telegram from the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, Abu, to Foreign Secretary Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

No. 3604–G. Your telegram No. 3603–I, dated 6th instant. Copy of the letter referred to was sent to Commissioner, Ajmere, and Commandants local corps for information. There are no Lock Hospitals where the local corps are stationed.

Telegram from Resident in Mysore, Bangalore, to Foreign Secretary, Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

No. 3041. Your telegram No. 3603. Instructions have been issued to police to discontinue registration of prostitutes and grant to them of licenses to practise their trade.

Telegram from First Assistant Agent to the Governor General in Central India, Indore, to Foreign Secretary Simla—(dated 7 September 1888).

200 G–473. Your 3603–I. Only two spare copies of Military Department No. 3006–D, dated 26th July 1888, regarding working of Cantonment Acts and prostitution, were received—one sent to Cantonment Magistrate, Sipri, other Nowgong, for information and guidance on 27th August. Your present instructions regarding working of Lock Hospitals will be communicated to all Cantonment Magistrates.

No. 3669–I.

A copy of the foregoing telegrams is forwarded to Military Department, for information, with reference to that Department's Office Memorandum No. 3704–D, dated the 4th September 1888.

2. The reply from Hyderabad will be communicated when received.

By order,

(signed) *G. R. Irwin*,
Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Department; Simla,
the 12th September 1888.

Telegram from Resident, Hyderabad, Bolarum, to Foreign Secretary, Simla—(dated 20th September 1888).

No. 46–B. Your telegram No. 3603, dated 6th instant. Compulsory examination, registration and licensing prostitutes discontinued immediately receipt Military Department No. 3006, dated 26th July. Letter follows.

No. 3798–I.

A copy of the foregoing telegram is fowarded to the Military Department, in continuation of the Foreign Department's endorsement No. 3699–I, dated the 12th September 1888.

By order, &c.,

(signed) *G. R. Irwin*,
Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Foreign Department; Simla,
the 22nd September 1888.

From A. P. Howell, Esq., Officiating Resident, Hyderabad, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Simla—(No. 159, dated Hyderabad Residency, 21st September 1888).

In continuation of my telegram No. 46–B, dated 20th instant, I have the honour to submit, for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter No. 419–C–C, dated 15th instant, and of its enclosure, received from the Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad, reporting the action taken by him on receipt of the orders of the Government of India, relative to the compulsory examination, registration and licensing of women as prostitutes.

From Captain A. M. Muir, Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad, to the First Assistant Resident, Hyderabad—(No. 419–C–C, dated Secunderabad, 15th September 1888).

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 4078 of the 13th instant, with a copy of a telegram from the Government of India, on the subject of the Lock Hospital at Secunderabad, and inquiring what action has been taken with reference to your office endorsement No. 3718 of the 21st ultimo.

In reply I have the honour to report that a copy of the endorsement and of the papers therewith forwarded was at once sent to the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital with a request that immediate action might be taken to carry out the orders of Government, and that thereupon all compulsory examination of women, registration of women, and granting of licenses to practise prostitution were put a stop to. The women under treatment in hospital were at the same time informed that they were at liberty to leave the Lock Hospital whenever they wished.

I may mention, for the Resident's information, that notwithstanding these measures, 50 prostitutes then under treatment broke out of the Lock Hospital on the night of the 4th instant.

The Medical Officer's report is submitted.

From the Officer in Medical Charge, Lock Hospital, Secunderabad, to the Cantonment Magistrate, Secunderabad—(No. 95, dated Secunderabad, 5 September 1888).

I have the honour to report that last night (Tuesday, the 4th instant) 50 out of the 52 patients of this hospital absconded by picking the lock of the new back door, taking with them the Government Sadees.

2. The orders of Government on the subject of the altered Lock Hospital system were duly read to the women and clearly explained to them, and their continuance at the hospital was by their own free will and consent.

3. On the date on which the order referred to was received and promulgated, there were 84 diseased cases on the rolls, of these 32 were discharged cured up to date. The others were still suffering from ulcer vaginæ, and gonorrhœa. Yesterday only five were found fit to be discharged, and were accordingly sent away.

4. Up to the last moment the women showed no signs of discontent. They were often told that their stay in hospital was not compulsory. They were allowed greater freedom than under the old regime, and relations were permitted to bring them coffee, betel, &c., at stated hours.

5. The only reason that occurs to me to account for their departure is that they were in expectation of being sent off in large batches, and that the discharge of a few only at a time must have made them impatient of treatment; and as they were frequently told that there was no restraint on them they appear to have concerted a combined leaving, in order to at once regain the free exercise of their old roving and intemperate habits.

No. 3925–I.

A copy of the foregoing letter, with its enclosure, is forwarded to the Military Department for information in continuation of the Foreign Department endorsement, No. 3798-I., dated the 22nd September 1888.

By order, &c.

Foreign Department;
Simla, 3 October 1888.

(signed) *G. R. Irwin*,
Junior Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 17 (Sanitary) dated 16 October 1888.
(Received 5 November 1888.)

My Lord,

We have the honour, in reply to your Lordship's Military Despatch, No. 136, dated 14th June last, forwarding a copy of a Resolution passed by the House of Commons on 5th idem, to inform your Lordship of the action we have after careful consideration taken with a view to carry into effect the wishes of the House as expressed in the Resolution.

2. A copy of the Despatch under reply was forwarded as desired to the Governments of Madras and Bombay on 19th July, with a request that immediate steps should be taken to repeal any local Acts which might exist subsidiary to the Contagious Diseases Act (XIV. of 1868).

3. On 25th July a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council of the Governor General repealing Act XIV. of 1868 (Indian Contagious Diseases Act), Act XXVI. of 1868 (Municipal Lock Hospitals Act), and the words "the application of the Indian Contagious Diseases Act" in Section 113 of Act IV. of 1884 (Madras District Municipalities Act). The Bill was passed at the meeting of the Council on 5th ultimo.

4. The Madras Government reported on 3rd August that there were no local Acts subsidiary to Act XIV. of 1868, and that all local rules and regulations framed under that Act had been rescinded by its orders of 5th June. The Bombay Government made a telegraphic report that there was no local law subsidiary to Act XIV. of 1868. The letter from the Goverment of Bombay of 25th July, a copy of which is enclosed, shows the action which has been taken in the town of Bombay. We have expressed our approval of the action taken by the Local Government, but suggested to it the desirability of changing the designation of the hospital, on the ground that the term "Lock Hospital" is not strictly applicable to an institution of a voluntary character.

5. Your Lordship will be separately addressed in our Military Department as to the measures taken to alter the regulations on the subject in cantonments.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Dufferin.*
F. S. Roberts.
G. Chesney.
A. R. Scoble.
C. U. Aitchison.
C A. Elliott.
J. Westland.

ENCLOSURE.

Letter from Government of Bombay, No. 2597, dated 25 July 1888.

From J. Nugent, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, General Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter No. 160, dated the 19th May last, requesting that the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act XIV. of 1868 may be suspended in the town of Bombay and desiring that the results of the measure may be carefully watched, and that the existing Lock Hospital may be replaced by a specially organised system of dispensary and hospital relief strictly voluntary in its application for the use of all classes of patients suffering from venereal diseases.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that the operation of the Act has been suspended in the town of Bombay from the 1st instant; but in order to meet the wishes of the Government of India His Excellency the Governor in Council has decided to maintain the present Lock Hospital and to establish a new dispensary in the centre of the locality where public prostitutes most abound, as institutions where all classes of patients suffering from venereal diseases may be treated or examined medically if they so desire. In order to secure a careful watch being kept on the results of the new system, the Surgeon General with the Government of Bombay has been directed to submit monthly a report of the working of the Lock Hospital and dispensary, together with such statistics and information as he may be able to obtain as to the effects in respect of the prevalence of venereal disease in the city of Bombay amongst soldiers, sailors, and the general population consequent on the suspension of the operation of the Contagious Diseases Act.

Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Governor General of India in Council, No. 80 (Statistics and Commerce), dated 22 November 1888.

My Lord Marquis,

I HAVE received your Despatch, No. 17 (Home, Sanitary), of 16th October 1888, reporting the steps that have been taken to give effect to the recent Resolution of the House of Commons regarding the repeal of your Contagious Diseases Act (XIV. of 1868), and of all laws and regulations subsidiary thereto. The action taken by your Government appears to meet the requirements of the case.

Repeal of Contagious Diseases Act.

2. I notice that the Government of Bombay propose, by the periodical submission to them of reports and statistics, to keep a careful watch on the results of the working of the new system. It will be desirable that similar information should be acquired in all other parts of India also.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cross.*

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 113 (Military), dated 14 June 1889. (Received 20 July 1889.)

My Lord,

IN our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we forwarded the draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to cantonments, and we stated that the Bill was the outcome of the discussion which had taken place for many years past on the subject of the administration of Indian cantonments, especially as regards the occupancy of land and the difficulty which military officers experience in obtaining houses near their lines, or other places of duty, or even within the limits of cantonments.

2. Your Lordship, in your Despatch No. 230, dated 11th October 1888, sanctioned the introduction of the Bill, which was accordingly brought before the Legislative Council at the meeting of the 12th October 1888, and was referred to a Select Committee on the 21st December 1888.

3. The consideration of the Bill by the Select Committee has, however, been retarded from delay in the receipt of replies to references made, in the ordinary course, to the various local Governments and Administrations, with regard to its provisions. Moreover a great many representations have been received from house-proprietors and others, whose interests are affected by Chapter V. of the Bill, which relates to the condition on which lands and houses may be held in cantonments. Having regard to the magnitude of the interests involved, we are of opinion that it would not be desirable to proceed with this part of the Bill at all events until the Council reassembles in Calcutta.

4. In the meantime, much inconvenience has arisen from the want of legislative authority to deal with other matters of discipline, to which the Bill relates, and we accordingly propose to proceed at once with the remainder of the Bill, leaving Chapter V. to be taken up as a separate measure on the return of the Government to Calcutta.

5. In paragraph 4 of our Military Despatch No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we informed your Lordship that it was our intention to take power to make rules (among other matters) for the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering, or believed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious illness. By these rules, prepared in accordance with the principles laid down in your Lordship's Despatch, No. 123, dated 17th May 1888, it is possible that we may be able to check, to some extent, the spread of venereal disease, which is reported to be greatly on the increase since the suspension of the regulations heretofore enforced under the present Cantonment Act, among our troops. This spread of venereal disease will form the subject of a separate communication hereafter. We now forward a copy of the rules which we propose to issue on

the subject as soon as the Cantonment Bill is passed, and we request that your Lordship will communicate to us, by telegram, your sanction to the immediate passing of the Bill (omitting Chapter V.), and to the promulgation of the rules, with any minor alterations which further consideration may suggest.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Lansdowne.*
F. S. Roberts.
G. Chesney.
A. R. Scoble.
C. A. Elliott
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.

Draft of Rules to be issued under Section 29, Clause (24), and Section 30, Sub-section (4), of the Revised Cantonment Act.

"Under Section 29, Clause (24), and Section 30, Sub-section (4), of the Cantonments Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules, namely :—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if he is unable to support himself, and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence-allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. In either of the following cases, namely :—

   (*a*) If a person suffering from an infectious or contagious disorder refuses to go to a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from the disorder or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before the medical officer in charge thereof has pronounced him to have recovered from the disorder,

   (*b*) If a person suspected to be suffering from such a disorder refuses to afford to the medical officer in charge of the hospital all facilities necessary for enabling him to determine whether such person is suffering from the disorder,

the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of the medical officer, cause the person to be removed from the cantonment and prohibit him from re-entering it without the written permission of the medical officer for the time being in charge of the hospital.

5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from re-entering a cantonment after removal therefrom, re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, he shall be punished with fine which may extend to fifty rupees, and with a further fine which may extend to five rupees for every day after the first during which, after so re-entering the cantonment, he remains therein."

[*N.B.*—The following rule should be made generally applicable to all rules under Section 29 :—

"In these rules, unless there is something repugnant in the subject or context, words importing the masculine gender shall be taken to include females."]

Telegram from Viceroy, dated 12 September 1889.

Our Military Despatch, No. 113, 14th June, paragraph 5. We propose to pass Cantonment Bill at next meeting of Legislative Council. Rules have been modified in accordance with your views, but we employ term "suspect" instead of "reason to believe," because latter expression has special technical meaning under Penal Code. Explanation follows by post.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 183 (Military), dated 23 September 1889.

(Received 28 October 1889.)

My Lord,

In continuation of our telegram of the 12th September 1889, informing your Lordship that we propose to pass the new Cantonment Bill at the next meeting of our Legislative Council, and that the rules to be framed under Section 26, Clause 21, and Section 27, Sub-sections 2 and 4 of the Act, had been modified, we have the honour to forward a copy of these rules as they now stand after emendation.

2. We desire to explain, with regard to paragraph 4, that we have used the expression "or is suspected to be suffering," advisedly, instead of "there is reason to believe to be suffering," as at first drafted. The latter words have a definite technical meaning in Indian Criminal Law, as will be seen from Sections 26 and 52 of the Indian Penal Code, the former section of which states that "a person is said to have reason to believe a thing if he has sufficient cause to believe that thing, but not otherwise," while the later section provides that "nothing is said to be done or believed in good faith which is done or believed without due care and attention."

3. We are advised that if the words "there is reason to believe" were to be retained, and the rules strictly construed, as they no doubt would be, by the light of the above definitions, the mere suspicion, however reasonable, that a prostitute was suffering from contagious disease, would not be regarded as a sufficient cause for believing that she was affected or as implying the "due care and attention" upon which a *bonâ fide* belief must be founded. Medical officers would probably not care to run the risk of being called to account in case they made a mistake, if anything more than suspicion were to be held necessary in order to justify their action; and the rules would not be really efficient.

4. We believe that there is not much chance that the rule, as now amended, will involve any hardship. If the medical officer *suspects* a woman to be infected, she has the option of either going to hospital or leaving the cantonment. If she goes to hospital, she must either remain there until she is pronounced free from disorder, or leave the cantonment. If the suspicion proves unfounded, she will get her discharge from hospital at once; if it proves to be well founded, she will have the opportunity of skilful treatment on the sole condition that she must not return to the cantonment until cured.

5. We trust your Lordship will approve of the action taken by us in this matter.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Lansdowne.*
F. S. Roberts.
G. Chesney.
A. R. Scoble.
C. A. Elliott.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.

List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 183 (Military), dated the 23rd September 1889, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial Number.	No. and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	—	—	Rules to be framed under Section 26, Clause 21, and Section 27, Sub-sections 2 and 4 of the Cantonment Act.

(signed) *A. C. Toker,*
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

Enclosure of a Letter to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-Sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonments Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules, and to direct that they shall be general for every cantonment in British India:—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the District Magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if such person is without means of support and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence-allowance not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer, for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is suspected by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment, within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 2 October 1889.

YOUR telegram of 12th ultimo. I sanction Cantonment Bill, omitting Chapter 5. Earlier sub-sections of Section 29 must be amended accordingly. Modified rules approved, but I must object to the word "suspect." Please substitute some other term.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 3 October 1889.

YOUR Legislative Despatch 43, of 30th August. Cantonment Bill, Clause 21, Section 26. Substitute word "supposed" or some other word for the word "suspected."

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 12 November 1889.

CANTONMENT Act. Paragraph in "Statesman" of 19th October interprets Clause 2, Sub-section 2, to mean that existing rules condemned by House of Commons may be continued. Please explain by telegraph intention of clause. I trust new rules have been carefully framed, and presume I shall receive a copy as soon as possible in ordinary course.

Telegram from Viceroy, dated 30 November 1889.

YOURS 12th. Cantonment Act not yet brought into force. Rules condemned by House of Commons are not and will not be continued in operation. New rules approved in your telegram of 2nd October, with "supposed" in substitution for "suspected" in Rule 4, will be brought into force as soon as possible after the Act comes into operation.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 241 (Military), dated 31 December 1889.

(Received 27 January 1890.)

My Lord,

IN continuation of the telegram from the Viceroy, dated the 30th November 1889, we have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, the former notifying that the Cantonments Act, XIII. of 1889, shall come into force from 1st January 1890, and the latter publishing a draft of the rules which it is proposed to issue under Section 26, Clause (21) of the Act, providing for the treatment and control within cantonment limits of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders. These rules are the same as those which formed an Enclosure of our Despatch No. 183, dated 23rd September 1889, with a slight verbal alteration, viz., the substitution of the word "supposed" for "suspected" in Rule 4.

2. Local Governments and Administrations have been asked by telegram to republish the Government General Orders above referred to in the Local Gazettes as soon as possible.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Lansdowne.*
G. Chesney.
A. R. Scoble.
C. A. Elliott.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. M. Barbour.

List of Enclosures of Letter No. 241 (Military), dated 31 December 1889, from the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Papers.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	No. 1065, dated 20th December 1889.	Government General Order.	Notifying that the Cantonment Act (XIII. of 1889) shall come into force from the 1st January 1890.
2	No. 1066, dated 20th December 1889.	Government General Order.	Publishing a draft of the rules proposed to issue under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Cantonment Act.
3	No. 5305-D, dated 21st December 1889.	To Local Governments and Administrations.	Asking them to republish Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, dated the 20th December 1889, in the Local Gazettes.
4	No. 5306-D, dated 21st December 1889.		

(signed) *A. C. Toker*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India,
Military Department.

Enclosures to Letter No. 241, dated 31 December 1889.

Enclosure No. 1.

Government General Order, No. 1065, Judicial, dated Fort William, 20 December 1889.

The Governor General in Council is pleased to appoint the first day of January 1890 as the day on which the Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, shall come into force.

Enclosure No. 2.

Government General Order, No. 1066, Judicial, dated Fort William, 20 December 1889.

The following draft of proposed rules under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, is, as required by Section 27 of that Act, hereby published for the information of persons likely to be affected thereby.

The draft will be taken into consideration on the expiry of three months from the date of this notification.

Draft Rules.

Under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following Rules, and to direct that they shall be general for every cantonment in British India :—

1. As many hospitals as may be necessary, within or without the limits of the cantonment, as the cantonment authority with the concurrence of the district magistrate may determine, shall be maintained, at the expense wholly or in part of the cantonment fund, for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disorders.

2. A medical officer, to be appointed in such manner as the Local Government may direct, shall be in charge of every such hospital.

3. A person admitted to such a hospital shall be treated gratuitously, and, if such person is without means of support, and is either a resident of the cantonment or was admitted to the hospital on the request of the cantonment authority, or of any officer of that authority, shall receive from the cantonment fund such subsistence allowance, not being less than the lowest allowance for the time being fixed by the Local Government under Section 338 of the Code of Civil Procedure, as the cantonment authority may determine.

4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the cantonment magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment, within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person, having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in or re-entering a cantonment, remains in or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

Enclosure No. 3.

Telegraphic, No. 5305-D, Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Fort William, 21 December 1889.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretaries to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Punjab, and North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and to the Chief Commissioners of Central Provinces, Assam, and Burma.

IMMEDIATELY on receipt of "Gazette of India," dated 21st December, please republish in Local Gazette Government General Orders 1065 and 1066, Cantonment Act and draft rules thereunder.

Enclosure No. 4.

No. 5306-D, Sanitary Lock Hospitals, dated Fort William, 21 December 1889.

From the Officiating Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department.

I AM directed to request that, under the orders of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, the Government General Orders, Nos. 1065 and 1066, published in the "Gazette of India" of the 21st December 1889, bringing into force the Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, and publishing the draft rules proposed under Section 26, Clause (21), of the Act, may be republished as early as possible in the Local Gazette.

Telegram to Viceroy, dated 8 July 1890.

CANTONMENT Act, General Order No. 1066. Have rules contagious diseases been taken into consideration? Are they now in force? Question in Parliament. Telegraph reply as quickly as possible.

Telegram from Viceroy, dated 9 July 1890.

YOURS 8th. Rules were taken into consideration and brought into force by notification 5th instant.

Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 134 (Military), dated 6 September 1892—(Received 26 September 1892.)

My Lord,

WE have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of correspondence relating to the protest of the Free Church of Scotland against the Indian Cantonment Act, No. XIII. of 1889, and the rules framed under it, in so far as it concerns venereal disease. The correspondence shows the steps we have taken in the matter.

It will be seen that we caused inquiry to be made in respect to the allegations put forward; and our conclusions will be found in the letter (No. 3034-D) addressed to the Quartermaster General in India by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, on the 29th June 1892. We invite your Lordship's attention to the last paper in the file of correspondence, viz., the circular memorandum from the Quartermaster General in India, No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Lansdowne.*
Roberts.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.
A. E. Miller.
H. Brackenbury.
C. H. T. Crosthwaite.

List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 134 (Military), dated 6 September 1892, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	Dated 7th August 1891.	From the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
2	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourie.	- - ditto - - ditto.
3	Dated 7th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Foveran Free Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
4	Dated 23rd August 1891.	From the Free Church of Gamrie.	- - ditto - - ditto.
5	Dated 15th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen.	- - ditto - - ditto.
6	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas in the Island of Lewis, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
7	- - -	From the Deacons' Court of the Free Church of the Parish of Barvas in the Island of Lewis, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
8	- - -	From the Kirk Session of Carntyne Free Church Congregation.	- - ditto - - ditto.
9	No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891.	To Quartermaster General in India.	Requesting that careful and confidential inquiries may be made on the above subject, and a report submitted to the Government of India as soon as possible.
10	Dated 17th September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of the Congregation of the Free Church of Kilcalmonell, Argyleshire, Scotland.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as veneral disease is concerned.
11	- - -	From the Session and Deacons' Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock.	- - ditto - - ditto.
12	- - -	From the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court of the Free Church Congregation of Brodrick, Arran, Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
13	Dated 23rd September 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
14	- - -	From the Garioch Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
15	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy.	- - ditto - - ditto.
16	Dated 12th October 1891.	From the St. Mark's Free Church Kirk Session.	- - ditto - - ditto.
17	Dated 7th October 1891.	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
18	- - -	From the Elgin and Inverness Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
19	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Middle Church, Perth.	- - ditto - - ditto.
20	Dated 16th October 1891.	From the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
21	Dated 13th October 1891.	From the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy.	- - ditto - - ditto
22	Dated 13th October 1891.	From the Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
23	Dated 12th November 1891.	From the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
24	- - -	From the Aberdeen Synod of the Free Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
25	Dated 5th November 1891.	From the Kirk Session of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh.	- - ditto - - ditto.
26	- - -	From the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kilmarnock and Ayr.	- - ditto - - ditto.
27	- - -	From the Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church by Glasgow.	- - ditto - - ditto.
28	Dated 9th November 1891.	From the Dundee Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
29	Dated 24th November 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Perth.	- - ditto - - ditto.
30	Dated 25th November 1891.	From the Committee on Temperance and Public Morals of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
31	Dated 1st December 1891.	From the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen.	- - ditto - - ditto.
32	- - -	From the Annandale Presbytery of the United Presterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
33	Dated 15th December 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Arbroath.	- - ditto - - ditto.
34	- - -	From the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee.	- - ditto - - ditto.
35	- - -	From the Elders and Deacons of the Free Church Congregation at Kemnay, Aberdeenshire.	- - ditto - - ditto.
36	Dated 8th December 1891.	From the Presbytery of Dumbarton of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
37	No. 449-D, dated 29th January 1892.	To Quartermaster-General in India	Enquiring when a reply to Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, may be expected.
38	Dated 28th December 1891.	From the Presbytery of Islay	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
39	Dated 30th December 1891.	From the Greenock Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church.	- - ditto - - ditto.
40	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Ardersier, Scotland.	- - ditto - - ditto.
41	Dated 29th December 1891.	From the Free Church Presbytery of Breadalbane, Perthshire, N.B.	- - ditto - - ditto.
42	Telegram No. 397-B, dated 10th February 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Says that reports from all commands have been received except those from Madras.
43	- - -	From the Free Church Presbytery at Fordyce.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.
44	No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24th March 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards reports from their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay, and from General Officers Commanding Districts in Bengal, replying to the points on which information was requested in Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891.
45	- - -	From the Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreebush, Stonehaven, N.B.	Protest against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease is concerned.

No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom and to whom.	Subject.
46	No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards copy of a telegram from the Quartermaster-General, Bombay Army, stating that no compulsion of any kind is used at Nasirabad to enforce hospital attendance.
47	No. 2656-B. dated 9th June 1892.	- ditto - - ditto - -	Reports that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment in the three presidencies.
48	No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892.	To - - - ditto - -	Requesting the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to all General Officers Commanding Districts in Bengal, on the subject of the treatment of venereal and other contagious diseases, and the prohibition of registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars.
49	No. 3115-D, dated 4th July 1892.	To Government of Madras / Bombay.	Forwarding copy of Military Department letter No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892, and requesting the issue of similar confidential circular memoranda to all General Officers Commanding Districts in Madras / Bombay.
50	No. 3492-B, dated 18th July 1892.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Forwards copy of a circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts, regarding the observance of the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns venereal diseases.

(signed) *P. J. Maitland*,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

Enclosures to Despatch, No. 134, dated 6th September 1892.

Enclosure No. 1.

To the Most Nost Noble the Marquis of *Lansdowne*.

My Lord Marquis, Edinburgh, 7 August 1891.

I beg to enclose memorial to your Lordship by the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act.

I also enclose, for your Lordship's consideration, copy of the Report presented to last Assembly by the Committee on the State-regulation of Vice.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. Simpson*,
W. S., Deputy Clerk of Assembly.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland crave leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the Rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

The General Assembly have in former years sought to draw the attention of the British Government to the same subject. But this year they feel that there is laid upon them a more urgent necessity than ever to make their appeal, and that the appeal they make rests on a still more solid foundation than before.

They have received, with great grief, signed communications from missionaries and chaplains, stationed in various parts of India where Cantonments exist, and connected with various churches and societies, which convince them that, at least in some places, practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating and so a licensing of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even providing for it. Instead of embodying in this memorial the statements just referred to, the Assembly beg respectfully to lay before your Lordship, and to commend to your Lordship's careful perusal, the Report of their Committee, presented to and received by them, in which passages are marked that constrain them to come to the above conclusion.

The Assembly desire to record their firm conviction that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888, which condemned such legislation as even *permitted* the proceedings complained of, and at variance also with Lord Cross's Despatch to the Indian Government, in which strong disapproval was expressed of any measures that could justly be construed as legalising vice; not to speak of its being at variance with the great legal and moral and religious principles on which is based

Assembly's uncompromising enmity to any modification whatever of the Contagious Diseases Acts system.

The Assembly do therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your serious consideration, and, by such means as your Lordship will best know, to get the present evil condition of matters brought to a thorough end.

In the name and by authority of the General Assembly of the Free Church af Scotland.

(signed) *Thos. Smith*, D.D.,
Moderator.

REPORT by the COMMITTEE on the State Regulation of Vice, May 1891.

The Committee have to report, first of all, that in terms of the deliverance of last Assembly, a memorial on the subject of the new Cantonment Act was duly sent to the India Office. Lord Cross's reply, while it explained away the apparent re-enactment of suspended rules, gave no satisfactory assurance that the practice under the new rules would be better than we were led to fear by facts placed before his Lordship.

The British, Continental, and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, met at Stockholm in September 1890. In accordance with the instructions of the Assembly, a communication was sent "expressive of the Church's warm sympathy with, and desire to forward, every effort for the attainment of the end aimed at by the Federation." The meeting was a successful one, and encouraging reports were presented with reference to the progress of the cause on the Continent. Professor Stuart, M.P., was able, for instance, to say, "In Paris the system of regulated prostitution is in ruins. In Holland we gain every year. Three years ago the system was abolished in four of its great towns, two years ago it was abolished in six, and at present there are eight towns of importance in which our friends have triumphed." In this connection, and to show how the influence of our Church's action is felt, it may be mentioned that the address of the Assembly's deputy to the Congress at Geneva in 1889, in which he spoke of the position taken up by the Free Church of Scotland on this question, and of the duty of other churches to make a similar stand, was translated into Dutch, and inserted in the organ of the Dutch National Church, with friendly remarks on the part of the editor.

Information has just come to hand that there are prospects of improvement in Italy as regards the regulation of vice, and in Amiens it is to be put an end to.

At the same time much—very much—remains to be done on the Continent, and your Committee feel the obligation resting on the Church to promote abolition work wherever it is needed, and the privilege of being permitted to aid in it. Belgium is a country in which regulation has long prevailed and been carried far. There is ground, however, to hope that the downfall of the system is not far off. The subject will be before the Legislature about the end of this year. It is extremely desirable that Abolitionist principles should be spread and strengthened. Accordingly it has been arranged that the Federation should hold its congress in Brussels in October next. Every effort will be made to secure as impressive a demonstration as possible, and your Committee have resolved to co-operate to the utmost of their ability. They have requested the convener to attend the congress, and have asked J. Campbell White, Esq., of Overton, to represent the laity of the Church; failing this, the convener has been empowered to make the best arrangement he can. They would beg the Assembly to recognise their deputies as representing it, and to authorise them to express in the strongest way the Church's profound and immovable conviction of the unrighteousness of the regulation system, however modified, and her unfeigned and most hearty prayer that God would stimulate to increased effort for its universal abolition, and would crown the endeavour with success.

Your Committee beg now to lay before the Church what they must regard as a very important part of their work during the past year.

They resolved that a letter should be written to such missionaries and ministers in India, belonging to the Free Church or other Churches, as would be likely to be able to give information with regard to the actual working of the new Cantonment Act, asking them to give all the reliable information they could. Accordingly the following letter was prepared and sent to 49 ministers and missionaries, whose names were kindly given by the Rev. Andrew, of Chingleput.

"Dear Sir, "Kemnay, Abereeen, N.B., 8 December 1890.

"IN name and by appointment of the Free Church of Scotland's Committee on State Regulation of Vice—a committee, including Revs. Principal Rainy, D.D., Professor Lindsay, D.D., Professor Laidlaw, D.D., and others, both ministers and laymen—I beg earnestly to request the favour of your kind aid in an inquiry we are anxious to prosecute as thoroughly as possible.

"You are aware of the Resolution passed by the House of Commons in June 1888, to the effect 'that any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures, ought to be repealed.' And you know that in consequence of that Resolution, and of instructions from the India Office, the C. D. Act had been repealed in Bombay, Madras, and Bassein, and a new Cantonment Act, with rules under it, has been passed and in force for some time.

"Now, grave fears are felt by those opposed to the C. D. Act system, that the new regulations not only may be, but actually will be, and by some are intended to be, used to cover the carrying on of a practically compulsory examination of women, by making summary ejection from the cantonment the penalty of refusal to submit to the examination. In that case there would be a practical regulating and licensing of the vice of the women who submit; they would be certified as physically fit for the market of lust, and men would be encouraged in immorality.

"Those fears are not groundless. A portion of the Anglo-Indian press has boasted that 'the old order of things will be carried on under a new name.' Mr. Gregory, of the "Bombay Guardian," and others, have sent alarming reports as to proceedings at Lucknow and Peshawar during the alleged suspension of the old Act. And when Professor Lindsay was in India last year, an army surgeon said to him: 'We will do for you—we are so arranging that we will do for you.'

"Now, if things really are as we are compelled to fear, it is absolutely necessary that the attention of Parliament be called to the matter, and an honest and thorough carrying out of its own drastic Resolution insisted on.

"What is needed at present is careful, reliable, exact information as to the actual working of the Cantonment Act. And we appeal to you to be so good as to furnish us with all the facts you may know, or may be able to ascertain, either from personal observation or the testimony of the most trustworthy informants. Your doing so will be regarded by us as a great favour, and will be an important service to a most worthy cause. Should you wish your own or any other name kept secret, your wish will be scrupulously complied with.

"I may mention that the British Committee of the International Federation for the Abolition of the State-Regulation of Vice regards our effort to collect evidence as very valuable. They are projecting investigations by means of an agent on the spot. But his sphere of work, I am sure, would be such as not at all to supersede a communication from you in response to this letter.

"The following are some of the points on which information would be welcomed :—

"1st.—Are the prostitutes confined to certain quarters? Are they subject to any, and what, control therein?

"2nd.—How is the rule, allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion worked, I mean, suspicion of illness? Are the men ordered to denounce them? Are there periodical examinations in order to ascertain their state?

"3rd.—What is the practical effect on such women of ejectment from the cantonment?

"4th.—Is there any such thing as a demand for certain number of women for a regiment, anything like an official purveying of immorality? if so, how is it managed?

"5th.—How far do the women feel themselves under compulsion, and look on their calling as licensed?

"If you can inform us in regard to any or all those points, or any others that occur to you, we shall be greatly obliged. And will you be so kind as let me hear as soon as you conveniently can? All possible information is desired before the end of January 1891 (though it might be supplemented afterwards), for that is the time when, should things not be quite satisfactory, our friends in Parliament propose to take action.—Believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely,

(signed) *Rev. John Dymock*, Convener."

It is disappointing to have to say that only seven of the 49 have sent replies, and that the four Free Church Missionaries written to are not among the seven. The request for a very speedy answer may in part explain this failure, and your Committee propose to approach the Free Church Missionaries again, and also to avail themselves of the kind offer, most cordially made, of the Rev. Henry Rice, of the Established Church Mission at Madras, to render all the help in his power, should ample time be given him to prosecute inquiries. Meantime they feel very grateful to those who have so obligingly furnished them with important information, including a chaplain and a native Christian not directly written to.

No movement has yet been made in Parliament, for it is felt that there must first be very broad and very sure ground to stand upon in the shape of ample and thoroughly satisfactory evidence. The British Committee of the Federation (of which, by the way, your Committee's Convener has been made a member), are having investigations carried on in India, and a strong Committee may by this time have been formed in Calcutta itself. Meanwhile the British Committee attach much value to the inquiries of your Committee, and have taken copies of the letters received from India.

The questions put in the letter of inquiry have not always been directly answered; but the following is an attempt to summarise the information conveyed, under the heads of the several questions. It should be mentioned that the Indian authorities give no facilities for acquiring information. A missionary tells, that when the Senior Apothecary of an hospital to whom he had addressed inquiries, asked the Brigade-Surgeon whether he should answer the questions, the reply was: "By no means, you are not allowed to publish the secrets of this office."

Q. I.—In one cantonment the prostitutes are said not to be confined to certain quarters; but in others it is said they are—special huts being assigned to them or "tents kept for the purpose," and these being quite near the quarters of European cavalry and infantry. One writer states also that times are set apart for the men visiting them. They are represented as being under the control of the military authorities.

Q. II.—Two writers state explicitly that a soldier suffering from disease is required to go in the company of a policeman and point out the woman from whom he believes disease has been contracted. She is then compelled either to enter the Lock Hospital and submit to treatment, or to leave the cantonment within 24 hours; a woman refusing to do either was recently imprisoned for six days. "The police detest the duties forced on them." "An English policeman is now ordered to do the dirty work. He is exceedingly reluctant, and for remissness has been threatened with dismissal." "The chief constable has been asked to meet the surgeon in charge of the hospital twice a week, and when he met him, he was required 'to do something more.'" That is the constant cry of the Regulationists: they always want "something more."

With regard to periodical examinations: in one cantonment they are said not to be held, but in two they are—in one case weekly.

Q. III.—As to the practical effect on the women of ejectment from the cantonment, one informant says that it entails the loss of all gain, and another, that it issues in the spreading of disease.

Q. IV.—With regard to one cantonment it is stated that the authorities do not play the part of procurers. But from another cantonment we have this testimony—given by a native Christian, belonging to the legal profession, whom a missionary certifies as having access to most reliable information: "Of course, a definite number of prostitutes are required for British troops. Here they get plenty of them without much trouble. But in small cantonments, whenever there is a paucity of these women, the officer in command orders the

bazar chowdhary to procure them through the bazar chowdhary of a neighbouring big cantonment. I believe this is the usual method. A third correspondent says that "a direct command is not known of, but these women are encouraged to take up their residence in certain places in the bazar."

Q. V.—The women's sense of the compulsoriness of the examination, and of the license given to their calling. One writer says explicitly: "The compulsory examination is continued." Another adds the qualification: "Only when they are denounced." A correspondent, whose letter follows in full, after stating that the women, when denounced, must go to the hospital, says that they consider themselves not now under compulsion. Those accounts are easily reconciled. There is no evidence of the formal licensing that once prevailed being continued. "Tickets," or certificates, are not given. But it is emphatically stated: "The women consider themselves licensed." "They now say they wish it" (the examination) "as it gives their profession a standing."

So much for the particular questions, with the answers returned to them. We may next put on record some general statements, which the letters from India contain. Again and again it is asserted that, while there may be a few slight and nominal changes, the old policy is substantially and practically adhered to. The native writer says: "The opinion of our Hindu and Mohammedan fellow subjects is this: they know the Government is determined by hook or crook to drag prostitutes into hospitals for the benefit of British lust." He also says that the new rules are really meant for the prostitutes, and that the officials openly mention this; that the old ones were quite sufficient in the case of ordinary contagious diseases, but that the Indian Government wish to provide hiding for a defiance of the Resolution of the House of Commons, on the part of cantonment authorities, "by making the rules as broad as possible so as to include everything from syphilis to measles." The women are said to get more and more hardened under such an administration as is still going on, and to be seldom reclaimed. The effect on the morals of the men is represented as extremely bad; they are encouraged in vice. One correspondent uses these terrible words: "I have been distressed to find that this sin is almost universal in the army; that it causes little shame, and, indeed, by many is advocated and justified as a necessity."

Your Committee offered to withhold correspondents' names and places where that was desired. None insisted on secrecy, and one expressed willingness for publicity should it serve any important end. But the only case in which it seems desirable to withhold nothing, is that of the following important letter from the Rev. Dr. Huntly, which your Committee feel ought to be printed entire.

"Dear Sir, "Nusseerabad, Rajputana, 6th January 1891.

"Your letter, as sent for information to the Rev. James Grey, Ajmere, was forwarded by him to me, as there is a cantonment here in Nusseerabad and not one in Ajmere.

"With regard to Nusseerabad, I may state in the first place generally that though ostensibly since the repeal of the Contagious Disease Acts the prostitutes are on a different footing, virtually the same methods and practice are carried on.

"There is a lock hospital as before, that is to say, the same building is employed now as heretofore for the examination of those women, and the retention and treatment of such as require them.

"An English surgeon draws a monthly perquisite of Rs. 50 for superintending this department.

"There are no 'tickets' given, but every Friday morning the women adjourn to this place to be examined by the doctor, who pays his weekly visit on this day. These women now say they wish it, as it gives their profession (?) a standing.

"There is a special quarter of the native bazar where they reside, and certain hours set apart during which soldiers visit these quarters.

"When a soldier has been found suffering from venereal disease, he is taken (so my native doctor states on ocular evidence) to pick out the woman, who is then sent to the contagious diseases hospital. The women consider themselves licensed, but not now under compulsion.

"I cannot give definite answers to (3) and (4): to all intents and purposes the old *régime* is enforced, and the private soldier goes in the belief that the examination by the surgeon of certain women makes these women safer and is a guard to himself, and in the case of young soldiers from home the same old and damnable encouragement to vice is thus given.

"I sometimes wonder if the Indian authorities really are aware of the terrible evil and harm they are inflicting on the old country in thus opening up in India avenues of vice, and tacitly encouraging young ignorant fools—both officers and privates—to enter on such a life. They, we will say, escape disease (this is a medical lie, as they don't escape) in this country, but acquire the gross habit, and sink their moral nature. The men at the end of short service are shipped home and let loose on England with their acquired lust-thirsting to be satiated; and in their lust fresh victims are added to the list of fallen women, and the danger to pure women in all societies from the highest to the lowest is increased. This, in my opinion, lies at the root of all increase in this vice; unformed, unstable young fellows among officers and men, the sons often of good parents, forget their obligations and their religion and manhood, to run riot as they think without bodily danger, till manly control is lost and the vice has them in its clutches, and the punishment and shame are borne by England. Not merely India's women are ruined by Indian regulations, but by these same regulations the virtue and honour of thousands of England's women are endangered. I have not seen this point emphasized, and I think it one of the most important bearing on the subject. It is on behalf of England's women we must fight this out.

"Am glad to give evidence and name freely on behalf of the cause. Medically even their contentions cannot be upheld.

With best wishes for the success of the movement,

I am, &c.,

(signed) "*William Huntly*, M.D., B.SC.

"U.P. Mission, Nusseerabad, India.

"Have no wish for secrecy of name—no, emphatically no."

All who have written breathe ardent desire for the overthrow of the Regulation System, and one missionary closes his letter in these words—"May the Lord, our Omniscient Jehovah, who knows the dreadful iniquity of the Indian Government, enable you and all the friends of purity at home to stop the awful sin perpetrated by them."

On a survey of the forégoing information from India, your Committee feel bound to come to the conclusion that the Resolution of the House of Commons is not being honestly and thoroughly complied with, inasmuch as the existing legislation does permit a practically compulsory examination of women, and a practical licensing and regulating of prostitution. They commend the materials which they have gathered to the earnest attention of the General Assembly and of the whole Church, and they fervently hope that the Assembly will resolve to anew memorialize the India Office and the Government of India on the ground of the fresh information received, and will also strongly recommend the forwarding of similar Memorials from Kirk Sessions and other Courts of the Church. They will hold themselves in readiness, should they be reappointed, to contribute as far as possible to the effectiveness of any movement that may be made in Parliament during the ensuing year; and they would specially solicit, on behalf of the cause they seek to promote, united and earnest and believing prayer, the power of which has again been signally manifested in connection with the Anti-Opium Crusade.

In conclusion, they desire to express their sense of how much gratitude we owe as a nation to God for the abolition of vice-regulation in Great Britain and Ireland, and for the passing and working of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

(signed) *John Dymock*, Convener and Secretary.

Omitted by inadvertence.—Mr. Rice says—"I am given to understand that there is little doubt that the new Regulations are in some places being evaded." This obviously means that there are places where even the semblance of regard to the Resolution of Parliament, paid by the new Rules, is thrown off.

Enclosure No. 2.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,—

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourie, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India and connected with different churches. The writers put their names to the documents and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,
In name of the Kirk Session,
(Signed) *Alexander B. Brown*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 3.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Free Church, Foveran, Aberdeenshire, 7 *September* 1891.

Your Lordship,—

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Foveran Free Church, beg respectfully, but most urgently, to solicit your Lordship's very earnest attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was confirmed by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

We learn on reliable authority that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,
(signed) *William B. Inglis*, Moderator.
Peter Murray, Elder.
James Benzie, Elder.
Robert Gray, Elder.

Enclosure No. 4.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship, 23*rd August* 1891.

WHEREAS it is written—Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people,

Whereas in June 1888 the Commons House of Parliament passed a resolution "that any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorizes or permits such measures, ought to be repealed."

Whereas, by instructions from the India Office, the Contagious Diseases (Women's) Act has been repealed in Bombay, Madras and Bassein, and a new Cantonment Act passed and enforced,

And whereas a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at Cantonments in different parts of India, who unite in certifying that the existing legislation permits a practically compulsory examination of women, and a practical licensing and regulating of prostitution. (*Vide* Proceedings and Debates of General Assembly, Appendix Report XXXVII),

We, the elders of the Free Church of Gamrie, met in Kirk Session, pray your Lordship to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices as shame our national faith in the sight of the heathen.

And your petitioners will ever pray. In name of the Kirk Session.

(signed) *James Simpson*, Moderator interim.

Enclosure No. 5.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship, 3, Sprinkbank Place, Aberdeen, 15*th September* 1891.

I HAVE been requested by the Members of the Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen, to state how grieved we are to find that the old system of the licensing of vice is still carried on in different parts of India. We would humbly, but very earnestly, press upon your Lordship to do all in your power to have this most iniquitous system abolished. From letters sent by missionaries in India we are made aware of the actual state of things. We feel that it is not only our soldiers who are wronged by this freedom given to vice; but that hundreds of our women at home in England are affected by it. They become the victims of those who have in India given full rein to their appetites and passions.

We pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In name of the Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of Union Free Church, Aberdeen.

Your obedient Servant,
(signed.) *G. McMurray Ross*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 6.

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cross*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India, in connection with the Cantonments Acts in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution.

This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B.

(signed) *N. M. Morison*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 7.

To the Right Honourable Viscount *Cross*, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for *India*.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of the Parish of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifiying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In name of the Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of the Parish of Barvas, in the Island of Lewis, N.B.

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,
(signed) *N. M. Morison*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 8.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship.

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Carntyne Free Church Congregation, beg humbly, but urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned in the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it. We grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

We pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices, in some way, as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,
In name of Carntyne Free Church Kirk Session,
(signed) *James Allan*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 9.

From Major General *E. H. H. Collen*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 4123-D.—"Sanitary,"—dated Simla, the 21st October 1891).

I am directed to forward herewith the correspondence noted in the margin relative to a protest of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland against the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerns venereal disease, and to request that, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, careful and confidential inquiries may be made on the subject, and a report submitted to the Government of India as soon as possible. The points on which information is more especially required are whether the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and whether there is reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules* is resorted to.

Letter from the Rev. R. R. Simpson, Deputy Clerk of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, dated Edinburgh, 7th August 1891, and enclosures, viz. :—
Memorial.
Report by the Committee on the State Regulation of Vice.
From the Rev. A. B. Brown, Moderator of the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation at Kilbourie.
From the Rev. B. Inglis, Moderator, and the Elders of the Free Church, Foveran, Aberdeenshire, dated 7th September 1891.
From the Rev. J. Simpson, Moderator, Free Church, Gamrie, dated 23rd August 1891.

* 4. If the medical officer for the time being in charge of a hospital maintained under these rules for the treatment of persons suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder, certifies in writing to the commanding officer of the cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from the disorder, and such person either refuses to go to the hospital, or, having gone to the hospital, leaves it before such medical officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of such medical officer, order such person to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit such person from remaining in, or re-entering it without the written permission of such medical officer.

5. If a person having been prohibited under the last foregoing rule from remaining in, or re-entering a cantonment, remains in, or re-enters the cantonment without such written permission as is mentioned in that rule, such person shall be punished with fine, which may extend to 50 rupees, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to eight days, for every breach of the said prohibition.

2. I am to ask that it may be definitely stated whether it is true that anything which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced. The allegations of Dr. Huntley as to the Nusseerabad Cantonment also require special notice and inquiry.

3. I am further to request that the Commander-in-Chief may be moved to make similar inquiries confidentially in connection with the British troops and the working of the rules framed under Section 26, Clause (21), and Section 27, Sub-sections (2) and (4), of the Cantonment Act, 1889, in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies from the respective Commanders-in-Chief of those presidencies.

Enclosure No. 10.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*, dated Kintyre, Scotland, 17th September 1891.

Your Lordship,

I HAVE the honour to transmit the accompanying memorial which was adopted by our Kirk Session on the 17th instant, and I am,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(signed) *Alex. MacRae.*

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Congregation of the Free Church of Kilcalmonell, Argyleshire, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

From duly certified communications received by a committee of our church from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches, we learn the Resolution of Parliament of the 5th June 1888 on this subject is virtually ignored, and that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with.

We pray your Lordship, therefore, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, and of the danger to our own country's morality, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of the Kilcalmonell Free Church Congregation.
(signed) *Alex. MacRae*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 11.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, the Session and Deacon's Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act, as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,

In name of the Session and Deacon's Court of St. Thomas' Free Church, Greenock.
(signed) *W. Lewis Robertson*, Moderator.
John Wilson, Session Clerk.
John Peden, Junior, Clerk of Deacon's Court.

Enclosure No. 12.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned Kirk Session and Deacon's Court of the Free Church Congregation of Brodrick, Arran, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or any other way, of practices that are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In the name of the Courts of the Free Church Congregation of Brodick, Arran,
(signed) *J. K. Cameron*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 13.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship, 23rd September 1891.

We, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with ; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer Your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray Your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In the name of the Kirk Session of Whifflet Free Church,
(signed) *W. Fulton*, M.A.,
Moderator of Session and Minister of Whifflet Free Church,
Coatbridge.

Enclosure No. 14.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Garioch Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland, beg humbly, but with the greatest urgency, to solicit Your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India under the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Parliamentary Resolution of June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the new Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety fo ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the actual working of the Cantonments Act in connection with sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Presbytery,
(signed) *J. C. Robertson*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 15.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of *India*.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church of Aberfeldy,
(signed) *John Mac Rae*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 16.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India, Glasgow, 12 October 1891.

Your Lordship,

We, the members of St. Marks Free Church Kirk Session, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the members of St. Marks Free Church Kirk Session,
(signed) *Geo. Milne*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 17.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India, Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B., 7 October 1891.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B., beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church at Fortingall, Perthshire, N.B.,
(signed) Rev. *W. H. Tulloch*, Moderator.
(signed) *James Simpson*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 18.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

The Elgin and Inverness Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church begs respectfully to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

They have learned with sincere grief from the medical missionaries of their own and other Churches that there are places in India where cantonments exist, and where examinations of women, practically of a compulsory character, and other practices, are carried on which amount to a regulating of sexual immorality, and so license and encourage it, and even positively provide for it. In the opinion of the Presbytery such a state of things is at variance with the resolution adopted by the House of Commons on 5th June 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of ; it is at variance with despatch addressed to your Lordship by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, in which strong disapproval was expressed of any measures that could justly be construed as legalising vice ; and it is at variance also with the fundamental principles of law, morality, and religion.

The Presbytery, therefore, very respectfully and earnestly crave your Lordship to take such measures as may appear to your Lordship best fitted to bring the present evil condition of matters to an end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *George Robson*, D.D., Moderator.
(signed) *A. A. Robertson*, Presbytery Clerk.

Enclosure No. 19.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Middle Church, Perth, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,
In name of the Free Middle Church Kirk Session, Perth.
(signed) *D. Waits Kennedy*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 20.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis, Alford, Aberdeen, 16 October 1891.

I AM instructed by the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church to forward to your Lordship the enclosed Memorial of the Presbytery.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's humble servant,
(signed) *James B. Duncan*, Presbytery Clerk.

To the Most Noble the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

The Memorial of the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Memorialists have received information from most reliable sources, that, notwithstanding the suppression of the Contagious Diseases Acts which followed the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, there virtually still prevail, at least in some places, the same practices which were then condemned, and which amount to a regulating, and practically a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of, if not even a positive providing for, such immorality.

The Presbytery therefore earnestly entreat your Lordship to give these matters your consideration, and by such means as may seem most suitable, to get the present evil condition of things brought to an early and complete termination.

In name and by authority of the Aberdeen Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church,
(signed) *Colin Nicol*, Moderator.
(signed) *James B. Duncan*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 21.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, U. P. Session House, Leven, 13 October 1891.

WE, the undersigned, the members of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice. It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

From precise information received from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with different Churches, and who have put their names to the documents, it appears that they unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We therefore pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In the name of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kirkcaldy,
(signed) *John Wilson Thomson*, Moderator,
U. P. Manse, Kingborn, Scotland.

Enclosure No. 22.

Your Lordship, Holm, Orkney, 13 October 1891.

I AM instructed by the Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church to forward the accompanying memorial to you regarding Indian Cantonment Act.

Yours most respectfully,
(signed) *Charles Runciman*, Presbytery Clerk.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Presbytery of Orkney of the United Presbyterian Church have had their attention drawn to certain reports concerning the working of the Cantonment Act in India, which, if true (and they fear there is too much truth in them), they cannot but regard with the greatest disapprobation and concern. The allegations are that the medical examination of women supposed to be suffering from venereal disease is still carried on, and that soldiers therefore are encouraged to indulge in vice.

The Presbytery therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises, which they believe have already been brought under your notice, into your consideration and use such means as will get the evil complained of removed.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *Robert Reid*, Moderator,
(signed) *Charles Runciman*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 23.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis, Edinburgh, 12 November 1891.

I ENCLOSE herewith, by instruction of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, a memorial of the Presbytery in reference to sexual vice in India.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(signed) *Robert Gray*, Presbytery Clerk.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor General of India.

My Lord Marquis,

THE Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church begs most respectfully yet urgently to call your attention to facts which have reached them, proving that in spite of the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th June 1888, the system of licensed vice, which was condemned by that Resolution, is again virtually in force amongst our soldiers under the new Cantonment Act.

The Presbytery humbly but earnestly begs your Lordship to make investigation into the working of the Cantonment Act as it affects sexual vice, and to see that nothing at present going on can possibly be construed into a setting at nought of the Resolution of Parliament above referred to.

Signed in name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *John Sutherland*, Moderator.
(signed) *Robert Gray*, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 24.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Aberdeen Synod of the Free Church of Scotland, convened at Aberdeen, on the 12th day of October 1891, beg humbly but with the greatest urgency to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act as that Act bears on sexual vice.

Fears were all along felt that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly increased by the rule under the new Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts are such as to vindicate the apprehensions felt beforehand.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name and by appointment of the Free Church Synod of Aberdeen,
(signed) *Thomas L. Wilson*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 25.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, 35, King-street, Edinburgh, 5 November 1891.

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Free St. Andrews' Church, Edinburgh, beg humbly but urgently to request your Lordship's attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would be found not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly strengthened by the rules made under the Act, and it is now, we grieve to say, fully justified by the facts.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with, that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church; and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of the practices complained of, practices which are at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh,
(signed) *Robert J. Sandeman*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 26.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

The Memorial of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Kilmarnock and Ayr

Humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialists have had their attention directed to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonment Act and its bearing on sexual vice.

They are thankful for the changes which have been effected by that Act, but regret that from communications received from various parts of India there are forms of the evil still existing, such as are repugnant to the moral sense and Christian feeling of the nation, harmful to Christian missions, and dishonouring to our rule. They fear that the new Cantonment Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, has not effectively excluded it, as required by that Resolution.

They therefore respectfully and earnestly urge your Lordship to give this whole matter your most serious consideration, and to respond to the feeling which is rising throughout the country for the *total suppression* of all arrangements which in any way provide for the regulation of vice and thereby licence it.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,

(signed) *George Morris*, Moderater.
James M. Copland, Clerk,
United Presbyterian Manse, Calrim, Mauchline, N.B.

Enclosure No. 27.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church, by Glasgow, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and therefore is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In the name of the Kirk Session of Campsie Free Church,

(signed) *John Duke*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 28.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Dundee, 9 November 1891.

The Dundee Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

They have had statements submitted to them from gentlemen in India who are in a position to speak authoritatively on the subject, which lead them to believe that in some places practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

Being convinced that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, and also with the Secretary of State for India's despatch to the Indian Government on the subject, the Presbytery would respectfully request you to take all the circumstances into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship may deem best, to get the present unsatisfactory condition of things brought to an end.

In name and by authority of the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Dundee,
(signed) *A. B. Connel*, D.D., Moderater.

Enclosure No. 29.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Perth, Scotland, 24 November 1891.

In the name and by appointment of the Free Church Presbytery of Perth, we beg humbly but very earnestly to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India, in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearings on sexual vice.

In common with many of our fellow countrymen we have all along been afraid that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would turn out not to have *excluded* it, as it ought to have done in terms of the Parliamentary Resolution. Our fears had been very greatly increased by the rules under the Act, and now, we are very sorry to say, it turns out that our fears have been too well grounded.

A Committee of honoured ministers and elders of our Church, in answer to a request for accurate and specific information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers all unite in testifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with all our hearts, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or otherwise, of such practices as are really at variance with the Parliamentary Resolution.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
(signed) *Archibald Campbell*, Moderator.
John Rainnie, Clerk of Presbytery.

Enclosure No. 30.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor General of India.

Your Lordship, Dysart, N.B., 25 November 1891.

The Committee on Temperance and Public Morals of the United Presbyterian Church beg respectfully to draw your Lordship's attention to the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, and the Rules connected with it.

Information has been received from India, among others from one of the missionaries of our church, to the effect that practically the system condemned by Resolution of Parliament is in operation in some places, that the examination of women is continued, and vice thus regulated and encouraged.

The Committee, therefore, humbly prays your Lordship to institute an investigation into the working of the Act and Rules referred to, in so far as they relate to sexual vice. The church which we represent has always opposed the system of licensed vice in any form whatever.

In name of the Committee,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(signed) *William Guthrie*, Convener.

Enclosure No. 31.

To the most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord, 13, Balmoral Place, Aberdeen, 1 December 1891.

As instructed by the Presbytery, I beg to forward the enclosed memorial to your Excellency.

Yours most respectfully,
(signed) *Robert Semple*, Presbytery Clerk.

To His Excellency the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

May it please your Excellency,

We, the members of the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen, beg humbly to approach your Excellency with special reference to the bearing of the recent Cantonments Act on sexual vice in India.

We do not believe that the New Act was ever intended to sanction any proceedings inconsistent with the Resolution adopted by the House of Commons on the 5th June 1888. But our horror of the condemned system has led us to watch narrowly the rules adopted under the new Act, lest unhappily in actual operation any part of that system should be found to reappear; and to our intense sorrow this fear has been confirmed by facts to which testimony has been borne by persons holding responsible positions in various parts of India.

In answer to a request for information, a Committee of the Free Church of Scotland has received communications from missionaries and chaplains with reference to several cantonments. These communications are duly signed and vouched, and they unite in certifying that in substance the condemned system is carried on under the new rules in several places. It appears that sexual vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and such regulation in its practical effect amounts to a system of license. Details have already been submitted to your Excellency in a memorial from the General Assembly of our Church, to which we respectfully beg to refer your Excellency for a full statement.

Believing as we do that the statements made in the communications above mentioned are thoroughly reliable, and that your Excellency is equally desirous with ourselves to have every complaint removed, we most earnestly beg that the working of the new Cantonments Act may be made the subject of early and thorough investigation, and that immediate steps may be taken for the entire suppression of all such practices and proceedings as are at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

In the name of the Free Presbytery of Aberdeen,
We have, &c.,
(Signed) *W. M. Clow*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 32.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Governor-General of India.

Your Lordship,

The Annandale Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Act, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

It has been brought to the knowledge of the Presbytery through signed communications from missionaries and chaplains, stationed in various parts of India where cantonments exist, that, at least in some places, practically compulsory examinations of women are continued, and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery considers this state of things to be at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of 5th of June 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of; not to speak of its being at variance with the great moral and religious principles on which is based the Presbytery's uncompromising hostility to any modification whatever of the Contagious Diseases Acts system.

The Presbytery, therefore, humbly entreats your Lordship to take the premises into your serious consideration, and to use such means as your high office may afford for bringing the present evil condition of things to a thorough end.

Signed in name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *Adam C. Welch*, Moderator.
James Ronald, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 33.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Free Church Manse, Friockheim, Forfarshire, N.B.; 15 December 1891.

My Lord,

At the request of the Free Church Presbytery of Arbroath, I beg to deliver to you the enclosed memorial.

I have, &c.
(signed) *James Nicoll*, Clergyman, Clerk of Presbytery.

To The Right Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that

substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church; and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Arbroath Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland,
(signed) *J. Moffat Scott*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 34.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonment Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new Rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of St. Andrew's Free Church, Dundee,
(signed) *Charles Shaw*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 35.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Excellency,

We, the Elders and Deacons of the Free Church Congregation at Kemnay, Aberdeenshire, met in October 1891, desire with all respect but with the greatest urgency to entreat your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things now prevailing in India in connection with the Cantonments Act as that Act bears on sexual vice.

Fears were always entertained that the new Act, however well meant and however far from *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of June 5th 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* that system, as the Parliamentary Resolution required it to do. The Rules under the Act increased this apprehension. And now, unhappily, the facts (so far as we can ascertain them) shew that our grave suspicions were far from groundless.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers sign their communications, and they unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still *regulated* in a variety of ways and so is necessarily *licensed*.

We understand that a copy of the Committee's Report, in which details are given, has been laid before your Excellency, and accordingly we content ourselves with referring to that Report and begging your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, to make an immediate and thorough investigation into this matter, which involves, we are persuaded, the very highest interests of the Empire, and to bring about a complete suppression of practices which are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons as well as with moral and religious principles.

In name and by appointment of the office-bearers,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(signed) *John Dymock*,
Moderator of Kirk Session and Deacon's Court.

Enclosure No. 36.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Dumbarton, 8 December 1891.

The Presbytery of Dumbarton of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland crave leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonments Act, and the Rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

They have received with great grief information from missionaries and chaplains stationed in various parts of India, where cantonments exist, and connected with various churches and societies, particularly from Dr. William Huntly of Nasirabad, connected with this Church, which convince them that at least in some places practically compulsory examinations of women are continued and other practices carried on, which amount to a regulating and so a licensing of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery desire to record their conviction that such a state of things is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, which condemned such legislation as even permitted the proceedings complained of, not to speak of its being at variance with the great legal and moral and religious principles on which is based the Presbytery's uncompromising hostility to any modification whatever of the contagious diseases system.

The Presbytery do therefore humbly entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship will best know to get the present evil condition of matters brought to a thorough end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *William Smith*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 37.

From Major *J. E. Broadbent*, R.E., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 449-D, dated Fort William, 29 January 1892).

I AM directed to request that under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, the Government of India may be informed when a reply to Military Department letter No. 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, relative to the working of the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, may be expected.

Enclosure No. 38.

To The Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Portnahaven, Islay, Scotland, 28 December 1891.

WE, the undersigned Presbytery of Islay, beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act would prove not to have excluded the system condemned by the Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, and we grieve to say the fear has been justified.

A Committee of our Church has received from Indian missionaries and chaplains a consensus of testimony that there has been *substantially* no change upon the old system.

We therefore pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, with a view to make the Resolution of the Commons really operative.

Your Lordship's obedient servants,
In the name of the Free Presbytery of Islay,
(signed) *Archd. Stewart MacIntyre*, B.D., Moderator.

Enclosure No. 39.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

My Lord Marquis, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B., 30 December 1891.

As instructed by the Greenock Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, and on their behalf, I beg to inclose, for the favour of your consideration, the accompanying memorial on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Bill.

I am, &c.,
(signed) *J. B. R. McIntyre*, Presbytery Clerk.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

THE Presbytery of Greenock of the United Presbyterian Church craves leave to address you on the subject of the Indian Cantonment Bill, and the rules under it, in so far as concerned with venereal disease.

The Presbytery has reason to believe that, at least in some places, practices obtain which amount to a regulating, and so a licensing, of sexual immorality, and a virtual encouraging of it, if not even a positive providing for it.

The Presbytery desires to record its conviction that the state of things complained of is at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th 1888, which condemns such legislation as even permitted the proceedings referred to.

The Presbytery does therefore entreat your Lordship to take the premises into your consideration, and by such means as your Lordship may think best, to get the present evil condition of matters brought to an end.

In name and by authority of the Presbytery,
(signed) *James Adams*, Moderator.
J. B. R. McIntyre, Clerk.

Enclosure No. 40.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, the Kirk Session of the Free Church Congregation of Ardersier, Scotland, beg humbly, but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Contonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.,
In name of the Kirk Session.
(signed) *D. M. Macleod*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 41.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship, Fortingall, Perthshire, 29th December 1891.

We, the undersigned, Free Church Presbytery of Breadalbane, Perthshire, N.B., beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that, therefore, it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.,
(signed) *Murdoch Corbet*, Minister at Tummelbridge.
John McCallum.
John McRae, Minister at Aberfeldy.
John MacBean, Minister at Killin.
Allen Mackenzie, Minister at Lowns.
D. R. C. MacLogan, Minister at Logiercut.
W. H. Tulloch, Minister at Fortingall.
John Campbell, Elder at Fortingall.

Enclosure No. 42.

Telegram from Quartermaster General in India to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(dated Calcutta, the 10th February 1892).

No. 397-B. Reference Military Department No. 449-D of the 29th ultimo. Reports from all commands have now been received, except those from Madras. The latter have again been telegraphed for, and on receipt the whole will be submitted without delay.

Enclosure No. 43.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

We, the undersigned, Free Church Presbytery of Fordyce, beg humbly, but very urgently, to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not enjoining the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have excluded it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the rules under the Act. And now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fears.

A committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very precise and reliable information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that substantially the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with ; that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship for further details to the Memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Cantonments Act as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's, &c.
In name of the Free Church Presbytery of Fordyce,
(signed) *J Watson Gaddie*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 44.

From Major General *E. Stedman*, Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 448-B-Camp, dated Fort William, the 24th March 1892).

In reply to Government of India, Military Department No. 4123-D, dated 21st October 1891, I am directed by his Excellency to forward for the information of the Government of India, reports from their Excellencies the Commanders-in-Chief, Bombay and Madras, and from General Officers commanding districts in Bengal, replying to the points on which information was requested.

2. The points raised by Government were :—

1. Whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonments Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

2. Whether any compulsion existed in excess of the authorised rules 4 and 5.

3. Whether it is true that anything which can be fairly described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

4. That the special allegations of Dr. Huntley relative to the Nasirabad cantonment might be made the subject of special notice and inquiry.

3. The reports forwarded in original with a *précis* attached show fully that there is no foundation whatever for considering that the military authorities are not keeping strictly within the terms of the rules contained in the Cantonments Act and sanctioned by the Secretary of State. There is no compulsion beyond what is authorised by rules 4 and 5. It is quite untrue that anything exists which can be described as "official purveying for immorality."

4. With regard to the fourth point, I am to invite special attention to the reports by the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay, and the Officer Commanding Nasirabad, categorically denying the charges made.

5. His Excellency desires to strongly repudiate what he considers to be most unfounded allegations.

PRÉCIS of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892.

Reports received with.	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised compulsion is exercised.	REMARKS.
Presidency District No. 104, dated 9th December 1891.	Fort William	No	No	No	There is no recognition of prostitutes.
	Barrackpore	No	No	No	The women in the bazars are not interfered with either directly or indirectly.
	Dum Dum	No	No	No	
Allahabad District No. 88-D, dated 14th November 1891.	Allahabad District	No	No	Not stated. Definite information is being called for.	
Nerbudda District No. 74-C-D, dated 3rd November 1891.	Nerbudda District	No	No	No.	
Bundelkhand District No. 67, dated 23rd November 1891.	Agra	No	No	No	British soldiers rarely resort to women living in cantonments, so much so that more than once the women complained that they were not sufficiently patronised by soldiers. A statement is forwarded which shows that a large number of the poorer class are treated gratuitously for other than venereal diseases.
	Jhansi	No	N	No.	
	Nowgong	No	No	No.	
	Sipri	See remarks	Not stated. Definite information is being called for.	No	There is no cantonment hospital, but certain of the women present themselves voluntarily at the station hospital for examination and treatment.
Oudh District No. 184-C-L, dated 1st December 1891.	Oudh District	No	No	No	At present there is a terrible increase of venereal.
Rohilkhand District No. 249, dated 21st November 1891.	Bareilly	Not stated. Definite information is being called for.	No	No	Prostitutes attend for examination at their own request, and no pressure is put upon them.
	Shahjahanpur	No	No	No.	
	Ranikhet	Not stated. Definite information is being called for.	No	No	The Cantonment Magistrate states that a portion of the sudder bazar has been closed to prostitutes; he also gives his views on prostitution in India. Women presenting themselves voluntarily are treated in the cantonment hospital.
Rohilkhand District No. 261-D, dated 12th December 1891.	Naini Tal	No	No	No	Immoral women are not allowed to reside within cantonments; they have asked to be allowed to do so and have stated that they would submit themselves to medical inspection. No fines or punishments have been inflicted.
	Moradabad	No	No	No	Prostitutes are not confined to certain quarters; action is not taken against them, on suspicion; men are not ordered to denounce them, neither are periodical examinations held.

Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—*continued*.

Reports received with.	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised compulsion is exercised.	Remarks.
Meerut District No. 169-C, dated 2nd December 1891.	No Other stations	No No	No Not stated Definite information is being called for.	No Not stated	For convenience of inhabitants prostitutes are confined to one quarter of the town which is not in the regimental bazars or near them, and no time is set apart for men to visit it. There is no cantonment hospital at Delhi. Action is not taken against women on suspicion, men have not been asked to denounce them, but they are invited to attend once a week for examination.
Sirhind District No. 11, dated 14th November 1891.	Umballa	No	Not stated Definite information is being called for.	No	Reports from remaining stations in the command are being called for.
Lahore District No. 537-C, dated 17th November 1891.	Lahore District	No	No	No.	
Rawal Pindi District No. 11-C, dated 19th January 1892.	Rawal Pindi	No	No	No.	
——	Sialkot	See remarks	See remarks	No	The Officer Commanding 2nd Dragoon Guards reports that prostitutes are allowed to reside in the regimental bazar and are subject to no supervision whatever, except that while residing there they agree to be medically examined, which they willingly agree to. The Officer Commanding does not consider this "official purveying." The Officer Commanding Manchester Regiment reports that there is a quarter in the bazar of his battalion available for prostitutes, but they come and go as they please; they have the same rights and freedom as other residents. The property in which they reside does not belong to the State or to the battalion.
——	West Ridge, Rawal Pindi.	See remarks	No	No	The Officer Commanding King's Royal Rifle Corps states that prostitutes live in tents pitched in line with others in the bazar; they are not confined to certain quarters, and are subject to no control other than remaining inhabitants in the bazar. The General Officer Commanding has been told that in accordance with Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888, the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars is prohibited.
——	Murree	No	No	No.	
——	Campbellpore	No	No	No.	
——	Attock	No	No	No.	
Peshawar District No. 463-C-R, dated 19th December 1891.	Peshawar	No	No	No	Reports from remaining stations in the command being called for.

Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 488-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—*continued*.

Reports received with	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised expulsion is exercised.	Remarks.
Quetta District No. 5242-B, dated 18th December 1891.	Quetta - - -	See remarks -	No - -	No - -	There is no hospital for treatment of women for contagious disease in the cantonment.
Bombay Army No. 10-104, dated 27th January 1892.	Deolali - - -	No - -	No -	No.	
——	Nagpur District -	Not stated - Definite information is being called for.	No - -	No - -	As a rule prostitutes live in the same quarter of the bazars, but of their own free will, and are subject to no control so long as they behave themselves. If a woman is said to have spread the disease, she is examined, but is at liberty to refuse, provided she leaves cantonments. Men are not ordered to denounce them. The General Officer Commanding submits that the absence of control over these women is a matter for much regret, and the source of much harm to the soldiers.
——	Deesa District - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The Cantonment Magistrate at Deesa states that on two or three occasions women have actually applied to him to be registered, but their request has not been granted.
——	Sind District - -	No - -	No - -	No.	
——	Aden District - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The General Officer Commanding states that the implied allegation of interference is derived from the fact that the women generally live in one quarter of the town; he points out that any one with a knowledge of Oriental habits must be aware that particular races, castes, sects, and even trades invariably live together, and that these people would themselves be the first to resent the intrusion of others such as the women among them. Such implications, he adds, show how carelessly the allegations have been made, and how untenable they are, for it proves that the person making them took no trouble to pay any heed to innate customs of the country, but by his misguided zeal has made those very habits, which the people cling to and respect, the subject of his allegation against responsible officers.
——	Poona District	No - -	No - -	No.	
	Mhow District.				
——	Mhow - - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	The police are not employed in the detection of contagious disease.

Précis of Reports accompanying Quartermaster General's No. 448-B-Camp, dated 24 March 1892—*continued.*

Reports received with	Place.	Whether the Cantonment Act and Rules approved of by Secretary of State have been exceeded.	Whether "Official Purveying" exists.	Whether unauthorised expulsion is exercised.	Remarks.
——	Neemuch - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	Prostitutes are not confined to any place, but live where they please in the bazar. Men when admitted into hospital are not sent to pick out the women from whom they contracted the disease; no action is taken against the women on suspicion, and the police are not employed to bring women to hospital.
——	Nasirabad - -	No - -	No - -	No - -	As regards Dr. Huntley's allegations, the officer Commanding Nasirabad states:— (*a*) The building formerly used as a lock hospital has been utilised as a cantonment hospital simply as a matter of economy. (*b*) An English surgeon is in charge on a monthly salary, but this is for contagious diseases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely for venereal. (*c*) With regard to the weekly visit, the attendance of the prostitutes being purely voluntary, the medical officer has to fix a day to enable him to get through his other medical duties. (*d*) No special quarter in the bazar is set aside for the compulsory residence of prostitutes, nor are there fixed hours for men to visit them. (*e*) Soldiers are sent to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease, but then the procedure laid down in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890 is strictly followed. (*f*) The effect of ejecting the prostitutes from cantonment is simply that they stay with their friends until cured, and spread no more disease than if they remained unchecked in cantonments. (*g*) As regards men being encouraged in vice by the belief that these examinations of prostitutes form a safeguard to themselves, it is notorious that soldiers do not seek registered prostitutes, but village and labouring women, classes exempt from interference.
Madras Army No. 129-B, dated 15th February 1892.	Madras Presidency -	No - -	No -	No - -	Prostitutes reside where they please, and no particular quarter is set apart for them.

From Major General Viscount *Frankfort De Montmorency*, Commanding Presidency District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 104, dated Fort William, 9th December 1891).

In reply to your memo. No. 5370-B, dated 31st October 1891, enclosing Government of India No. 4123-D, I have the honour to inform you that I have made careful inquiries and have to report that the military authorities of cantonments in the Presidency District are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have received the assurance of the Officers Commanding Barrackpore and Dum Dum that they are not interfering either directly or indirectly with women in the bazars. As far as the garrison of Calcutta is concerned, I can state myself that there is no sort of recognition of prostitutes and no more interference with them than in any town in England. "Official purveying for immorality" most certainly does not exist in the Presidency District command.

From Brigadier General *A. A. A. Kinloch*, Commanding Allahabad District to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 88-C-D, dated Allahabad, the 14th November 1891).

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in your confidential memo., Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, No. 5371-B of 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries regarding the working of the rules of the Cantonment Act relating to contagious diseases in the several stations in this command, viz., Allahabad, Dinapore and Benares; and I am perfectly satisfied that the powers conferred by the Act are in no way exceeded. I can also state that nothing is done in any of these cantonments which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality."

From Brigadier General *H. D. Barnard*, Commanding Nerbudda District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 74-C-D, dated Jubbulpore, 3rd November 1891).

In the district under my command the military authorities keep strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. I have no reason to believe, and I know that no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is exercised.

It is absolutely untrue that anything which can be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Brigadier General *G. De C. Morton*, Commanding Bundelkhand District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 67, dated Agra, 23rd November 1891).

In compliance with your No. 5373-B—Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that, after making confidential and careful inquiries from the cantonment authorities of Agra, Jhansi, and Nowgong—

(1.) The military authorities of those cantonments are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State;

(2.) There is no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to;

(3.) It is not true that anything which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

2. At Sipri, where there is a company of British infantry, there is no cantonment hospital, but certain of the women present themselves voluntarily at the station hospital for examination and treatment, no compulsion being enforced.

3. From the personal knowledge I have of the Agra Cantonment Hospital, I may add that the British soldiers rarely consort with the women who live in cantonments and who attend the cantonment hospital, so that more than one petition has come under my notice from these women complaining that they were not sufficiently patronised by the soldiers and asking that measures might be taken to better their trade. To these petitions replies have invariably been made that if the women find their profession unremunerative in cantonments they are at perfect liberty to go elsewhere and ply their trade. This will show that neither compulsion nor official purveying are in any way countenanced.

4. I may also add that under the able and zealous charge of Surgeon Green, Indian Medical Service, the cantonment hospital at Agra has been of immense benefit to the poorer classes of natives residing in cantonments. A glance at the accompanying return will show the large number of patients who are treated gratuitously for other than venereal diseases.

STATEMENT Showing the Diseases of the In-door and Out-door Patients Treated in the Cantonment Hospital during the Month of October 1891.

| 1 | 2. | 3. | | |

From Lieut.-General *Æ. Perkins*, C.B., R.E., Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 184-C-L,—"Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals," dated Lucknow, 1 December 1891.

In reply to Government of India, No. 4123-D (strictly confidential), dated Simla, 21st October 1891, and forwarded under your Strictly Confidential No. 5374-B of the 31st October 1891, I can only repeat what I have already stated in the report on the subject submitted to you in my No. 100-C-L dated 26th November 1890, viz., that in this command all orders and instructions on the subject have been and are being obeyed.

2. I have, however, again made careful inquiry on the points on which you desire a report, and find that the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly adhered to, and neither as regards prostitutes or others is any compulsion resorted to in excess of that which is authorised.

3. Such a thing as official purveying for immorality had not been heard of till receipt of the papers forwarded with your endorsement already quoted: there is no such thing done.

4. But I may add that I am at the present moment confronted by a terrible increase of venereal, which is a distressing circumstance.

From Brigadier General *R. C. Low*, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 249-D,—"Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals," dated Bareilly, 21 November 1891).

I have the honour to forward reports from the officers commanding Bareilly, Shahjehanpur and Ranikhet, with reference to the working of the Cantonment Act in those stations.

I am forwarding these to save time. Further reports will be forwarded from Moradabad and Naini Tal, but in neither of these stations has any compulsion been used to make women attend hospital, nor has there been anything done which could be in any way construed into "official purveying for immorality."

From Major *Henry Hare*, 2nd Battalion, Royal Munster Fusiliers, Commanding at Shahjehanpur, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rohilkhand District,—(dated Shahjehanpur, 11 November 1891).

With reference to Sanitary Circular marked "Strictly Confidential" from the Military Department of the Government of India, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, to the Quartermaster General in India, forwarded by you to me for report, I would beg to state, for the information of the General Officer Commanding Rohilkhand district, that, in accordance with instructions contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of same, I have caused careful and confidential inquiries to be made, and find that the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly adhered to at Shahjehanpur, and that no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to. Nothing which can be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced. Confidential circular above quoted passed to officer commanding Ranikhet this day.

Report by the Cantonment Magistrate of Bareilly.

On receipt of orders on the subject, the lock hospital in the Bareilly cantonment was at once closed, and the regulations regarding compulsory examination were cancelled.

The building itself was reconstructed, and separate wards, including cholera and small-pox wards, were built. In these, patients suffering from all sorts of diseases are treated, and consist of all classes. Out-door patients also attend, and prostitutes are received entirely at their own request for examination or treatment. The number availing themselves of this is not a large one, and no pressure whatever is put upon these women.

The front wall of the hospital has been pulled down, fruit trees planted, and the place opened out, so that the premises resemble any ordinary hospital.

Formerly a part of the sudder bazar was specially reserved for prostitutes, who used to live in houses and compounds enclosed by walls. These walls have been demolished and the place is now similar to any other part of the bazar. Any one can live there that wishes and no control whatever is exercised.

In no single instance in Bareilly cantonments have the rules regarding the forcible ejectment of women been acted upon, nor has any punishment been inflicted or needed. The question of official purveying for immorality is so disgustingly offensive that I will not further allude to it, and merely say it does not exist in Bareilly.

(signed) *R. Annesley*, Major,
Cantonment Magistrate.

Bareilly, 4th November 1891.

Report on Cantonment Act Rules for Cantonment Hospitals.

With regard to paragraph 1 of Government of India, Military Department No. 4123-D, to Quartermaster General in India, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report that no women have been brought up before me by the medical officer in charge of the cantonment hospital under Rule 4 therein marginally noted, nor has any order been made for any prostitute to remove from the cantonments.

2. In reference to paragraph 2 of the same letter no "official," demi-official, or private "purveying for immorality" has taken place in this cantonment, nor has there been any request from any military authority for aid in such respect.

3. On the receipt of the rules for regulation of cantonment hospitals, it was proclaimed by beat of drum in the bazar and to a deputation of prostitutes in court that no restriction on their calling was now legal, and that, subject to the application of the medical officer in charge, cantonment hospital, mentioned in rule 3, no prostitute need attend for examination. How far women may have voluntarily attended is unknown to me, and their numbers can be obtained probably from the medical officer in charge, cantonment hospital. The number of prostitutes plying their profession here even is unknown to me, but probably amounts to hundreds, say two hundred. Whether a diminution in the number of venereal cases among troops has or has not occurred since the introduction of the new regulations can be ascertained from the medical officer's returns.

4. I may answer briefly the questions addressed by the Free Church of Scotland to the missionaries and ministers of India in page 2 :—

I.—In the sudder bazar, Ranikhet, the women formerly resided in all parts of the bazar (in the regimental bazars which are under the control of the various commanding officers it is believed no women openly professing prostitution are allowed to reside). During the past winter, a season when few prostitutes remain up here owing to the withdrawal of all the garrison except one company, the respectable residents of the bazar, such as tradespeople, shopkeepers, clerks in various offices, &c., complained of this as an intolerable nuisance, alleging that these women created a disturbance at all hours, endeavouring to attract soldiers into their houses, and also that soldiers more or less intoxicated, knowing that such women lived all over the bazar, endeavoured to enter the houses of such residents in search of prostitutes. As these respectable residents were entitled to consideration, rather less than half the bazar, that is the portion mainly occupied by shops and private residences, was closed to the prostitutes ; the only result of such order so far is that prostitutes have endeavoured by various pretences to get a foot-hold in this closed portion under the impression that such residence would give them a status of respectability and attract more customers. After allotting them their portion of the bazar for residence no further control whatever has been exercised over them.

II.—The rule allowing action to be taken against prostitutes on suspicion has not been worked so far as I know ; at any rate no woman has been brought up before me on complaint. Whether the men have been ordered to denounce them can be ascertained from commanding officers. There are no periodical compulsory examinations so far as I know. The number attending voluntarily can be ascertained from the medical officer in charge. I have no information whatever.

III.—No woman having been ejected I cannot say what the practical effect of ejectment is. I, however, imagine that such ejectment would practically result in their moving to the next big bazar.

IV.—No demand has been made for women for a regiment.

V.—I cannot say whether women feel themselves under compulsion or not. I have heard nothing on the subject. After the proclamation above referred to, informing them of the new regulations, I cannot understand how they could feel themselves under compulsion or licensed in any form.

5. Prostitutes in India are generally born in that "caste," both Hindus and Mussulmans ; that is, their mothers have been prostitutes before them for generations. They feel no shame about this ; they are never recruited from seduced girls as in England, or among European nationalities. It is their trade as much as a carpenter's is his. If a girl from among the non-prostitute classes is seduced she does not become a prostitute. Her offence among the lower classes is thought little of, and is condoned after some domestic punishment. Many of the young women of the trading classes have lovers, but they do not promiscuously cohabit with men. They are not, and never have been, affected by lock hospital regulations. A prostitute sometimes marries, but such marriages are generally with male descendants of prostitutes, seldom outside this (their own) class. Marriage does not necessarily entail their forsaking prostitution. A few women this season have informed me of their intention of marrying. I have generally found that this has been a pretence to get into the forbidden and closed portion of the bazar, and that their so-called husbands are men who have been living in their quarters as bullies and hangers-on. They have been uniformly told that their marriage was their private concern ; that if they can show they have any means of livelihood outside prostitution they can live in the closed portion of the bazar, but any return to prostitution entailed a return to the portion of the bazar assigned to prostitutes. No woman would promise to fulfil this condition, *i.e.*, abstention from prostitution.

6. As long as sexual differences exist so long will prostitution exist, and the complete abolition of all control, which the Free Church of Scotland and similar reformers desire, would be the most efficient means of attracting women to the ranks of prostitution in European countries. Out here, as above explained, it is a caste, and control neither adds to nor diminishes its numbers, nor does it beneficially or injuriously affect the morals of its members. It may cause dissatisfaction as tending to curtail their freedom ; but so do all laws have a repressive action on the criminal classes, which, however, has never been found a satisfactory reason for their abolition.

(signed) *W. Plowden*, Cantonment Magistrate.

Ranikhet, 14 November 1891.

From Colonel *F. Gorman*, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster General of India—
(No. 261-D, "Sanitary,"—dated Bareilly, the 12th December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to forward reports from the Officers Commanding Muradabad and Naini Tal in continuation of my No. 249-D, dated 21st November 1889.

From Major *Croker*, Commandant, Naini Tal, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Bareilly,—(dated Naini Tal, the 8th December 1891).

In reply to No. 5375-B, Office of Quartermaster General in India, Simla, 31st October 1891, marked strictly confidential, I have the honour to state that in the Naini Tal Cantonment the rules referred to are strictly adhered to and no compulsion whatever is resorted to and no inducement is offered to prostitutes.

There is a cantonment hospital in Naini Tal where women are treated who voluntarily present themselves.

I may mention that these women, generally two or three per month, come from the Naini Tal bazar and not from cantonment. No immoral women are allowed to reside within the limits of cantonments, their chief habitation, known as the Potato Fields, close to cantonments, is placed out of bounds for the British soldier.

These women referred to requested to be allowed to live in cantonments, and stated that if allowed to do so they would submit themselves to medical inspection, which request was not granted.

There has been no return of prostitutes to the cantonment, therefore no fine or punishment has been inflicted.

From Major *A. R. Hennel*, 1st Battalion, Hampshire Regiment, Commanding Moradabad, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Bareilly,—(dated Moradabad, the 7th December 1891).

In reply to confidential communication No. 4123-D, Government of India, Military Department, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report that there is only one cantonment hospital at this station for the use of natives suffering from diseases of any kind, and those suffering from venereal are treated similarly to those suffering from any other disease.

With reference to questions marked A—

1. Prostitutes are not confined in certain quarters and are not subject to control.

2. No action whatever is taken against women on suspicion of illness or otherwise; men are not ordered to denounce them, neither are periodical examinations held.

3. No women have been ejected from cantonments during the period of my command.

4. There is no demand for a certain number of women for the detachment, nor is there any official purveying for immorality.

5. There being no compulsion whatever used, the women about here cannot feel under any compulsion whatsoever, neither can they look on their calling as licensed.

From Major General Sir *J. Hudson*, Commanding Meerut District, to Quartermaster General in India—(No. 160-C, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,"—dated Meerut, 2 December 1891).

In reply to your No. 5376-B, dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to state that I have personally communicated with those officers who are most qualified to know the truth as to the actual state of the cantonment hospital at this station and to the way in which it is conducted, and I have to report as follows :—

2. With reference to paragraph 1 of the letter from the Goverment of India, Military Department, to your address, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to state that the rules set forward in the Indian Cantonment Act are strictly observed in this cantonment, and that they are in no way exceeded.

3. I am able to state, having perused the allegations of Dr. Huntley as to the Nasirabad Cantonment, that nothing that can be described as official purveying for immorality is carried on here.

4. With regard to the five specific queries set forward in Mr. John Dymock's letter, I have to report as follows :—

(1) The prostitutes are confined to a certain quarter of the bazar. This is solely for the convenience of the inhabitants, who would object and have objected, whenever a prostitute has lived in any other respectable quarter. This has always been the case here, and seems to me nothing more than is done in every town in Europe or elsewhere, where the presence of a prostitute in a street inhabited by well-ordered people would not be allowed for a moment. The quarter to which they are confined is not in the regimental bazars.

The prostitutes are not under any control whatever, beyond what is exercised over every inhabitant in the bazar.

(2) There is no rule allowing action to be taken against women on suspicion. The men have, in no instance, been asked to denounce them. The women are invited once a week to attend at the hospital on a certain day to submit themselves for examination. This is merely for the convenience of all parties. There is no registration or compulsion whatever.

(3) There has been but one case of ejectment from the cantonment. A woman voluntarily came to the hospital infected with the disease. She was treated there, but before her recovery, she demanded to leave the hospital. She was permitted to do so, and her condition was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, who ordered her removal from cantonments. She was subsequently found to have followed the troops to the neighbourhood of the camp at Pur.

(4) Nothing of this sort is carried on at Meerut.

(5) As far as is known, the women can have no grounds whatever for feeling themselves under compulsion, or for looking upon their calling as licensed.

5. With reference to a further point in query 5, page 3, of the printed correspondence, I have further the honour to say that the quarter set aside for the residence of the prostitutes in the bazar is nowhere near the quarters of the European cavalry, infantry, or artillery, and that no time is set apart for the men visiting them.

6. With regard to the other stations in this district, I may add that on the occasion of my visits, I make a point of personally inquiring whether the Cantonment Act and rules enjoined by the Secretary of State for India are strictly complied with, and from the results I feel convinced that they are. There is no cantonment hospital at Delhi.

From Brigadier General *G. T. Pretyman*, Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 11,—dated Umballa, 14 November 1891).

In reply to your No. 5377-B, dated 31st October 1891, forwarding Government of India, Military Department letter, No. 4123-D, dated Simla, 21st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that after careful and confidential inquiries on the matters therein noted, it appears that the terms of the Cantonment Act have been adhered to in this cantonment, and there is no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is resorted to.

From Lieutenant General Sir *Hugh Gough*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 537-C,—dated Meean Meer, 17 November 1891).

In reply to your No. 5378-B, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital," marked "Strictly Confidential," and dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to inform you that I have made most careful and confidential inquiries on the points noted, from all officers commanding battalions, batteries, and stations in my command, and I feel fully satisfied that the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

I have no reason to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules, is anywhere resorted to.

I can state definitely that it is not true that anything which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced in any of the cantonments under my command.

From Major General *W. K. Elles*, Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster General in India, —(No. 11-C, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital,"—dated Rawal Pindi, 19 January 1892).

In reply to your strictly confidential letter No. 5379-B, dated 31st October 1891, I have the honour to state that I have made careful and confidential inquiries from all commanding officers in this command, and I append their answers written after perusal by each of all the documents attached to your letter under reply. I consider it necessary to place you in possession of these reports as it would be impossible for me to convey in a single report the exact tenour of the whole.

2. In regard to the points on which information is more especially required by the Government of India, I beg to record my own opinion as follows :—

(1) The military authorities of this district are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

(2) Compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is not resorted to.

(3) There is nothing which can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality.

3. The only instance I know as having occurred to my knowledge which might, to any possibility, be considered to come under head (2) is the following : It came to my knowledge last August by rumour that at an out-station one commanding officer had ordered his men to point out women from whom they had contracted disease, and on their failing to do so, had punished them with a regimental entry. The practice had ceased before I became aware of it, but the effect remained. I took an early opportunity of visiting the station and of inquiring personally into the matter. I found that some five or six men had been so punished. I caused the regimental entries to be erased.

4. With reference to the remarks of Lieutenant Colonel Kay, 2nd Dragoon Guards, I agree with that officer in considering that the practice he refers to does not constitute an official purveying for immorality.

From Lieutenant Colonel *F. C. L. Kay*, Commanding 2nd Dragoon Guards, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 86-A-C,—dated Sialkot, 2 January 1892).

In reply to Government of India, Military Department letter No. 4133-D, dated Simla, the 21st October 1891, I have the honour to state, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that prostitutes do reside in the regimental bazar. They come and go of their own free will and are subject to no supervision whatever, except that while residing there they agree to be medically examined periodically. This they willingly agree to ; there is no compulsion, and I find that during the last six months, the time the women have resided in the bazar, the cases of venereal disease have considerable decreased in the regiment, and further, I do not consider the medical inspection "an official purveying for immorality."

From Major *W. A. F. Frere*, Commanding Murree Depôt, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi, Dirtrict—(No. 31-C, "Sanitary,"—dated Murree, 26 December 1891).

WITH reference to your No. 651-C, dated 23rd November, I have the honour to report that—

1. The military authorities at this station are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

2. There is no reason whatever to believe that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to.

3. There is absolutely nothing countenanced which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality."

From Captain *J. Thackeray*, R.A., Commanding at Campbellpore, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Campbellpore, 26 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to reply to the questions contained in 651-C, as follows :—

1. The cantonment hospital was opened on the 7th February 1891.

2. Its operations have been strictly within the limits of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State.

3. No compulsion of any kind has been found necessary.

4. There has been no such thing as "purveying" for immorality.

From Captain *Percy Westmorland*, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, Commanding at Attock, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated 23 December 1891).

I HAVE the honour to report as called for by Military Department letter No. 4123-D of the 21st October 1891, as follows :

That the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are strictly kept. That there is no compulsion resorted to in excess of that which is authorised under the rules.

That no "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Major *Keith Turnour*, Commanding 1st Battalion, the King's Royal Rifle Corps, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi,—(dated 18 December 1891).

WITH reference to your Memorandum No. 651-C, dated 23rd November 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. The prostitutes are at present living in tents which are pitched in line with others in the bazar ; they are not confined to certain quarters. They are subject to no control other than the remaining inhabitants of the bazar.

2. I have had no case of suspicion of illness. The men are not ordered to denounce women. There are no periodical examinations.

3. I have had no cases of ejectment from cantonment.

4. There is no such thing as a demand for a certain number of women, nor any purveying for immorality.

5. The women are under no compulsion, and as far as I know do not look on their calling as licensed.

From Lieutenant Colonel *H. E. Grant*, Commanding 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, to Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(No. 194-C,—"Sanitary," dated 18 December 1891).

WITH reference to your Memorandum No. 651-C, dated 23 November 1891, and enclosures, I have the honour to report, in reply to the inquiries contained in letter No. 4123-D from the Military Department, dated Simla, 21 October 1891 :—

1. The battalion under my command keeps strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State.

2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised.

3. There is no official purveying for immorality.

From Lieutenant Colonel *Lloyd Price*, Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 17 December 1891).

In reply to your No. 611-C, dated 25th November 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. That I am keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules of the Secretary of State.

2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules resorted to.

3. There is no official purveying for immorality countenanced by me.

From Major *J. S. Baldock*, Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, to the Station Staff Officer, Rawal Pindi,—(No. 12 C, dated Rawal Pindi, 2 December 1891).

With reference to Assistant Adjutant General's No. 651-C (Confidential), dated 25th November 1891, I have the honour to forward herewith reports from the Officers Commanding 60th Field Battery and No. 14 Company, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery.

From Major *W. H. Frith*, Commanding 60th Field Battery, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 1 December 1891).

I have the honour to report with reference to the inquiries contained in paragraphs 1 and 2 of Government of India's No. 4123-D, that :—

The expressions *italicised* are explained by the fact that Field Battery Commanders have no dealings with prostitutes resorted to by their men. There are no bazars under their orders.
(signed) *W. K. Ellees*,
Major Genl.

(1.) *As far as I know* the military authorities are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State ;

(2.) I *have no reason to believe* that compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is resorted to ;

(3.) " Official purveying for immorality " is not countenanced.

From Major *J. S. Baldock*, Commanding No. 14 Company, Eastern Division, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 8 December 1891).

I have the honour to report with reference to Government of India's No. 4123-D, that there is no bazar connected with the fort Rawal Pindi in which my company is quartered. I am, therefore, unable to make the report called for.

From Lieutenant Colonel *J. Keith*, Commanding Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District,—(dated Rawal Pindi, 8 December 1891).

In accordance with your Minute No. 651-C, " Sanitary," I have the honour to forward the reports called for from the Officer Commanding, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery.

From Major *Bowles*, R.A., Commanding No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills,—(dated West Ridge, 4 December 1891).

In reply to confidential memo. No. 651-C, dated 23 November 1891, from Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. There are no special arrangements made in the battery under my command for the supply of prostitutes for the men.

2. There is certainly nothing that can be described as official purveying for immorality.

From Major *J. Dacres Cunningham*, Commanding No. 3 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Acting Adjutant, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, West Ridge,—(dated West Ridge, Rawal Pindi, 4 December 1891).

With reference to No. 651-C., from Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, dated 23rd November 1891, and your memo. forwarding the same, I have the honour to state that :—

1. In my battery all matters are kept strictly under the terms of the Cantonment Act ;

2. There is no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules resorted to.

3. That " official purveying for immorality " is not countenanced.

From Captain *M. F. Fegen*, Royal Artillery, Commanding No. 1 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, to the Adjutant, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills—(No. 31 C., dated Rawal Pindi, 7 December 1891.)

With reference to No. 4123-D., Government of India, Military Department, forwarded under cover of Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District, No. 651-C, I have the honour to report :—

1. That the cantonment rules therein referred to are strictly kept.
2. That compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the rules is not resorted to.
3. That nothing which can be fairly described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Major *F. S. Dimond*, Commanding 3rd Prince of Wales's Dragoon Guards, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District—(No. 123-C., dated 15 December 1891.)

With reference to your letter, No. 651-C., and in answer to letter No. 4123-D. of the Secretary to the Government of India, I have the honour to state :—

1. That I have made careful and confidential inquiries on the subject.
2. That the regiment under my command has kept strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State with regard to venereal disease.
3. That no compulsion has taken place.
4. That no "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Colonel *R. W. Studdy*, Commanding 2nd Battalion, Manchester Regiment, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Rawal Pindi District—(No. 28-A., dated Sialkot, 5 January 1892.)

In reply to memo. No. 651-C., dated 23rd November 1891, forwarding Military Department letter No. 4123-D., dated 21st October 1891, I have the honour to report as follows :—

1. That so far as the battalion under my command is concerned, the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are not, nor have they been, in any way infringed.
2. No compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is or has been resorted to.
3. There is a quarter in the bazar of the battalion under my command available for women of the class referred to; but they come and go as they please. The property in which they reside neither belongs to the State nor to the battalion. They have the same freedom and rights as other residents, and are in no way interfered with regimentally; there is nothing in existence which can be described as official purveying for immorality.

From Major *E. Blaksley*, Commanding "H" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, to the Station Staff Officer, Sialkot—(dated Sialkot, 29 December 1891).

With reference to Government of India letter No. 4123–D, dated 21st October 1891, I have the honor to report that no prostitutes are permitted to reside in the Royal Horse Artillery bazar attached to the battery under my command, as there are no prostitutes.

1. The terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are in no way evaded or infringed.
2. There is no compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules.
3. There is no official purveying for immorality.

From Brigadier General *F. J. Keen*, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 463–C–R, dated Peshawar, 19 December 1891).

With reference to letter No. 4123–D, from the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India, bearing date 21st October 1891, and accompanying correspondence, I have the honour to report that as regards the cantonment of Peshawar, the rules approved by the Secretary of State for India are strictly observed. Women are not compelled to go to the cantonment hospital established under these rules.

Prostitutes of the sudder bazaar are treated in no way different to any other residents, and there is nothing to prohibit a woman of that class renting a house in the bazar. I do not consider the fact of prostitutes being there can be termed "official purveying for immorality." On the receipt of the Quartermaster General's circular memo. No. 3, dated Simla, 12th May 1888, the order regarding the removal of prostitutes from

regimental bazars was enforced, but there is no doubt these women manage to creep back from time to time, and officers commanding regiments do not all appear to know that the residence of these women is absolutely forbidden, and therefore do not exclude them rigorously. I can, however, say now that the provisions of the circular are strictly carried out.

From Major General Sir *George S. White*, K.C.B., K.C.I.E., V.C., Commanding Quetta District, to Quartermaster General in India—(No. 5242-B, dated Quetta, 18th December 1891).

In reply to your endorsement No. 5381-B,—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospital*," dated Simla, 31st October 1891, I have the honour to report that there is no hospital within Quetta cantonments for the treatment of women for contagious disease, and that there is no "official purveying for immorality" within the limits of my command.

From the Commander-in-Chief, Bombay Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 10-104—356 dated Poona, 27 January 1892).

In acknowledging receipt of your No. 5382, dated 31st October last, I have the honour to state, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, that confidential enquiries have been instituted on the points raised by the Government of India, in connection with the working of cantonment hospitals. The result of these inquiries will be found in the accompanying reports which have been received from General Officers Commanding districts in this presidency.

2. Beyond stating that strict instructions have always been given that under no circumstances is any compulsion to be used in the examination of patients attending for treatment at the cantonment hospitals, I am unable to give any further information than what is embodied in the reports referred to above.

3. The delay in submitting these reports is much regretted, but it was unavoidable, as special references had to be made about Nasirabad, and the allegations of Dr. Huntley.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *C. E. Hussey*, Commanding Deolali Depot, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Bombay, District—(No. 13—1891, dated Deolali, 13 December 1891).

In compliance with your confidential No. 5752 of 12th instant., I have the honour to report—

1. That the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State have been most strictly adhered to and there has been no compulsion of any sort in excess of that authorised by the rules quoted in the enclosed correspondence.

2. There has been no "official purveying for immorality" countenanced in this cantonment.

No. 579.

Forwarded to the Adjutant General. This is the only cantonment in this command affected with reference to your No. 539-T of 10th December 1891.

(signed) W. T. *Budgen*,
Bombay, 14th December 1891. Brigadier General commanding Bombay District.

No. 11483.

Transferred to Quartermaster General.

(signed) W. F. *Gatacre*, Brigadier General, Adjutant General.
26th December 1891.

From Brigadier General *J. Gatacre* Commanding Nagpore District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army, Poona—No. 7382, dated Kamptee, 22nd December 1891.

In accordance with instructions contained in your No. 539-T, dated 10th instant, I have the honour to state that I called for reports on the points under reference from all stations under my command and also from the Deputy Surgeon General, Nagpur District, and Central India Regiments and the Cantonment Magistrate, Kamptee, and having carefully considered the reports of all these officers, beg to submit my own report as under. With reference to the questions under the heading "A":—

1*st*.—Prostitutes as a rule live in the same quarter of the bazars, but entirely of their own free will, as it is essential to their profession that their place of dwelling should be known; they are, however, perfectly at liberty to live where they like, and are subject to no control whatsoever, so long as they behave themselves properly.

2nd.—If by chance a woman is said to have spread disease she is reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and then as a precaution against the spread of the disease, she is examined. She is, however, perfectly at liberty to refuse to be examined provided she leaves cantonments. The men are not ordered to denounce them, and very seldom do so.

3rd.—Cases of ejection from cantonments very seldom occur, as in only very few cases do the women object to the inspection, and those that are ejected almost invariably return when recovered.

4th.—There is absolutely nothing takes place in this district which could in any way come under the term of "official purveying for immorality."

5th.—The women are under absolutely no compulsion, and they know full well that under the present Cantonment Act no compulsion can be exercised over them.

In conclusion, I would submit that this absence of control over these women is a matter for much regret and the cause of great harm to the soldiers.

From Captain *A. Fordyce*, Cantonment Magistrate, Camp Deesa, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Deesa District—(dated Camp Deesa, 15 December 1891).

In reply to your memorandum No. D-9—5554, of the 14th instant, I have the honour to report that neither registration of prostitutes, nor their compulsory attendance at hospital and examination is carried out in this cantonment, nor has any such case come to my notice during my tenure of office here.

On two or three occasions women have actually applied to me to be registered, but have been informed their request cannot be granted.

As far as I know, there is absolutely nothing done in this cantonment to evade the spirit of the present rule, and, so far as the women are concerned, it remains a purely voluntary act on their part.

I am unaware of any official purveying of immorality being carried on in this cantonment.

From Surgeon *G. S. Thomson*, I.M.S., in charge Cantonment Hospital, Deesa, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Deesa—(dated Deesa Camp, 14 December 1891).

I have the honour to report in reply to yours No. D-9—1551 of 14th instant, and the accompanying correspondence herewith returned; and for the information of the General Officer Commanding that:—

1. The working of the cantonment hospital is strictly confined to examining and treating patients, and reporting cases to the Cantonment Magistrate for breach of the rules regulating the hospital under the Cantonment Act of 1889.

2. Any women suffering from infectious or contagious disorders are offered treatment in the hospital and discharged when cured; or are reported for non-compliance with the rules in force in such cases, no compulsion being resorted to.

3. There is no such thing as "official purveying to immorality" countenanced in any degree, as the rules approved by the Secretary of State are being rigidly adhered to.

From Captain *A. L. Hughes*, Cantonment Magistrate, Ahmedabad, to the Station Staff Officer, Ahmedabad (dated 21 December 1891).

In reply to your memorandum No. 2553 of the 17th instant, I have the honour to report that the powers granted in paragraphs 4 and 5 of General Order by the Government of India, No. 617, dated 4th July 1890, for the treatment of persons suffering from contagious diseases have in no single case been exceeded in this cantonment.

The provisions of that order are closely observed here, and I am quite convinced that no compulsion of an unauthorised nature is resorted to in this cantonment.

During the five months I have acted as Cantonment Magistrate, I have found it necessary to expel two women only from cantonment, and I have not once had occasion to punish any offence under paragraph 5.

From Surgeon Major *K. S. Wallis*, Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital, Ahmedabad, to the Station Staff Officer, Ahmedabad—(No. 31, dated Ahmedabad, 24 December 1891).

In returning the accompanying strictly confidential correspondence conveyed to me under your No. 2553 of 17th instant, I have the honour to state that the terms of the Cantonment Act are strictly adhered to, and in no instance has compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules ever been exceeded.

I further beg to state that anything which may be termed "official purveying to immorality" has not been, and is not, tolerated in this cantonment.

From Brigadier General *G. E. Beville*, Commanding Deesa District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army—(No. 5755, dated Deesa, 26 December 1891.

SUBMITTED with reference to your No. 539-T, dated 10th instant.

2. The provisions of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are most strictly adhered to in this district, and no compulsion in excess of that which is authorised under the latter rules is resorted to.

3. I can most positively state that no "official purveying for immorality" in countenanced by any one in this district.

From Brigadier General *Boyce Combe*, Commanding Sind District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay (No. 3338, dated Karachi, Sind, 26 December, 1891).

In compliance with the instructions contained in your letter No. 539-T, dated 10th instant, I have the honour to report that I have made careful inquiry as to the manner in which the rules regulating cantonment hospitals are now worked, and I am fully satisfied that all the authorities concerned are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and rules approved by the Secretary of State, that the spirit of these rules is in no way evaded, and that no compulsion in excess of that authorised under the rules is ever resorted to, whilst there is certainly nothing which can in any way be described as official *purveying for immorality*.

2. No Women are ever ordered to attend hospital for examination, until, or unless the officer in medical charge is satisfied from the nature and source of the report made to him that there is good and sufficient reason to suspect the women of being diseased.

3. The medical examination is in all cases made by the British medical officer himself in the presence of a hospital assistant and the matron, and a regular record is kept of all such examined with the result.

4. In case of a woman objecting to attend hospital for examination, the certificate of any respectable practitioner is accepted.

5. There has never been any cause to suspect that any woman has been maliciously reported on, or that there has been any attempt at blackmail.

From Brigader General *John Jopp*, Commanding Aden District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 19-5-31, dated Aden, 4 January 1892).

WITH reference to your strictly confidential letter No. 539-T, dated 10th December 1891, I have the honour to forward letter No. 63 of 1891 of the 31st ultimo from the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Aden, and to inform you that I concur in the statements he has made.

2. In concert with the Cantonment Magistrate, Aden, and the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Aden, I have made a very careful enquiry on the subject, the result of which has satisfied me that the statements as to the encouragement and spread of vice are absolutely unfounded.

3. The implied allegation of interference derived from the fact that the women generally live in particular localities in the town, is puerile, since every one who has any knowledge whatever of Oriental habits must be aware that particular races, castes, sects, and even trades invariably live together, and that in every town there is for example a Jews' quarter, a Hindu quarter, a sweepers' quarter, a tinsmiths' quarter, &c., &c., and that these people would themselves be the first to resent the intrusion of others such as these women among them.

4. Such an implication as this shows clearly how carelessly the allegations have been made, and how untenable they are; for it proves that the person making them did not even take the trouble to pay any heed to innate customs of the country which must be known to every one; but in his misguided zeal has made those very habits, which the people cling to most tenaciously and which are respected by all classes, the subject of his allegations against responsible officers.

From Surgeon *J. W. T. Anderson*, F.R.C.S., in medical charge, Cantonment Hospital, Aden, to the Cantonment Magistrate, Aden,—(No. 63, dated 31 December 1891).

WITH reference to 4123-D, Government of India, Military Department (Sanitary), dated Simla, 21st October 1891, with attached memos. from the Quartermaster General, Poona, and Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Aden District, I have the honour to report that—

1. The Cantonment Acts in force in Aden have nothing in common with the old Acts under the lock hospital system, and no compulsion beyond that which is authorised is ever resorted to. The Cantonment Acts are carried out to the letter.

2. In no sense is there any official purveying for immorality. Women come or go freely of their accord and are in no way compelled to attend the cantonment hospital for examination. It is only when a person is discovered to be suffering from a contagious disorder that he or she, as the case may be, is ordered to hospital to prevent a further spread of that disease.

3. Not one of the charges made by Dr. Huntley respecting Nasirabad is in any way applicable to this station. No soldier is ever asked officially or otherwise to pick out any woman who is suspected of giving him a contagious disorder, and it is only through civilians who have suffered that any information has ever been received of a person who is spreading contagious disease.

It is true the prostitutes live in a part of the town by themselves, but the same applies to Europeans, Jews, Somalis, bunnias, &c., or by trades to dhobies, garriwallas, jewellers, tinsmiths, coopers, &c. There is no compulsion in this matter, it is simply a case of convenience.

The women are in no sense licensed or under compulsion of any sort whatever. The statements as to the spread and encouragement of vice are false in every sense and could only emanate from a person whose mind was not properly balanced.

From Major General *R. B. H. Blundell*, Commanding Poona District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 23-C, dated Poona, 9 January 1892).

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Office No. 539-T of the 10th ultimo, I have instituted careful enquiries on the subject of the action taken in the several cantonments in this district with regard to the orders published in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890, and the reports received show very distinctly that the spirit of these orders has been fully appreciated and followed.

2. No compulsion, in excess of that which is authorised, is resorted to.

3. Nothing which can fairly be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced.

From Major General *H. S. Anderson*, Commanding Mhow District, to the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army,—(No. 251, dated Mhow, 22 January 1892).

WITH reference to your memorandum No. 539-T, and accompaniments*, regarding the Indian Canton-
* Herewith returned. ment Act, I have the honour to report as follows :—

Mhow.

2. There is no official purveying for immorality. The cantonment hospital is worked within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is no compulsory examination of women, nor are the police employed in the detection of contagious disease. The hospital is conducted solely on voluntary principles except when the provisions of G. G. O. No. 380, paragraph 4, dated 9th July 1890, are put into force.

Neemuch.

3. The Officer Commanding Neemuch states that everything in connection with the prostitutes in cantonment, and the management of the cantonment hospital, is carried out strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is neither compulsion of any kind, nor official purveying for immorality. The prostitutes are not confined to any place, but live where they please in the bazar. Men, when admitted into hospital, are not sent to pick out the women from whom they contracted the disease, nor is any action taken against the women on suspicion. The medical officer in charge visits the cantonment hospital daily. Policemen are not employed to bring women to hospital.

Nasirabad.

4. Précis of Officer Commanding Nasirabad's report :—

The authorities at Nasirabad keep strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State. There is no official purveying for immorality, and no compulsion is resorted to "in excess of what is authorised under the rules."

5. As regards Dr. Huntley's allegations, the Officer Commanding Nasirabad states :—

(*a*) The building formerly used as a lock hospital has been utilised as a cantonment hospital simply as a matter of economy.

(*b*) An English surgeon is in charge, on a monthly salary, but this is for contagious diseases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely for venereal.

(*c*) With regard to the weekly visit, the attendance of the prostitutes being purely voluntary, the medical officer has to fix a day to enable him to get through his other medical duties.

(*d*) No special quarter in the bazar is set aside for the compulsory residence of prostitutes, nor are there fixed hours for men to visit them.

(*e*) Soldiers are sent to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease, but then the procedure laid down in G. G. O. No. 380 of 1890 is strictly followed.

(*f*) The effect of ejecting the prostitutes from cantonment is simply that they stay with their friends until cured, and spread no more disease than if they remained unchecked in cantonments.

(*g*) As regards men being encouraged in vice by the belief that these examinations of prostitutes form a safeguard to themselves, it is notorious that soldiers do not seek registered prostitutes, but village and labouring women, classes exempt from interference.

6. As regards Dr. Huntley himself, the officer commanding Nasirabad states that he is a medical man in missionary employ, and has been in India about four years. He is regarded as a clever doctor, and zealous in his duties.

7. As the Cantonment of Nasirabad is particularly brought to notice in the Government of India No 4123–D., dated 21st October 1891, I attach the report of the officer commanding that station in original.

From Colonel *E. Cunningham*, commanding Nasirabad, to the General Officer commanding Mhow District—
(No. 56–C., dated Nasirabad, 1st January 1892).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of 13th ultimo, forwarding Quartermaster General's memorandum No. 539–F. of 10th idem, with its accompaniments, regarding the Indian Cantonment Act and its rules concerning venereal disease, as carried out at this station.

2. I propose first to deal with the letter of Dr. W. Huntley, of the United Presbyterian Missior dated 6th January 1891, embodied in the memorial to the Viceroy and Governor General of India from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, commenting on each paragraph from No. 3 to No. 9.

3. There is no Lock Hospital at this station. On the abolition of that institution a cantonment hospital was established, to which all forms of contagious disease are admissible for treatment. It is not confined to venereal cases, though any one, man or woman, suffering from that disease, is eligible as a patient, the ailment carrying contagion. That the building formerly used as a lock hospital should have been utilised as a cantonment hospital is merely a matter of economy, and seems to be unobjectionable, if sexes are kept separate.

4. An English surgeon is in charge of the hospital on its new footing, and draws a monthly salary; but this is for attendance on contagious cases of any kind that may present themselves, and not solely of venereal disease, as might be perhaps supposed by Dr. Huntley's use of the word "department."

5. The allusion by Dr. Huntley to the surgeon's "weekly visit" may convey a perfectly erroneous notion as to that officer's duties. I beg, therefore, to state that the attendance of prostitutes being absolutely voluntary, it is necessary, bearing in mind the surgeon's other medical duties, that a day should be fixed. This in no way relieves him from liability to attend daily (if called on) any patients with a contagious disorder. That some women may desire examination is quite conceivable, when one reflects on the nature of venereal; but many object much, and (it not being now compulsory, except under circumstances noted below) never are examined. As to prostitutes considering that inspection gives their profession a "standing," I cannot find that of the few known ones here any have publicly expressed that opinion, whatever their private view.

6. There is no special quarter now set aside in the bazar for the compulsory residence of prostitutes; but, as is, I believe, universal in the East, they generally affect one locality, though to be found in all streets. As a matter of fact, however, in Nasirabad the homes of many are not in the "Chucklah," as the locality was called in the days of registration, but in other neighbourhoods, while some have two houses, one in the "Chuckla," the other elsewhere, the owner residing in either at will. No "certain hours" are set apart at this station for soldiers to visit prostitute's quarters, they are free agents in such matters.

7. It is true that when a soldier is found suffering from venereal he is "taken to pick out the woman," who is then sent to the cantonment hospital; but should she refuse to remain, no compulsion is exercised. She is merely removed from the cantonment, a legal proceeding, or at times, if the nature of the case permit, simply directed to attend at hospital as an out-door patient and warned against exercising her profession. The statement that the women still "consider themselves licensed" seems to me doubtful. So long as tickets were issued by authority they did so; but the abolition of that system, coupled with freedom of residence, cannot but have removed this impression.

8. Turning now to queries 3 and 4, embodied in the letter addressed by the Rev. J. Dymock, Convener, to certain missionaries and ministers, I beg to remark that the practical effect on prostitutes of ejection from cantonment is generally assumed to be small. From Nasirabad they adjourn to friends or relatives at Ajmere or other neighbouring places, where they remain till cured. They spread no more disease during absence than they would if they remained unchecked in cantonment. As to anything even approaching "official purveying for immorality" nothing of the kind exists. It is also extremely doubtful whether the young soldier, as stated, believes the present system affords him a guard, and so specially consorts with women who seek examination, for it is notorious that much of the venereal is contracted from village women in the fields, and from day labourers, classes exempt from interference.

9. The next paragraph (No. 9) of Dr. Huntley's letter might pass without comment, as it merely advances a theory of his own, for others to accept or reject at pleasure; but I may remark that his allusion to the effect of the Cantonment Act rules on "officers" clearly shows how superficial is his knowledge of the "avenues of vice" affected by these gentlemen when morally weak; and as regards privates, my preceding paragraph points to the method they frequently adopt, and it is understood prefer.

10. The foregoing statement will I think sufficiently show that the authorities at Nasirabad are keeping strictly within "the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and that no compulsion in excess of what is allowed is resorted to." Orders may, unknown to authority, be exceeded occasionally by the native police for extortion or other purposes, and from this no one is quite safe in India; but such proceedings are not tolerated with a view to going behind the Act and rules. It is the opinion of officers of longer residence here than myself, and whose duties give weight to their view, that the system now in vogue has, instead of encouraging, tended greatly to lessen vice for the following reasons:—

(1.) By its placing a certain amount of restraint and inconvenience on prostitution, so that in some cases, sooner than submit thereto, women have abandoned evil courses and become respectable.

(2.) By practically putting an end to private prostitution, at one time very prevalent here amongst the lower female population, and a great source of disease. These women could defy authority, continue their evil conduct, and refuse treatment, some of them being domestic servants in private compounds. The comparative closing of this "avenue of vice," which was at the very doors of officers and soldiers alike, has undoubtedly benefited morality by presenting obstacles to easy indulgence of passion, and thus leading to continence.

11. As regards the bazar, it may not be out of place to mention that the full liberty of residence accorded to prostitutes has drawbacks not applicable to "special quarters," which appear to be objected to.

(1.) The proximity of a prostitute is an offence to a virtuous neighbour.

(2.) The open way in which an Oriental prostitute proclaims her profession invites many to vice, and is best confined to a locality.

(3.) Visible signs of successful vice cannot be hidden from the young of both sexes where scattered residence exists.

(4.) Youth is less likely to seek vice than to succumb when daily viewing it.

(5.) Many hesitate to be seen in a disreputable quarter who will turn up side streets.

12. Finally, as regards Dr. Huntley and his antecedents, I have not been able to discover much. He is a medical man in mission employ; has been in India about four years; is regarded as a clever doctor and zealous at his duties, and has also had charge of the cantonment dispensary, where he gave satisfaction. My own personal acquaintance with him is too slight to warrant decided opinion as to his merits and reliability; but I think that several parts of his letter, while arguing earnestness, lack that calmness of more matured experience which inspires confidence, and that his brief residence in India, amidst specially religious surroundings, might reasonably deter any one from at present accepting him as an authority or guide in any matter connected with the country or the British soldier.

I beg to return the correspondence as forwarded.

From Lieutenant General the Honourable Sir *J. C. Dormer*, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, Madras Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 129–B., dated Ootacamund, the 15th February 1892).

I HAVE the honour, in reply to your letter No. 5383–B., dated 31st October 1891, to acquaint you that from careful and confidential inquiries instituted, I am informed by General Officers commanding districts in this command, that :—

(*a*) The terms of the Cantonment Act, as noted in Military Department letter No. 4123–D., dated 21st October 1891, are strictly adhered to, and the rules approved by the Secretary of State are in no way infringed or departed from.

(*b*) No sort of compulsion, in excess of that authorised under the rules, is resorted to or permitted.

(*c*) Nothing that can, in any way, be described as "official purveying for immorality" is countenanced

2. Cantonment hospitals have already been established in some stations,* and will be so established in others, on receipt of the sanction of Government, which has been applied for. To these hospitals persons suffering from infectious or contagious diseases are invited to resort for treatment, should they be so inclined. No manner of compulsion is used to make them attend. Prostitutes reside where they please, and no particular quarter is set apart for them to live in.

* Secunderabad.
Bangalore.
Wellington.

Enclosure No. 45.

To the Most Honourable the Marquis of *Lansdowne*, Her Majesty's Viceroy of India.

Your Lordship,

WE, the undersigned, Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreebush, Stonehaven, N. B., beg humbly but very urgently to solicit your Lordship's most serious attention to the state of things in India in connection with the Cantonments Act in its bearing on sexual vice.

It has all along been feared that the new Act, while not *enjoining* the system condemned by the well-known Resolution of Parliament of 5th June 1888, would prove not to have *excluded* it, as required by the Parliamentary Resolution. This fear was greatly intensified by the Rules under the Act, and now, we grieve to say, the facts turn out to be in accordance with the fear.

A Committee of our Church, in answer to a request for very reliable and very precise information, has received communications from missionaries and chaplains, at cantonments in different parts of India, and connected with various Churches. The writers put their names to the documents, and unite in certifying that *substantially* the old system is still carried on in the places they have to do with—that vice is still regulated in a variety of ways, and that therefore it is still licensed.

We beg to refer your Lordship, for further details, to the memorial of the General Assembly of our Church, and we pray your Lordship, with the utmost earnestness, in consideration of the many and great interests involved, to take immediate steps towards a thorough investigation into the working of the Canton-

ments Act, as regards sexual vice, and towards a complete suppression, whether by a new Act, or new rules, or in some other way, of such practices as are really at variance with the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's obedient Servants,
In name of the Kirk Session of the Free Church, Bourtreebush, Stonehaven, N. B.
(signed) *William Macdonald*, Moderator.

Enclosure No. 46.

TELEGRAM from the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 17-M, dated Mahableshwar, 10th May 1892).

OFFICER Commanding Nasirabad on further reference distinctly states that no compulsion of any kind is used to enforce hospital attendance. The Cantonment Magistrate and medical officer definitely and precisely say so. A circular is being issued to all General Officers Commanding, once more drawing their attention to the rules and insisting that they shall in no way be strained.

MEMORANDUM from the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 2027-B, dated Simla, 12th May 1892.

SUBMITTED for the information of the Government of India, Military Department.

Enclosure No. 47.

From Major General *E. Stedman*, Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary of the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 2656-B, dated Simla, 9th June 1892).

IN continuation of this office No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Commander-in-Chief to report, for the information of the Government of India, that the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay Armies, and all General Officers Commanding in Bengal (Assam district and Punjab Frontier Force excepted, there being no European troops in those commands) have been asked definitely whether registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under their respective commands. All the above have replied that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under their command.

Enclosure No. 48.

From Major General *E. H. H. Collen*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 3034-D, dated Simla, 29 June 1892).

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters marginally noted, regarding the observance of the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns venereal diseases.

No. 448-B, Camp, dated 24th March 1892.
No. 2027-B, dated 12th May 1892.
No. 2656-B, dated 9th June 1892.

2. In reply, I am directed to express the satisfaction of the Government of India at finding that the Commander-in-Chief is upon the whole convinced that the Act and the rules are being duly observed. In one or two instances the action of the local military authorities has fallen short of what is considered necessary: but the Government of India observe that his Excellency has taken immediate steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders and to insist on the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which have been issued.

3. I am to bring to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief that your circular of 12th May 1888 only forbids the residence of *registered* prostitutes in bazars; but the registration of prostitutes having been forbidden by circular of 6th August 1888, the circular of 12th May, which does not apply to unregistered prostitutes, would not have the effect of prohibiting these latter from residing in the bazars of British cantonments. This point will be made clear by the issue of instructions based on (*e*) in the following paragraph; but meanwhile it is satisfactory to note that the Commanders-in-Chief, Madras and Bombay, and all General Officers Commanding troops in Bengal (except in Assam and the Punjab Frontier Force, where there are no European troops) report that no registration of prostitutes is in force in any cantonment under them.

4. The Government of India desire to lay particular stress on the following points:—

(*a*) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.

(*b*) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound (by law) to report it to the proper medical authority.

(*c*) That on the medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (*i*) going to hospital, or (*ii*) leaving the cantonment. *But* (*iii*) *such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.*

(*d*) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.

(*e*) That no *separate* register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious disease; nor any other action tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

5. I am accordingly to request the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to the above effect to all General Officers Commanding districts in Bengal; a copy of this letter will be sent to the Governments of Madras and Bombay for similar action.

Enclosure No. 49.

From Major General *E. H. H. Collen*, C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Madras—Bombay, Military Department—(No. 3115-D, dated Simla, 4th July 1892).

I AM directed to forward the accompanying copy of a letter* addressed to the Quartermaster General in India, requesting the issue of a confidential circular memorandum to all General Officers Commanding districts in Bengal, on the subject of the treatment of venereal and other contagious diseases, and the prohibition of registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars.

* No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892.

2. With reference thereto, I am to request that his Excellency the Governor in Council may be moved to cause similar confidential circular memoranda to be issued to all General Officers Commanding districts in Madras—Bombay.

Enclosure No. 50.

CIRCULAR Memorandum from the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 20, dated Simla, the 11th July 1892).

WITH regard to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules* issued under the Cantonment Act, the Quartermaster-General is directed to state that the Government of India desire particular stress to be laid on the following points, *viz* :—

* G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.

(*a*) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.

(*b*) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound (by law) to report it to the proper medical authority.

(*c*) That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment. *But* (iii) ***such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.***

(*d*) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.

(*e*) That no *separate* register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases, nor any other action to be taken tending to convey the idea that they are any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

2. The Commander-in-Chief accordingly directs that the attention of all station and regimental authorities may be drawn to the above instructions with a request that their observance be most carefully and strictly attended to by all concerned.

To General Officer Commanding Presidency District.
" " " " Assam "
" " " " Allahabad "
" " " " Nerbudda "
" " " " Bundelkhand "
" " " " Oudh "
" " " " Rohilkhand "
" " " " Meerut "
" " " " Sirhind "
" " " " Lahore "
" " " " Rawal Pindi "
" " " " Peshawar "
" " " " Quetta "
" " " " Punjab Frontier Force.

No. 3492-B.

MEMORANDUM.

Simla, 18 July 1892.

SUBMITTED for the information of the Government of India with reference to Military Department No. 3034-D, dated 29th June 1892.

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

FORWARDED for information.

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

To the Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India.
" Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.
" Adjutant-General in India.

FORWARDED for information.

By order,

(signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel, for Quartermaster General in India.

To the Quartermaster General, Madras Army.
" " Bombay "

EXTRACT Despatch from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 155 (Military), paragraph 3, dated 8 December 1892.

3. I have had under my consideration the correspondence accompanying your Military Despatch No. 134, of 6th September 1892 (Confidential), relative to the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, No. XIII., of 1889. The orders issued by your Government to ensure the strict observance of that Act, and of the rules framed under it, are noted. I should be glad to be informed what replies your Excellency has caused to be made to the representations of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and other bodies on the subject.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 11 (Military), dated 18 January 1893.—Received 13 February 1893.

My Lord,

WE have to acknowledge the receipt of paragraph 3 of your Lordship's Military letter No. 155, dated the 8th December 1892 (M-9394), enquiring what replies were sent to the representations of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland and other bodies, on the subject of the working of the Indian Cantonments Act, XIII of 1889.

2. In reply, we have the honour to report that all the memorials were acknowledged, but that no replies, intimating our intentions, were sent to the memorialists. We do not see any occasion for making any further communication to the numerous bodies which addressed us.

We have, &c.,
(signed) *Lansdowne.*
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.
A. E. Miller.
H. Brackenbury.
C. B. Pritchard.

TELEGRAM to Viceroy, dated 13 April 1893.

HAVE you any objection to publication, if necessary, House of Commons, your Military Despatch 134, of 6th September, 1892, Cantonment Regulations?

TELEGRAM to Viceroy, dated 13 April 1893.

WITH reference to paragraph 13, enclosure 50, your Military Despatch No. 134, 6th September last, Cantonment Regulations, what is law requiring any person to report contagious disease?

DESPATCH from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 50 (Military), dated 20 April 1893.

My Lord Marquis,

Appointment of a committee to inquire into the working of the Regulations issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889.

IN continuation of paragraph 5 of Lord Cross's Despatch No. 44, of 27th February 1890, forwarding copy of correspondence with Mr. James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., I have to inform your Lordship that I have received from these gentlemen the accompanying statement as to the administration of the East India Cantonment Act and Regulations since 1889 in 10 Military Cantonments in India in the year 1892, which, in their opinion, shows that the Act and regulations are not administered in the spirit of the resolution of the House of Commons of the 5th June 1888, quoted in the margin.*

* "That, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women, and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India, is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."

2. I have accordingly thought it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes, and to the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report whether they comply with the above-mentioned Resolution, a copy of which was forwarded to your Government with Lord Cross's Despatch No. 136, of 14th June 1888.

3. The Committee will consist of Mr. G. W. E. Russell, M.P., chairman; Right Honourable J. Stansfeld, M.P.; General Sir D. M. Stewart, Bart, G.C.B.; Sir J. B. Peile, K.C.S.I.; Mr. H. J. Wilson, M.P.; Secretary, Major General O. R. Newmarch, C.S.I.

4. Minutes of the evidence laid before the Committee will be sent to your Lordship in instalments, as printed; and the report, as soon as I receive it, will be forwarded to you for your observations.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Kimberley.*

Enclosure.

(Private and Confidential.)

East India Cantonments Acts and Regulations since 1889.

STATEMENT of facts as to the administration of the above-mentioned Acts, in respect of certain Contagious Diseases within 10 Military Cantonments in British India in the year 1892.

THE principal facts ascertained and verified are the following.

1. That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by or with the sanction of the military authorities:

(*a.*) For the residence therein of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers.

(*b.*) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or native medical officers.

(*c.*) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any of such women under the orders of the examining officers.

(*d.*) With penal consequences in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment; or of expulsion from the cantonment.

2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and the regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution, and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonments.

As to 1. (*a.*) In each cantonment there are assigned quarters for prostitutes, called a "chakla" or "chaklas," situated frequently close to the military "bazars."

The "chakla" in some cases consist of a single building, in appearance similar to the military buildings, and having a series of small rooms; in others of separate huts or tents grouped together, and sometimes enclosed within a fence. Each room, hut, or tent is occupied by one native woman, and used by her to receive the visits of British soldiers, who come to the "chakla" for the purpose. The women do no work for wages, and live for no other purpose. There is apparently no solicitation by the women; no natives are allowed to resort to them; nor are they (the women) at liberty to leave the cantonment without permission.

In some cases the "chakla" is stated to belong "to the Government"; in others to be owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government.

In some cantonments the women live rent free, in others they pay rent.

In some cantonments a guard in uniform is placed within or near to the "chaklas."

In each cantonment a register is kept of the "chakla" women. In some places metal plates, bearing the register numbers of the women, are affixed over the entrances of the separate rooms in the "chakla" (which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers), so that a soldier may be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name or address.

In almost every instance the "chakla," with its occupants, is under the control of a woman superintendent, called the "mahaldarni," whose wages are paid in some cases out of the funds of the cantonment; in others by a share of the earnings of the women; and in others by income derived from both these sources.

Some of these "mahaldarnis" possess certificates signed by British officers, and ranging in date over several years, testifying to the efficient performance of their duties in supplying women as required, managing the brothel, detecting disease, &c.

All their duties are the same now as formerly before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and include the care and control of the women under their charge, and their presentation for periodical examination.

The number of women in each "chakla" is proportioned to the number of British soldiers for the time being in the cantonment, averaging from 12 to 15 for each regiment. In one cantonment there were 100 such women, in another about 100, in a third 62, in a fourth 56, and in a fifth 56.

A uniform low rate of pay is made, viz.—

For a private soldier	4 annas.
„ bombardier	6 „
„ corporal	8 „
„ sergeant	1 rupee.

If not paid complaint was sometimes made to the authorities, and the amount stopped from the man's pay.

Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living, various demands, some of extortionate nature, and the consequence is that they live in abject poverty, and generally get into debt to the mahaldarni or some outside creditor, and are therefore unable to quit the cantonment, even when they desire to give up their life of shame.

The result is that they live in the cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes until (unless they sooner die) they are too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women.

The prostitutes are generally girls, many being very young (apparently 14 or 15 years of age).

When a regiment changes its cantonments the women associated with that regiment accompany it on the march in carts provided for their transport, or are sent by railway. During their progress they are protected by European guards and accompanied by the mahaldarni.

(*b.*) Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed medical officers at the hospital in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

The examinations are usually once a week, but in some cantonments are bi-weekly, and in two bi-monthly. They are limited to the women consorting with British soldiers.

The examination is made individually by the Britsh medical officer, and is stated to be generally conducted in the presence of the resident native medical officer of the hospital, and in the presence also of the Lock hospital nurse (called the "dhai"). The examination is made on a special table, with speculum, &c. The women subjected to it, and even the mahaldarnis, speak of it with abhorrence.

The women assemble at a fixed time at the hospital, either walking thither, or (if distant) riding in carts and cabs.

(*c.*) Upon the examination the women are either dismissed until the next examination day, with liberty and license to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime, or are detained in the hospital.

Detention is ordered not only in case of detected disease, but in most cases even during the natural menstrual period without disease.

During detention in the hospital each woman receives an allowance from the Cantonment fund, ranging from two annas to three annas per diem.

(D.) In the event of a woman registered breaking the regulations by not presenting herself on the prescribed day for examination, the Medical Officer sends to her by the native police, or reports the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who orders her to come up for examination; if she disobeys she is threatened with arrest by the police, and that she may be fined, imprisoned, or expelled from the Cantonment.

If she leave the hospital before being formally discharged, she is liable to the like penalties.

If she leave the Cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate (which is given only after medical examination at the hospital), she is precluded from re-entering the Cantonment, either absolutely, or only on undergoing examination at the hospital.

The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman from the Cantonment is tantamount generally to starvation.

As to 2. All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious or contagious diseases are used almost exclusively for the treatment of venereal diseases contracted by the registered prostitutes. No infectious diseases are treated in them. In only one or two of these hospitals are diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted, and the cases are extremely few. Very rarely are patients other than prostitutes admitted.

In some of these hospitals cases of secondary syphilis are not treated, all such cases being sent out of Cantonment.

The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examination are the registered women reserved for the use of British troops; a few other women used by native soldiers occasionally are sent to the Lock hospital for treatment.

DESPATCH from Secretary of State to Governor General of India in Council, No. 52 (Military), dated 27 April 1893.

My Lord Marquis,

Evidence laid before the Committee on the working of the regulations under the Cantonment Act of 1889.

I FORWARD herewith copies of the evidence which has been laid before the Committee on the working of the regulations issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889, whose appointment was notified to you in my Despatch No. 50, of 20th April 1893.

2. As it is desired to present the report of the Committee, with the observations of your Government on the evidence, to the House of Commons during the present Session, I request that your Lordship will cause me to be furnished with your observations at the earliest date possible, consistent with a full examination of the matters referred to. The report by the Committee mentioned in paragraph 4 of my previous Despatch will not be prepared until your Excellency's observations are before them.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *Kimberley.*

TELEGRAM from Viceroy, dated 29 April 1893.

YOUR telegram in the Military Department, dated 13 April.—Cantonment Regulations. Inquiry made about it shows that statement regarding law is too sweeping. Orders have been issued for withdrawal of Clause 1*b*. of circular from Quarter-Master General. Please defer publication of our Military Despatch, No. 134, 6 September last, until receipt of our explanation.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 81 (Military), dated 10 May 1893.—Received 29 May 1893.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's telegrams, dated the 13th April 1893, requesting to be referred to the law alluded to in Clause (*b*), Paragraph 1 of the Circular Memorandum No. 20, issued by the Quartermaster General in India on the 11th July 1892, which requires any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease, to report it to the proper medical authority; and also inquiring whether there is any objection to the publication in the House of Commons of our Military Despatch No. 134, dated the 6th September 1892.

2. On receipt of the above telegrams, we caused inquiry to be made as to the state of the law on this point. The result of the inquiry shows that the statement contained in Clause (*b*), paragraph 1 of Quartermaster General's Circular Memorandum No. 20 was too sweeping, and that although such laws are in force in certain specified localities and provinces, yet they do not apply to India generally. We regret very much the mistake which has been committed.

3. We telegraphed to your Lordship the result of the above inquiry on the 29th April 1893 and we now forward, for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter (No. 1,810-D) addressed to the Quartermaster General in India by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department on the 29th April 1893, from which it will be observed that we have issued orders for the withdrawal of the Clause in question.

4. We do not think that Despatch No. 134, dated 6th September 1892, should be published.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Lansdowne.*
G. S. White.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.
A. E. Miller.
H. Brackenbury.
C. B. Pritchard.

LISTS of Enclosures of Despatch No. 81 (Military), dated 10 May 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From Whom or to Whom.	SUBJECT.
1	No. 1,810-D, dated the 29th April 1893.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Asking him to inform all those to whom his Circular No. 20, dated the 11th July 1892, was addressed that, by the order of the Government of India, (*b*) Clause 1 is to be struck out; also requesting that an amended Circular omitting the clause in question may be issued in place of that of the 11th July 1892.

(signed) *M. J. King-Harman*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

(Confidential.)

Enclosure to Despatch No. 81, dated 10 May 1893.

From Major General Sir *E. H. H. Collen*, K.C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Quartermaster General in India.—(No. 1,810-D, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, 29 April 1893.)

WITH reference to your Endorsement No. 3,942-B, dated the 18th July 1892, forwarding copy of a Circular addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts and others, regarding the observance of the rules issued under the Cantonment Act, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, I am directed to request that,

under the orders of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, you will be so good as to address those to whom the Circular above alluded to was sent, stating that, by the order of the Government of India, (*b*) Clause 1 of the Circular in question is to be struck out.

2. I am also to request that an amended Circular omitting Clause 1 (*b*) may be issued in place of that dated the 11th July 1892.

EXTRACT Despatch from Secretary of State to Government of India, No. 56 (Military), paragraph 15, dated 11 May 1893.

(Sent in advance by mail of 21st April 1893.)

15. With reference to my Military Despatch, No. 50, dated 20th April 1893, I forward copy of a list of books and documents stated to have been examined by two ladies who have appeared as witnesses before the Committee appointed to inquire into the regulations issued under the Cantonments Act of 1889. Should your Government see no objection, I shall be glad if you will cause these books and documents to be sent home at an early date for the inspection of the Committee.

DOCUMENTS examined by Mrs. *Andrew* and Dr. *Kate Bushnell* at various Cantonment Lock Hospitals in the months of February and March 1892.

MEERUT.

1. A record of patients admitted since 1st January 1892.

2. A Register of Prostitutes, assigning them to various quarters, viz.: Sudder Bazar, Infantry, Artillery and Lancers' Bazars.

3. Visitors' Book, containing a complaint that two or three women had been coming into the cantonment from the city to practice prostitution, and they must be dealt with severely by the Cantonment Magistrate.

4. Diary and Visitors' Book, containing a note that a patient Akburi had left the hospital uncured, and a later note (January 1892) that she had been sent to the Cantonment Magistrate to stand trial under a cantonment law or regulation designated as Section 4, No. 617.

MEAN MEER.

1. Correspondence Book containing a copy of a letter from B. Grainger to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated January 1892, requesting that four persons named therein be made to appear for examination on the 8th inst.

2. Book of Blank Orders for Examination Tickets, with memoranda on the remaining counterfoils.

RAWAL PINDI.

1. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Rawal Pindi Cantonment for the year 1891. (In manuscript, 3 pages).

PESHAWAR.

1. Register of the prostitutes residing in the Sudder Bazar.

2. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases" for Peshawar Cantonment for 1891. (In manuscript, 3 pages.)

UMBALLA.

1. Book of the Register of Prostitutes, containing lists headed "Prostitutes attending Voluntary Inspections," grouped according to regiments, as "Hussars," "Argyle and Sutherland," &c.

2. Daily Journal, recording that at the last inspection (in February 1892), twenty-eight women were examined.

3. Correspondence Book, containing copy of a letter, dated in December 1891, naming six women supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them to inspection.

BAREILLY.

1. Visitors' Book, recording the visits of surgeons Jones, Gunning, Geoghegan, and Cantonment Magistrate, Major Annesley.

2. Record of the patients admitted to the Hospital.

3. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Bareilly Cantonment for the year 1891. (Manuscript, 3 pages.)

4. Correspondence Book.

SITAPUR.

1. "Report of the Cantonment Hospital for Contagious and Infectious Diseases," for Sitapur Cantonment, for 1891 (Manuscript, 3 pages).

BENARES.

1. Register of Prostitutes attending periodical examinations.

2. Record of patients admitted to the Hospital, showing the majority of admissions between 1st January 1892 and time of our visit in March was for "Menses."

In addition to the foregoing which we saw in the Hospitals, we learned from the native physician of Sitapur Hospital that there existed a registration list of fifteen women. It might be well to call for this. In addition to all the foregoing which were in hospitals, we saw, in the hands of the mahaldarni of the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders at Umballa, a book which was the Register of the Prostitutes under her immediate care with memoranda entered which recorded examinations, &c.

EXTRACT Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 83 (Military), dated 17 May 1893.—Received 5 June 1893.

PARA. 11. We forward, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying copy of an amended circular memorandum, issued by the Quartermaster General in India, relating to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules, issued under the Cantonment Act. The original circular, in substitution of which the present circular was issued, was forwarded to your Lordship with our military despatch No. 134, dated the 6th September 1892. (In continuation of our Military Despatch No. 81, dated the 10th May 1893.)

(Confidential.)

ENCLOSURE to paragraph 11 of General letter No. 83, dated 17 May 1893.

Enclosure No. 1.

(To be substituted for the previous circular bearing the same number and date, which is to be destroyed.)

Circular Memorandum by Quartermaster General in India,—(No. 20, "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, 11 July 1892.)

WITH regard to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules* issued under the Cantonment Act, the Quartermaster General is directed to state that the Government of India desire particular stress to be laid on the following points, viz. :—

* G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.

(*a*). That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.

(*b*). That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment. But (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.

(*c*). That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.

(*d*). That no separate register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases; nor any other action to be taken tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

2. The Commander in Chief accordingly directs that the attention of all station and regimental authorities may be drawn to the above instructions, with a request that their observance be most carefully and strictly attended to by all concerned.

				No. of copies.
General Officer Commanding			Presidency District	11
,,	,,	,,	Assam ,,	6
,,	,,	,,	Allahabad ,,	5
,,	,,	,,	Nerbudda ,,	5
,,	,,	,,	Bundelkhand ,,	5
,,	,,	,,	Oudh ,,	6
,,	,,	,,	Rohilkhund ,,	8
,,	,,	,,	Meerut ,,	8
,,	,,	,,	Sirhind ,,	6
,,	,,	,,	Lahore ,,	10
,,	,,	,,	Rawalpindi ,,	10
,,	,,	,,	Peshawar ,,	5
,,	,,	,,	Quetta ,,	8
,,	,,	,,	Punjab Frontier Force	9

Memorandum by Quartermaster General in India.—(No. 3492-B., dated Simla, 18 July 1892.)

SUBMITTED* for the information of the Government of India with reference to Military Department No. 3034-D., dated 29th June 1892.

* Ten copies.

Nos. 3493-96-B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel,
for Quartermaster General in India.

	No. of copies.
The Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India	15
„ Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India	10
„ Adjutant General in India	2

Nos. 3497-98-B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) *W. L. Dalrymple*, Colonel,
for Quartermaster General in India.

	No. of copies.
The Quartermaster General, Madras Army	2
„ „ „ Bombay „	2

EXTRACT from the List of Enclosures of Miscellaneous Despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, No. 83, dated 17 May 1893.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	No. 3492-B, dated 18 July 1892.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Forwards copy of an amended circular memorandum addressed to General Officers Commanding Districts, and others, regarding the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules issued under the Cantonments Act.

TELEGRAM to Viceroy, 19 August 1893.

YOUR Military Despatch No. 81, 10th May 1893. It will be necessary to publish your Military Despatch No. 134, 6th September 1892, as Appendix to Report of Committee. It cannot be withheld as the Committee have seen it, and questions arising out of it have been put to witnesses.

TELEGRAM from Viceroy, 23 August 1893.

YOUR Military telegram of 19th August. We have no objection to publication of our Military Despatch No. 134, of 6th September last, provided that paragraph 11 of our Military Despatch No. 83, of 17th May, and the amended circular, are also published.

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Enclosure in above - - -	1	1 July - „	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	Minute by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.	209
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Ditto - - - - -		- - -	- - - - - -	- - - -	Summary of Reports.	
Ditto - - - - -	12	- - -	- - - - - -	- - - - -	Further reports on working of Cantonment Rules at Mean Mir.	
Despatch - - - - -	160 (Military)	25 July - 1893	Government of India - -	Secretary of State for India -	Report from General Officer commanding Lahore District, regarding residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Mean Mir.	

APPENDIX III.

REPLY to the Allegations regarding the administration of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and the Regulations issued under that Act.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India, No. 148 (Military), dated 11 July 1893.—(Received 8 August 1893.)

My Lord,

WE have had under consideration your Lordship's Military Despatch No. 50, dated the 20th April 1893, with which you forwarded to us a statement received from the Right Honourable J. Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., on the administration of the East India Cantonment Act and Regulations, since 1889, in ten Military Cantonments in India, in the year 1892, which, in their opinion, shows that the Acts and Regulations were not administered in the spirit of the Resolution of the House of Commons, dated the 5th June 1888, quoted in the margin.

"Resolved, that, in the opinion of this House, any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."

2. Your Lordship considered it desirable to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the rules, regulations, and practice in Indian Cantonments, and elsewhere in India, with regard to prostitutes and to the treatment of venereal disease, in order to ascertain and report whether they comply with the above-mentioned resolution. We have also received copies of the minutes of evidence laid before the Committee, forwarded with your Military Despatch No. 52 of the 27th April 1893, and subsequently. In that Despatch you request that you may be furnished with our observations at the earliest possible date consistent with a full examination of the matters referred to, and you inform us that the report by the Committee mentioned in paragraph 4 of your Lordship's previous Despatch, will not be prepared until our observations are before them.

3. In the Viceroy's telegram No. 2175-D. of the 18th May 1893, quoted in the margin, your Lordship was informed that we propose to refer the evidence to a small Commission, and, with reference to the considerations mentioned in that telegram, his Excellency enquired whether it was essential that it should commence its enquiries at once. We also informed you that the documents mentioned in paragraph 15 of your Military Despatch No. 56, of the 11th May 1893, would be impounded, and orders were immediately given to this effect.

Your Despatch No. 52, 22nd April last. We propose to refer evidence to a small Commission composed as follows:—A civilian with judicial experience, a native Judge, an officer of the Indian Medical Service in civil employment and unconnected with Cantonment administration. Commission will visit stations mentioned in evidence, possibly others, and will report to us as soon as possible. The inquiry will be arduous, and we doubt greatly whether it can be conducted thoroughly and without risk, if it is proceeded with during hot weather. Do you consider it essential that it should commence at once? We shall, if necessary, tender members of Commission as witnesses for examination by Committee; documents referred to will have to be examined by Commissioners, and will be impounded in the meanwhile.

4. In your Lordship's telegram of the 21st May to the Viceroy we were informed that our reply should be received as soon as possible, and that you feared the appointment of the proposed Commission would involve a too lengthened inquiry. We subsequently heard from your Lordship that our reply must be in your hands not later than the end of July, and you were therefore informed by the Viceroy's telegram of the 1st June that the Commission would proceed at once to the three following stations:—

Umballa,
Lucknow,
Meerut,

and that we should call upon the General Officers Commanding the seven remaining stations, to investigate the evidence affecting their stations, which had been given before the Departmental Committee. The Resolution of the Governor General in Council, No. 2439-D., dated the 2nd June 1893, appointing the Commission, will be found as an Enclosure to this Despatch.

5. We desire to lay before Her Majesty's Government a brief statement of the steps that were taken by us to comply with the Resolution of the House of Commons cited in paragraph 1. With his Despatch No. 136, dated the 4th June 1888, Lord Cross forwarded to the Government of India a copy of the Resolution which was passed by the House of Commons on the 5th June 1888. Immediately on receipt of that Despatch we informed the Commander in Chief and all the Local Governments and heads of Administrations that it was the intention of the Government of India to consider the rules framed under the Cantonments Act then existing, and that, pending the issue of revised rules, the existing rules should, in view of the Resolution of the House of Commons, be so worked that there should be no compulsory examination of women, no registration of women, and no granting of licenses to practise prostitution.

6. In our Despatch No. 81, of the 18th May 1888, we had already informed Lord Cross that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been prohibited, and that reports had been made by the Commander in Chief in India, and by the Governments of Madras and Bombay, to the effect that the practice of allowing the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits had been abolished. In our Despatch No. 193, dated the 15th October 1888, we said:—

"It will thus be seen that, as shown in Home Department Despatch No. 17 (Sanitary), dated 16th October 1888, the 'Indian Contagious Diseases Act' and Acts, or portions of Acts connected therewith, have been repealed, and that the residence of prostitutes within regimental limits, or their accompanying troops to camp or on the line of march, has been forbidden, also that all circulars relating thereto have been cancelled; while,

pending the approval of the revised Cantonment Rules framed under the new Bill (whereby venereal diseases will be treated on precisely the same footing as other contagious or infectious diseases), all compulsory examination of women, all registration of women, and granting of licenses to practice prostitution have been put a stop to, and the hospitals in which prostitutes may be treated are to be worked as voluntary institutions."

7. We forwarded with our Despatch No. 135 of the 27th July 1888 the draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to Cantonments, and we stated that we had endeavoured to frame that part of the Bill which dealt with the rules made under the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1880 for preventing the spread of venereal disease, in accordance with the principles which were laid down by Lord Cross in his Despatch No. 123 of the 17th May 1888, as follows :—

"I am aware that the subject has long been one of anxious consideration in India, from the time when the measure was first brought into operation by the Government of the late Lord Lawrence until the present date, and that the protection of the health and efficiency of the British garrison as a paramount duty of the ruling power has been kept steadily in view. The maintenance generally of the cantonments in a proper sanitary condition, the prevention and cure of ordinary disease (mentioned in the 6th section of the 7th clause of the Act), and the preventing the spread of venereal disease (mentioned in the 7th section) are equally matters of the highest importance ; and all infectious disease ought to be dealt with as a question of police. No examination should be imposed upon women compulsorily, but, on the other hand, no person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed within the cantonment except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all.

" The result of the latest inquiries which you have instituted into the operation of these rules, and the experiment tried in 1885–86 of suspending their operation and closing the lock hospitals in 15 of our larger cantonments, have shown the necessity for some regulations for the repression of prostitution and the prevention of venereal disease within cantonments. The duty is therefore imposed upon the Government of endeavouring to give effect to the existing law by rules framed on the principles I have above indicated. The rules which have been framed under Clauses 7–31 of Section 27 of Act III. of 1880 appear to me to require careful revision ; and in such revision the principle should be steadily borne in mind that the efforts to control prostitution, and to mitigate its attendant evils, should not be developed into anything that can assume the appearance of an encouragement of vice by the Government and its officers. There should be no regulations which can be justly construed into a legalisation of prostitution.

"I desire, however, to express my hope that the operation of the regulations will be confined within the smallest possible area round cantonments, and that it may be found practicable to restrict the exercise of the authority given in Section 31 of the Act of 1880 within the narrowest limits, especially in the neighbourhood of towns."

8. We forwarded a copy of the rules we proposed to make under the Act with our Despatch No. 113, dated the 14th June 1889, in which we said :—

" In paragraph 4 of our Military Despatch, No. 135, dated 27th July 1888, we informed your Lordship that it was our intention to take power to make rules (among other matters), for the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering, or believed to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious illness. By these rules, prepared in accordance with the principles laid down in your Lordship's Despatch, No. 123, dated 17th May 1888, it is possible that we may be able to check, to some extent, the spread of venereal disease, which is reported to be greatly on the increase since the suspension of the regulations heretofore enforced under the present Cantonment Act, among our troops. This spread of venereal disease will form the subject of a separate communication hereafter. We now forward a copy of the rules which we propose to issue on the subject as soon as the Cantonment Bill is passed, and we request that your Lordship will communicate to us, by telegram, your sanction to the immediate passing of the Bill (omitting Chapter V.), and to the promulgation of the rules, with any minor alterations which further consideration may suggest."

9. The Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889, was brought into force from the 1st January 1890. Previous to that date, the rules proposed to be made under the Act had been drafted in communication with the Secretary of State, and published for general information and criticism on the 20th December 1889. These rules were finally published on the 4th July 1890 under our General Order, No. 617. We may here mention that early in 1890 it had been brought to our notice that the attendance at hospitals for the treatment of venereal disease under the voluntary system of treatment had become very small, or had ceased altogether, and the question was discussed whether the allowances drawn by medical officers and medical warrant officers for the charge of the various hospitals should be continued. On the advice of the medical authorities it was decided to maintain these allowances, as it was considered injudicious by these authorities that anything should be done which would cripple the endeavours of medical officers to overcome or lessen the ravages of venereal disease. The Surgeon-General, Her Majesty's Forces, Bengal, stated that at many stations medical officers had by tact induced prostitutes to present themselves voluntarily for examination and treatment if necessary. We mention this fact to show that after the abolition of lock hospitals it was thoroughly recognised that the attendance of the women at the hospitals was voluntary.

10. In October 1891, in consequence of a protest being received from the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland against the Indian Cantonment Act and the rules under it, in so far as venereal disease was concerned, we asked the Commander-in-Chief, in our letter No. 4123–D, dated 21st October 1891, to cause careful and confidential inquiries to be made to ascertain whether the military authorities were keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, and whether anything that could be fairly described as " official purveying for immorality " was countenanced.

11. On the 10th March 1892, a demi-official letter was addressed by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department, to the Quartermaster-General in India, which ran as follows :—

" As you are aware, the Government of India have laid the greatest stress on all authorities concerned keeping absolutely within the terms of the Cantonments Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State, in connection with contagious disease, which Act and rules were, as you are aware, issued in consequence of a Resolution of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and running as follows :—

" Resolved, that in the opinion of this House any mere suspension of measures for the compulsory examination of women and for licensing and regulating prostitution in India is insufficient, and the legislation which enjoins, authorises, or permits such measures ought to be repealed."

"The orders issued by the Government of India on the subject, by his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India, and by the military authorities generally, have been most explicit and decided. But it is obvious that, with the large number of cantonments scattered over a country of such vast extent as that of India, and with cantonment, military, and medical authorities, who may differ in their opinion as to the interpretation of rules, however clearly defined by law or formulated in regulations, it is absolutely necessary to make special inquiry from time to time whether these rules are scrupulously observed.

"In illustration of my meaning, I may observe that if, for instance, even at a single station in India, a list of prostitutes were to be kept up, and these women obliged to attend a hospital periodically for examination on pain of being turned out of cantonments, the intention of the Government of India and of the supreme military authorities to carry out loyally the resolution of the House of Commons would be defeated.

"The Government of India earnestly trust that no such accusation can be properly brought against any cantonment authority in the country; but I am desired to express the wish of the Governor General in Council that his Excellency the Commander in Chief in India will be pleased to instruct general officers commanding and their Excellencies the Commanders in Chief, Madras and Bombay, to warn officers commanding stations that they must scrupulously carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons above quoted, and the provisions of the Cantonments Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

12. In the Quartermaster General's Letter No. 448 of the 24th March 1892, the Commander in Chief informed us in reply to the inquiries mentioned in paragraph 10, that there was no foundation whatever for considering that the military authorities were not keeping strictly within the terms of the rules contained in the Cantonment Act and sanctioned by the Secretary of State, that there was no compulsion beyond that authorised in rules (4) and (5) (G. G. O. 617 of 1890) relating to the exclusion from cantonments of persons suffering from infectious or contagious disease, who refused to go to hospital or, having gone to hospital, left it before they were pronounced free from disorder. And it was stated by the Commander in Chief that it was untrue that anything existed which could be described as official purveying for immorality.

13. When all the various reports had been received we caused the Commander in Chief to be addressed in Military Department Letter No. 3034-D., dated the 29th June 1892. We expressed our satisfaction that the Commander in Chief was, upon the whole, convinced that the Act and the Rules had been duly observed. In one or two instances we considered that the action of the local military authorities had fallen short of what was considered necessary, but we observed that the Commander in Chief had taken immediate steps to call the attention of those concerned to their neglect of orders, and to insist upon the absolute fulfilment of the instructions which had been issued. In our letter stress was laid on the following points:—

(*a*) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.

(*b*) That any person becoming aware of, or suspecting the existence of, any contagious disease is bound by law to report it to the proper medical authority.

(*c*) That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i) going to hospital, or (ii) leaving the cantonment; but (iii) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.

(*d*) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.

(*e*) That no separate register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious disease; nor any other action tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

14. These points were embodied in a circular memorandum dated the 11th July 1892, issued to general officers commanding by the Quartermaster General; and this circular was afterwards amended by the omission of Clause (*b*), as we found that the statement in that clause was more sweeping than was justified by the state of the law.

15. In 1892 we considered the question of extending the usefulness of cantonment hospitals, and we issued orders that a general hospital should be established in every cantonment for the treatment of the sick of all classes of natives who are not enlisted soldiers; that the old hospitals for native followers, as well as those for infectious and contagious diseases, should be merged into these; that these new hospitals should be maintained generally on the lines of the civil charitable dispensaries, as established at the head-quarters of civil districts, the buildings to be arranged on the same plan, with separate compartments for male and female patients, with a central block containing the administrative rooms, and with detached wards for each class of ailment to be treated, surgical, medical, and contagious. Steps were taken to establish these hospitals at selected stations, and the system is being gradually extended to all military cantonments in India as funds become available. In our Letter No. 126-G., dated the 29th March 1893, we answered various questions which had been raised in connection with the establishment of cantonment general hospitals. Among other things we said: "The cantonment general hospitals are to be available for the treatment of all diseases, but nothing is to be done which could in any way give colour to the idea that a person can be forcibly removed to such hospital."

16. The preceding paragraphs will make it evident to your Lordship that we have systematically given effect by our orders to the Resolution of the House of Commons, issuing from time to time, as evidence showed them to be required, fresh and more stringent instructions against compulsory examination, licensing, or registration of prostitutes. The Cantonment Act of 1889 and the Rules made under it were issued with the approval of the Secretary of State; they are framed in accordance with the instructions contained in the Secretary of State's Despatch above quoted that "No person who is reasonably suspected of being in a condition likely to spread the infection of any dangerous disease whatever ought to be allowed within the cantonment, except in hospital, and no one who is so suspected and who objects to such medical treatment as may be necessary ought to be allowed to remain within the cantonment at all." The object, both of the Act and the Rules, was to carry out, strictly within the limits imposed by the Resolution of the House of Commons,

the principle which the Government of India enunciated in their Despatch of 18th May 1888, and to which we still adhere, that "We should fail in our duty if we did not take steps to arrest the spread of the venereal disease by the maintenance, within the precincts of our cantonments, of regulations which experience has shown to be effective for the purpose."

17. We have now to submit for the information of Her Majesty's Government the Report, dated 28th June 1893, of the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the working of the Cantonment Regulations regarding infectious and contagious disorders, together with the evidence which has been given before that Commission. In the appendices to the Report will be found the reports of the general officers commanding the Sirhind, Meerut, and Oudh districts, so far as they relate to the cantonments visited by the Commission, viz., Umballa, Meerut, and Lucknow. We attach to this Despatch copies of the reports of general officers commanding districts, or officers commanding stations, regarding the allegations made on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Mian Mir, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar, together with a précis referring to the charges made. We also forward the books named in the annexure to paragraph 15 of your Lordship's Despatch No. 56, dated the 11th May 1893, in custody of two of the Commissioners, Mr. Ibbetson and Dr. Cleghorn, who have been directed to proceed to England to give evidence before the Departmental Committee.

18. As the Departmental Committee will be able to examine these two members of the Commission, we do not offer any detailed remarks upon their report. Neither do we think it necessary to comment in detail upon the report made by the officers concerned with regard to the seven stations not visited by the Commission. A careful consideration of those reports will show, we believe, that the charges which have been brought against the Government of India and the military authorities cannot be generally sustained. While saying this, we admit that in certain cases the orders issued by the Commander in Chief have not been enforced. There are cases in which officers have gone beyond their powers, or have misinterpreted the orders they received. It will be seen from paragraph 31 of the Commander in Chief's Minute, dated the 1st July 1893, attached to this Despatch, that these cases will be duly dealt with by his Excellency. With the exceptions to which we have just referred, the orders issued under our instructions by the military authorities have, we believe, on the whole, been effectually carried out. That they would in certain quarters be imperfectly understood or ignored was, we think, only to be expected. It was comparatively easy to terminate, by a stroke of the pen, the system to which the prostitutes, and those frequenting their company or responsible for their supervision, had been so long accustomed ; but it was less easy to persuade the persons who had lived under that system for so many years that an end had been put to it. Under such circumstances traces of the old order of things were, for a time at least, sure to survive, nor does it seem to us a matter for surprise that such traces should have been discovered, as they were, not only by the witnesses whose evidence was received by the Departmental Committee, but by the Commissioners, whose report we now submit.

19. We have addressed the Commander in Chief, calling attention to the evidence and to the reports of the general officers commanding, and requesting him to reiterate the instructions in the Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20, dated the 11th July 1892, and to take steps to enforce the strict observance of the regulations against prostitutes living in regimental bazars, or accompanying troops to camps of exercise or on the line of march. In our Home Department we have directed the special attention of cantonment magistrates to this Circular, and have desired them to do all that lies in their power to enforce the carrying out of these instructions, more especially by explaining to the cantonment police the material difference between the present rules and those formerly enforced. We have also asked his Excellency the Commander in Chief to issue orders to the Principal Medical Officer in India, with a view to his impressing upon all medical officers the necessity for absolute obedience to both the letter and spirit of these rules, and to general officers commanding, requiring them to submit periodical reports showing whether the regulations have been strictly observed throughout their commands.

20. While we have ordered, and intend resolutely to enforce our orders, that no prostitutes shall be allowed to reside in regimental bazars or to accompany troops on the line of march, or to camps of exercise, we are not prepared to forbid the residence of such women in cantonments. These cantonments, as his Excellency the Commander in Chief has pointed out in his Minute, are, in many cases, in point of area and population, virtually large cities, and the attempt to exclude these women would involve an altogether uncalled for amount of interference with their private life, and would, moreover, have the effect of compelling them to reside on the confines of cantonments, where the most ordinary sanitary precautions, such as are compulsory on all residents of cantonments could not be enforced, and where soldiers visiting the women would be less within the reach of military discipline.

21. We desire to invite your Lordship's attention to the Minute by the Commander in Chief, referred to above. In the concluding paragraph of that Minute his Excellency dwells upon the ravages made by venereal disease amongst the British troops serving in India, and urges the necessity of maintaining the precautions now taken to prevent the spread of such disease. We have not thought it desirable to enter into this part of the question in our Despatch, which has been confined to the special aspects of the case dealt with by the witnesses examined before the Departmental Committee. We feel, however, that great weight is due to the Commander in Chief's observations, and we are confident that your Lordship will not give your sanction to any changes which might increase the risk to which our troops are already exposed from this cause, without affording us the fullest opportunity of laying our opinions before you.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Lansdowne.*
G. S. White.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.
A. E. Miller.
H. Brackenbury.
C. B. Pritchard.

List of Enclosures of Despatch No. 148 (Military), dated the 11 July 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From Whom or to Whom.	Subject.
1	Dated the 1st July 1893 -	- - - - - -	Minute by His Excellency the Commander in Chief.
2	No. 2439-D, dated the 2nd June 1893.	To the Home Department, and others.	Appointing a Special Commission to inquire into the correctness of the allegations made in regard to the working of the Cantonment Regulations.
3	Dated the 28th June 1893 -	- - - - - -	Report of the Special Commission.
4	No. 2959-B, dated the 23rd June 1893, and enclosures.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Reports from the General Officers Commanding regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at Benares, Sitapore, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi and Peshawur.
5	No. 2988-B, dated the 26th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports from the General Officers Commanding regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Lucknow, Rawal Pindi, Amritsar and Meean Meer.
6	No. 3004-B, dated the 28th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Further reports on the working of the rules for infectious and contagious diseases issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889 at Rawal Pindi.
7	No. 3015-B, dated the 28th June 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports from the General Officers Commanding Meerut and Sirhind Districts as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations regarding Meerut and Umballa contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee.
8	No. 3101-B, dated the 1st July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Further reports regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Sitapore.
9	No. 3102-B, dated the 1st July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports showing the action taken by General Officers Commanding Districts in the Bengal Presidency to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Quartermaster General in India regarding the discontinuance of the registration, &c., of prostitutes.
10	No. 3129 B, dated the 4th July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto ditto - - -	Reports showing the action taken by the General Officer Commanding Lahore District to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Quartermaster General in India regarding the discontinuance of the registration, &c., of prostitutes.
11	- - - - - -	- - - - - -	Summary of reports by General Officers Commanding regarding the allegations made by Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Benares, Sitapore, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.
12	No. 3188-B, dated the 6th July 1893, and enclosures.	From the Quartermaster General in India.	Further reports on the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Meean Meer.

(signed) *M. J. King-Harman*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department.

MINUTE by His Excellency General Sir *George S. White*, K.C.B., G.C.I.E., Commander-in-Chief in India.
Charges against the Indian Cantonment Act, 1889.

The charges are—

(1) That the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers ;

(2) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European and Native medical officers ;

(3) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any such women under the orders of the examining officer, with penal consequences, in case of disobedience, of arrest, fines or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonments ;

(4) That the cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments.

2. The cause for formulating these charges and supporting them by evidence is to prove violation of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and to establish such malpractice under the Act as to call for its repeal. The Act is, therefore, on its trial, and, unless the charges given above are proved, it is entitled to an acquittal.

3. The first charge—*viz.*, that under the Act the military authorities make systematic provision for the residence of women for the exclusive use of British soldiers—is founded on the theory that a cantonment means a locality set apart for military uses owned by the military authorities, and under their sole and separate control. It is therefore argued, that, if prostitutes live in these cantonments, they are provided by the military authorities.

4. The most effective way of meeting the charge is to explain what our cantonments really are ; the large civil population they contain ; the extensive private rights of property which exist, and which the military authorities have no power to interfere with ; the similarity of the conditions of life generally and freedom of residence in cantonments to those that prevail in large municipal communities in India and elsewhere.

5. In the evidence given at Umballa, on the 7th June, before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission, the population of Umballa Cantonment is given as 51,020 souls. This constitutes a large city to which laws specially excluding a whole class could not be applied without hardship and great interference with the liberty enjoyed by individuals everywhere under British rule. It may be instructive here to quote cities in Great Britain, with populations of about equal numbers, with a view to realizing the actual conditions under which we are working in India as opposed to the impression of those conditions which it is the attempt of the opponents of our system to convey to the minds of the British public.

6. In looking over a table of population in Great Britain in 1881, I find the city of York contained 59,596 souls, Bath 53,761, and Paisley 55,642. It cannot be doubted that a certain number of these populations are prostitutes plying their trade with the cognizance of the municipal authorities. Yet the Mayor of York is probably not accused of making official and systematic provision of prostitutes ; nor is it conceivable that the municipal authorities in these three towns could exclude all prostitutes.

7. Stress has been laid in the evidence given before Mr. Russell's Committee on the fact that the prostitutes are grouped in certain centres in cantonments, and the inference is drawn that this points to official organisation. No doubt some years ago this was the case, but this official arrangement has been now forbidden by order of the Government of India. In all towns, from causes other than official interference, prostitutes tend to congregate in certain quarters. The surroundings of the trade are objectionable, and the respectable inhabitants naturally resent having prostitutes as neighbours. The latter, therefore, drift into one quarter. This will also be found to be the case in all considerable towns in the British Isles. Moreover, there are other causes peculiar to India which work strongly to the same end. From time immemorial in Indian cities persons living by the same trade have resided together, and thus congregated, follow the calling from generation to generation. The trade of prostitution is no exception to this custom, and it is also hereditary. Prostitutes are not looked upon by the natives of India with the contempt which attaches to them in other countries. They are accepted as safeguards to society, and are not themselves ashamed of their calling. As a class they are rich. With reference to their provision in cantonments for the exclusive use of British soldiers, isolated instances of countenance not authorised by the Act, or the regulations made by the Government of India under it, have been disclosed by the present investigation ; but they are the residue of a forbidden system. It would, however, be most injurious to the peace of any cantonment if this separation of the establishments to which British and Native soldiers resort were not allowed to work itself out from causes other than military organisation. British soldiers naturally prefer establishments where they will not meet native men. This creates the demand, and certain women in search of the best professional returns create the supply. Were the two races of men to meet at the same house, there would be constant breaches of the peace, destruction of property, and probable ill-treatment of the women.

8. The charge of systematic provision for the residence of native women has been supported by evidence that the police are employed in watching the neighbourhood of the prostitutes' quarters. This is not official countenance. It is merely the precaution which is taken in every well-ordered town to take special precautions in neighbourhoods where breaches of the peace are most likely to occur.

9. I therefore maintain that Charge No. 1 has not been proved. Certain instances may be shown where the action of individuals has been condemnable. but such persons have acted *ultra vires*, are individually re-

sponsible, and have laid themselves open to disciplinary censure; but neither the law nor the rules can be justly blamed for this.

10. The next charge is of compulsory examination at prescribed periods. This charge assumes great importance from the fact that the examination of the women is the keystone of the whole preventive system. If it is abolished all safeguards against the increase of venereal go with it. The essence of the charge lies in the allegation that the examination is compulsory. The evidence given before Mr. Ibbetson's Commission goes to prove that the examination is not compulsory. The women not only come voluntarily, but they appeal against a refusal by the medical officer to examine them. In one instance, after having been refused by the medical officer, they returned with an interpreter, as they thought that it had not been made clear that they were anxious to be found healthy by examination. In the face of such evidence of free will it is impossible to maintain that the women are subjected to compulsion.

11. I would submit that the treatment to be accorded to all contagious diseases cannot be made exactly alike without consideration of the nature of the particular disease and the extent to which it is epidemic at the time and in the particular place. Consider, for instance, small-pox. When there are but a few sporadic cases, as is generally the condition, the need is not great enough to justify special precautions. If, however, small-pox were endemic and prevalent to the extent of spreading the disease to close on 50 per cent. of the British soldiers in Bengal in one year, which is about the rate at which venereal is communicated (as I will show later in this paper), I think it is no unreasonable assumption that inspections of those most likely to spread the contagion would not only be made if voluntarily applied for, but would be compulsorily enforced. Outward-bound passengers are often medically inspected before leaving port to prove absence of incipient symptoms of contagious disease; yet it would be difficult to quote a case in which the danger was in the ratio of 50 to 100 per annum.

12. If medical officers are allowed to continue these examinations, they must, I think, in logical sequence be permitted to prescribe such periods for the examinations as may be most convenient.

13. For the foregoing reasons, I consider the law and regulations under it are acquitted on the second charge.

14. I would even go further and say that some of the regulations communicated in explanation of the Act should be modified so as clearly to permit voluntary examination of women who ask for it, and that we should maintain this and solicit the support of Her Majesty's Government.

15. The third charge is compulsory detention in hospital of women under the orders of the examining officer, with penalties of fine, imprisonment or expulsion in case of disobedience.

16. In noting at the present time, and before I have seen the report of the Commissioners, I labour under the disadvantage of writing what may be contrary to their conclusions. I am, however, convinced that this charge will be almost universally disproved by the evidence collected by them.

17. Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell came to India with the intention of establishing that the practice under the Cantonment Act was not in accordance with the resolution of the House of Commons. They knew nothing of the country or of the character of the people. The women and other natives with whom they conversed soon found out what they wished to establish and played up to them. Give a native a hint of the line of argument you want supported, and every answer will tend the way you incline. This will not be controverted by those who know India.

18. Weight has been attached to the fact that the women themselves spoke of the hospital in which they were treated as the "Lock Hospital." The connection with the past which surrounds this designation suggests compulsory detention, but this has of late been absolutely abolished. Natives of India adhere to names first applied. For example, ask any native what he calls the station public garden, and he will answer "Company bagh." It would be equally open to argue from this that the East India Company still rules India as to conclude from the survival of the term "Lock Hospital" that compulsory detention has survived also. When the old system of Lock Hospitals was abolished the buildings were naturally utilised as wards of the cantonment hospital, and this may also have strengthened the belief that the old order of things still obtained.

19. I am equally sure that the evidence when published will disprove the infliction of any penalties for leaving the cantonment hospitals, unless in the case of women still suffering from contagious disease, when under the rules, they would not be allowed to resume residence in cantonments. There may be isolated cases of officers going beyond their powers, but such officers are the exceptions, and must be held personally responsible.

20. The fourth charge is that cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments. I have been astonished to find how entirely this is disproved by a reference to the returns kept at these cantonment hospitals.

21. For the purpose of convincing myself, I got from the Military Department the latest returns available (1892) of the specific diseases for which patients had been treated in these hospitals, and the number treated for each disease.

22. I examined the returns from 17 cantonment hospitals, which I took at random from the file without any attempt to select those most calculated to support my contention, and the following compilation shows the result:—

Station.	Total.	Total venereal cases.
Dum-Dum	324	22
Allahabad	5,361	233
Dinapore	2,764	201
Benares	1,285	18
Jubbulpore	3,131	128
Pachmarhi	12	0
Cawnpore	1,673	107
Sitapur	263	34
Fyzabad	505	83
Fatehgurh	331	48
Lucknow	7,492	573
Agra	4,064	204
Bareilly	2,257	71
Ranikhet	336	89
Meerut	447	176
Umballa	12,987	551
Rawal Pindi	18,819	937
Totals	62,051	3,475

23. The foregoing table shows that in the 17 cantonment hospitals 62,051 patients have had medical aid extended to them, and of that number only 3,475 were treated for venereal. This makes the percentage of venereal treated only 5.60 per cent. The other diseases treated comprised cholera, dysentery, malarial fevers in great numbers, scurvy, debility, rheumatic affections, diseases of the eye, diseases of the respiratory system, diarrhœa, diseases of the skin, &c. I have not returns before me to establish it, but I am convinced that of the 3,475 venereal patients treated but a very small percentage were professional prostitutes. The disease prevails to a great extent amongst the non-professional lower classes.

24. This appears to me clearly to disprove the fourth charge, "that the cantonment hospitals established under the Act are for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and compulsory examination in cantonments."

25. I have now exhausted the charges formulated, and I hope my honourable colleagues will agree with me that no case has been made out against the Act, and I trust the Government of India will lend the weight of its authority to uphold it.

26. It now remains to me to show the necessity of maintaining it.

27. The following statement shows the extent to which venereal disease has prevailed amongst the British troops serving in Bengal during the last four years ;—

Year.	Average annual strength, deducting troops marching or on active service.	Total number of admissions from all venereal diseases.	Ratio per thousand average annual strength.
1889	40,917	20,416	499·0
1890	39,958	20,328	508·7
1891	38,517	15,698	407·6
1892	40,448	17,141	423·8
		Yearly average	459·7

This gives an average of admissions to hospital taken over the four years of 459·7 per thousand, or not far off 50 per cent. of our soldiers annually.

28. Considered only in the light of the efficiency of our army in peace time, this is a lamentable record ; but underlying that record is the still more lamentable prospect of the numbers who must break down from constitutional syphilis under the hardships and exposure of a campaign.

29. Our soldiers come from a class upon which the prudential motives which operate against immoral conduct have little effect. Short service, *i.e.*, younger men, and the smaller proportion of married men in the service, have increased the prevalence of venereal in the army ; and these boys, after their short tour of

foreign service, return to England diseased to an extent that may be inferred from the foregoing figures, to marry and transmit the disease to their children.

30. Some of the native papers have lately written on the subject of the Contagious Diseases Acts. They are only too prone to support the view that the native of India is downtrodden and oppressed, but in this case they ridicule the idea of ill-treatment to professional women, and say that the Contagious Diseases Acts decrease disease without increasing immorality. They speak of prostitutes as a necessary evil, but as a safeguard against criminal assaults on other women by our "hard-drinking and reckless soldiers."

31. In certain cases officers have exceeded their powers. These officers should be censured, and it should be pointed out to them that conduct such as theirs, far from helping the cause they have at heart, puts the whole preventive system in peril, and is most short-sighted. I would, however, call the attention of Government of India to the candid and unreserved way in which even the offenders have given evidence against themselves.

1-7-93. *George S. White.*

No. 2439-D.

Government of India, Military Department, Simla, 2 June 1893.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2439-D, dated 2 June 1893).

READ the following papers :—

Paragraph 5 of Lord Cross' Despatch No. 44 of the 27th February 1890.
Military Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 50, dated 20 April 1893.
Military Despatch from the Secretary of State for India, No. 52, dated 27 April 1893.

Observations.—The Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India has forwarded to the Governor General in Council a statement received from the Right Honourable James Stansfeld, M.P., and Mr. James Stuart, M.P., relative to the administration of the Indian Cantonment Act and Regulations since 1889 in ten military cantonments in India in the year 1892. The Secretary of State appointed a Departmental Committee to enquire into the rules, regulations and practice in Indian cantonments and elsewhere in India with regard to prostitutes and to the treatment of venereal diseases. The Minutes of Evidence laid before the Committee have been received and are attached.

Resolution.—The Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appoint a Special Commission to enquire into the correctness of the allegations made in the statement attached, and in the evidence recorded in the accompanying Minutes. The Commission will consist of Denzil Ibbetson, Esq., C.S., President ; Surgeon-Colonel J. Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Punjab ; and Molvie Muhummad Sami Uullah Khan, C.M.G.

2. It will be the duty of the Commission to proceed to Umballa, Meerut and Lucknow to enquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the statement annexed and in the Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether in their opinion any practices exist at those stations which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the regulations published under that Act in G. G. O. No. 617 of the 4th July 1890. The Commission are empowered to call before them any persons whose evidence they may desire to obtain, and all cantonment authorities are enjoined to give them the fullest assistance and information in furtherance of their enquiry. An officer will be appointed to examine on behalf of the Military authorities.

3. The Commission should report to the Government of India on or before 30th June 1893.

4. The Commission will draw travelling allowances under the rules of the Civil Service Regulations, and each member will be granted a deputation allowance of Rs. 10 per diem under the usual rules.

Copies for information forwarded to :—

The Home Department.
The Finance Department.
The Government of the Punjab, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.
The Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the information of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.
The Quartermaster-General in India, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
The Principal Medical Officer in India, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.
The Surgeon-General with the Government of India.
The Controller of Military Accounts, Eastern—Western Circle, Bengal.
The Accountant-General, Military Department.

By order,
(signed) *E. H. H. Collen,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMISSION appointed to inquire into the WORKING of the CANTONMENT REGULATIONS regarding INFECTIOUS AND CONTAGIOUS DISORDERS.

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GLOSSARY.

Bangle.—A bracelet or armlet.

Banya.—A trader or dealer: the shopkeeper who supplies the necessaries of daily life.

Bazaar.—A street occupied by shops: a collection of shops: often extended to the whole quarter in which the bazaar is situated; used in military parlance to signify also the body of traders and followers who accompany the regiment on the march.

Bhishti.—A water-carrier.

Bungalow.—A dwelling-house built after the European fashion.

Chakla.—The quarter in which the commoner class of prostitutes live: also applied to an enclosure occupied by them.

Chaprassi.—A messenger, an orderly: from *chaprás*, a badge.

Chaudhri.—A head man: a representative: a person in executive charge of a quarter or bazaar.

Chaukdár.—A watchman: sometimes an enrolled member of the general police force: sometimes a watchman employed to look after a particular building, whether as a public or as a private servant.

Chick.—A reed-mat, hanging in a doorway, which admits light, but which cannot be seen through from outside.

Compound.—The grounds in the midst of which a building stands.

Coolie.—A day labourer.

Dandewála.—Literally, a man with a stick: used for Military Police, who habitually carry small walking canes.

Darogha.—The head of a police station, or jail: the head of any subordinate establishment, as of octroi, or conservancy: a superintendent.

Dhai.—A nurse: a wet-nurse: a midwife: the matron of an institution for females.

Dhobi.—A washerman.

Gáriwála.—A cart-man, or cab-driver.

Gorá.—Literally, "white:" an Englishman of inferior caste, not a *sáhib*: commonly used for the privates and non-commissioned officers of the British Army.

Gorá chakla.—The quarters for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers: see *gorá* and *chakla*.

Jemadár.—The head of a gang or body of men: in the Native Army, a Lieutenant.

Kála.—Black: *Kála admi* (black man), a native.

Kála chakla.—The quarters for prostitutes frequented by natives: see *kála* and *chakla*.

Kanchan.—A hereditary pimp.

Kanchani.—A hereditary prostitute.

Katra.—A walled enclosure with a single entrance, containing many houses or quarters for lodgers.

Khairát.—Alms: charity.

Khairáti.—Supported by charity: free (gratis).

Kotwál.—The head of a city police station: a person in executive charge of a quarter or bazaar.

Kotwáli.—The police station of a city or bazaar.

Lál kurti.—Literally, "appertaining to the red coats," *i.e.*, to the British Infantry.

Lambardár.—The headman of a village.

Mahal.—An abode: a hall: a palace: metaphorically, a noblewoman: a queen.

Mahaldár.—Literally, the headman of a *mahal*: the keeper of a brothel.

Mahaldárni.—Literally, the headwoman of a *mahal*: the keeper of a brothel.

Massamát.—Mrs. or Miss: used before a woman's name.

Muhallah.—A ward or quarter of a town.

Pán.—An aromatic and stimulant leaf, usually eaten together with the betel nut.

Panch.—A headman.

Pankhah.—A fan: a large fan swung from the ceiling and pulled by a rope.

Pardah.—Literally, a curtain: used for the custom of the seclusion of females.

Peon.—The same as *chaprassi—q. v.*

Sadar.—High: chief, head. *Sadar Adàlat*, the High Court. *Sadar Munsiff*, the Chief Judge. The *Sadar*, the headquarters of a district.

Sufed pàni.—Literally, "white water": leucorrhœa, as distinguished from *Lál pàni* (red water) or menses.

Sáhib.—"Sir": "Mr.": a gentleman.

Serai.—(*Cf.* caravanserai). The native hotel: in the same form as a *katra—q. v.*

Serishtadár.—The head of an office establishment.

Shuldári.—A very small tent, like a gipsy's.

Thuladár.—The headman of a subdivision of a village.

Yekka.—The native hansom cab.

Zaildár—The headman of a group of villages.

REPORT of the SPECIAL COMMISSION appointed to Inquire into the WORKING of the CANTONMENT REGULATIONS regarding INFECTIOUS AND CONTAGIOUS DISORDERS.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

Constitution of the Commission.

1. The Government of India, by its Resolution No. 2439-D., Military Department, dated the 2nd June 1893, appointed a Commission consisting of—

Denzil Ibbetson, Esq., I.C.S.
Deputy Commissioner. } President.

Surgeon-Colonel *Cleghorn*, I.M.S.,
Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals.
Maulvi Sami-ullah Khan, C.M.G., U.C.S.,
late District Judge. } Members.

with A. C. Elliott, Lieutenant, B.S.C., and Assistant Commissioner, as Secretary. Major W. B. Wilson, B.S.C., of the Military Department of the Government of India, was appointed to attend the Commission, and to examine on behalf of the military authorities. The Commission was furnished with, among other papers, the Minutes of Evidence taken on the 11th, 14th, 15th, 18th, and 21st of April 1893 before the India Office Departmental Committee, received with the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 52 (Military), dated 27th April 1893, and with the "Statement of Facts" received from Messrs. James Stansfeld, M.P., and James Stuart, M.P., which formed the enclosure to the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 50 (Military), dated 20th April 1893. It was directed to proceed to Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, to enquire into the correctness of the allegations recorded in the above-mentioned "Statement of Facts" and Minutes of Evidence, and to report whether, in its opinion, any practices existed at those stations which infringed in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and of the regulations published under that Act in Government General Orders No. 617, dated the 4th July 1890. The report was to reach the Government of India on or before the 30th June.

Course of the enquiry.

2. The papers which were to form the text of the enquiry reached the President on the evening of the 5th of June. The members of the Commission met at Ambala on the morning of the 6th, and commenced their enquiries the same afternoon. They reached Meerut on the morning of the 9th, and Lucknow on the morning of the 12th. On the night of the 15th, they left Lucknow for Kasauli, which they reached on the morning of the 17th, and where they took further evidence on the 19th, 20th, and 21st. The record of evidence forms an Appendix to this Report. It must be understood that all statements of facts regarding cantonments contained in the following pages relate, unless otherwise stated, to the three cantonments visited, namely, Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, and to them only.

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

Scope of the Report.

3. We propose to travel somewhat beyond our instructions, and to examine, not only the allegations of fact contained in the evidence given before the India Office Committee, but also the implications of language with which that evidence teems. The language in which that evidence is couched conveys the impressions which the facts produced upon the minds of persons wholly unfamiliar with the customs and conditions of life in India; and can hardly fail to reproduce the same impression upon the minds of readers who are similarly unfamiliar with oriental matters. That impression is, in very many and very important respects, a false one; and, in so far as it is false, we deem it proper and necessary that we should endeavour to correct it, by showing how many of the conditions of life which are described as those of prostitutes in Indian cantonments, are in no way peculiar either to prostitutes or to cantonments, but are common to all classes of the population, and obtain in every town and city of India. We at first proposed to record formal evidence on these points. But it is difficult to take evidence as to the customs of a vast country, and the time allowed was short. We shall therefore content ourselves with describing matters as we know them to exist. One of us is a native of the country, whose knowledge of the East is not confined to India; another has, in the exercise of his profession as a doctor, enjoyed unusual opportunities of acquainting himself with the domestic life of the people; while the third can speak with some authority as to their social organization. We believe that our statements in these matters will be accepted as being as nearly true as any general statements can be, concerning so heterogeneous a people and country as we have in India. At any rate, we shall never speak positively unless we are certain of our facts.

Dates and Glossary.

4. The following dates will be found useful for purposes of reference:—

1865-6.—Lock Hospitals first instituted.

5th June 1888.—Resolution passed by the House of Commons.

1888.—The old Lock Hospitals rules abolished; and with them, registration, licenses, and compulsory examination of prostitutes, the Lock Hospitals being continued as "Voluntary Venereal Hospitals."

11th October 1889.—Passing of the present Cantonment Act.

4th July 1890.—Notification of rules under that Act regarding infectious and contagious disorders.

25th January 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Lucknow.

5th February 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Meerut.

2nd March 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Ambala.

7th March 1892.—Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Bushnell at Lucknow.

17th December 1892.—Mr. Bell at Meerut.

25th December 1892.—Mr. Bell at Lucknow.

6th June 1893.—Commission at Ambala.

9th June 1893.—Commission at Meerut.

12th June 1893.—Commission at Lucknow.

17th June 1893.—Commission at Kasauli.

A short glossary of the Indian terms used in the Report and its Appendix will be found prefixed to the Report.

II.—CANTONMENTS IN INDIA.

Constitution of a Cantonment.

5. The Cantonments of Ambala, Meerut and Lucknow include respectively, areas of 14½, 11 and 9½ square miles, and populations of 51,020, 45,753, and 23,523 souls. The last adjoins the city of the same name; but the other two are situated at distances of several miles from the towns after which they are called. The ordinary strength of the garrisons is given below, the summer strength being smaller than that of the winter, owing to the absence of British troops in the hills, and of native soldiers on leave.

Cantonments.	Cold Weather.		Hot Weather.	
	British Troops.	Native Troops.	British Troops.	Native Troops.
Ambala - - - -	3,581	1,713	1,224	1,133
Meerut - - - -	2,853	1,448	1,680	1,448
Lucknow - - - -	4,820	3,100	2,400	2,000

Thus the troops themselves constitute but a small portion (varying from eight to fifteen per cent.) of the total Cantonment population.

All land included within Cantonment boundaries is the property of Government. Portions of it are allotted for building purposes to private individuals, free of ground rent, but subject to certain very stringent conditions, under which the military authorities can at any time appropriate the buildings if needed for Cantonment purposes, and can resume the land at pleasure on payment of compensation.

Sub-divisions of a Cantonment.

6. The Cantonment area is distributed in this wise. Certain blocks are marked out and set apart for Royal Artillery, British Cavalry, British Infantry, Native Cavalry, and Native Infantry respectively; and are known as their regimental limits.* Within these are included the regimental lines, occupied by the troops; the followers' lines, occupied by the native servants attached to and paid by the regiment; and the regimental bazaar, occupied by traders and others, who have been allowed to settle within regimental limits for the convenience of the troops. So absolutely is the regimental bazaar intended for the convenience of the regiment, that under the Indian Army Regulations,† a man who builds a house in a regimental bazaar ceases to have any enforceable right in it so soon as the regiment then in occupation leaves Cantonments. Another large block is marked out and known as the Sadar (or chief) bazaar, and within its bounds are concentrated the whole of the civil native population of Cantonments, save so much of it as lives within regimental limits as already described, and servants residing in the compounds where they work. The remaining area of Cantonments is occupied by the bungalows of Europeans, by public institutions, by parade grounds, polo-grounds, and the like.

The Cantonment bazaars.

7. Thus, the normal distribution of the civil native population of a Cantonment is over six or more bazaars, of which all but one are regimental; while that one, the Sadar bazaar, is

* Note.—Where, as at Lucknow, there are two regiments falling under the same description, each of them has separate regimental limits.

† Note.—Vol. II., Part II., Article 2094.

usually far larger than all the others put together. At Meerut a large bazaar has been allowed to grow up, contrary to all regulations, connecting the Sadar and British Infantry bazaars. It contains a population of 9,565 souls; and the whole of it is known as the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry bazaar, though only a small portion of it, comprising some 1,300 souls, lies within regimental limits. Form A attached to the Appendix gives the population of the various bazaars in the three Cantonments with which we are concerned. It will be seen that, while the British regimental bazaars are, except at Lucknow, considerable, and the native regimental bazaars are everywhere insignificant, the three Sadar bazaars comprise populations of 22,612, 13,834, and 5,038 souls respectively, and are in fact considerable Native towns. It need hardly be said that they are not mere bazaars in the ordinary sense of single streets occupied by shops; but that many bazaars and streets are included in each.

Nature of the population.

8. The community thus residing within the Sadar and regimental bazaars, came into existence and has grown with the Cantonments, and is composed all but exclusively of persons who trade or labour for profit in connection with the troops. Many of them have their homes elsewhere; while many more of them are actually migratory, moving on from place to place according as they find or lose employment. The upper classes are non-existent; men of wealth are usually Government contractors who have raised themselves from nothing, or native shopkeepers in a large way of business; the proportion of men to women is fifteen to nine; and the native population of a large Cantonment may be described as that of a considerable native city, with all those elements removed from it which most tend to promote stability and order.

Powers of control.

9. Over such a community, the most ample powers of control are absolutely necessary. The presence of the troops and the nature of the civil population offer irresistible attractions to the loafer and the vagabond; and unless steps were taken to discourage them severely, they would find congenial hunting grounds in Cantonments. The presence of a large native population at the very doors of the barracks renders the most stringent sanitary precautions necessary; for, to take no higher ground, the imported British soldier is enormously costly. Accordingly, we find the Cantonment authorities exercising the most comprehensive powers of minute interference and control, based upon, and justified by, the fact that the Cantonments belong to Government, and exist solely for the sake of the troops; that whoever lives in Cantonments does so by permission only, of his own free choice, and in order to derive profit, either directly or indirectly, from the troops; that in settling there he accepts tacitly, if not explicitly, the well-known and customary conditions of residence within the boundaries which he is free to leave at any time; and that the first and last consideration to which all others must give way, is the health and convenience of the troops, compensation however, being paid whenever legitimate private rights are overridden.

The same continued.

10. These powers are exercised by the Officer Commanding the Station, advised by the Cantonment Committee, through his executive officer the Cantonment Magistrate. How wide they are may be seen from Clauses 12 to 28 of the enabling section (§26) of the present Cantonment Act, XIII. of 1889; and from the fact that, under that section, power may be given to the Cantonment authorities to remove and exclude from Cantonments any person whom they may deem it expedient so to exclude, without assigning any reason whatsoever. We are more immediately concerned with three powers exercised by Cantonment authorities.* No building is allowed to be altered or erected

* NOTE.—A rough memorandum on the basis upon which these powers stand will be found in the Appendix.

without their approval first obtained. They regulate the place of residence of all inhabitants of Cantonment land. And they exercise the power, on rare occasions, of expelling from Cantonments a person whose presence there they consider undesirable.

Controlling authorities and their police.

11. The Sadar bazaar is considered the especial charge of the Cantonment Magistrate. His authority extends to the regimental bazaars also; but they are immediately under the control of the Officers Commanding Regiments; and the Cantonment Magistrate would not ordinarily interfere unless General Regulations or Standing Orders were being infringed. The Cantonment Magistrate has under his orders a police force, which forms a portion of the general Police of the province; and consists, sometimes wholly of police constables, as at Ambala and Meerut, and sometimes partly of constables and partly of chaukidars, as at Lucknow. These are the civil police of Cantonments. In addition to them is maintained a body of Military Police. At Meerut this body consists exclusively of Regimental Police, under the orders of the Officers Commanding Regiments. At Ambala and Lucknow it includes also a Garrison Police, under the orders of the Officer Commanding the Station. The duties of this Military Police are confined to keeping order among the soldiery. They apprehend drunken soldiers; they see that men do not go out of bounds, and are not away from barracks out of hours; and they put down disturbances and affrays. The duties of the Regimental Police are mainly confined to regimental limits, and their concern lies chiefly with men of their own regiment; those of the Garrison Police are co-extensive with Cantonment limits and the British garrison.

III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

Prostitution in India.

12. Prostitution is regarded by society in India in a very different light from that in which it is looked upon in England. We do not say that it is, even in India, a reputable or an honourable calling. But the disrepute which attaches to it is wholly different, in kind as well as in degree, from that which attaches to it in Europe. This fact is probably due to two main causes. In the first place prostitution in India is, like most other callings, largely hereditary. Probably, from the very nature of the case, a larger number of recruits are admitted from outside than in many other occupations. But there are distinct castes, including very many thousands of human beings, of which the male members are by hereditary calling pimps, and the female members prostitutes; and are no more ashamed of being so, than a sweeper is ashamed of being a sweeper, or a tanner of being a tanner; though like them, they will claim a higher caste, if circumstances are not such as to render the claim too obviously absurd. At Ambala, where alone we succeeded in obtaining information on this point, we found that only eight out of thirty-nine prostitutes questioned did not belong to such hereditary caste.

The second cause is that the woman of India, if she belongs to the poorer classes, is a mere drudge, living only for her very heavy household duties, or for the labour by which she earns her living, and rapidly losing all pretensions to feminine charms. If she belongs to the higher classes, at any rate in Northern India, she spends her whole life within the four walls of the zanana. The one is wholly uneducated; the other wholly unacquainted with men and manners: both are without that intelligence which wider experience alone can give. The prostitute is, excepting among the Parsis, the only woman in Upper India who, while preserving her charms unimpaired by a hard life and by manual labour, possesses that cultivation which springs from free contact with men and with the world.

III.—CANTONMENT PROSTITUTES.

13. No doubt the class of prostitute whom the British soldier affects is not of a high type. But she is far superior, both physically and mentally, to the more respectable women of her own stratum of life; and the reputation of its higher members is more or less reflected on the whole class. In England, a prostitute has "fallen" from something better, and has become an outcast and the lowest of the low. In India, the majority of prostitutes are born, not made, and are not ashamed of or accounted disgraced by being so. There are other occupations which are considered far more degrading; so that, for instance, as appears from the evidence of the Meerut women, to call even a Cantonment prostitute "mehtaráni" or "female sweeper," a class of women no less virtuous than any other, is to insult her. We have had many indications in the course of our enquiry, that prostitutes frequently marry, settle down, and lead a respectable life. See, for instance, Miro's evidence, who states that four out of her twelve women who were turned out of the Cavalry bazaar chakla at Lucknow did so. And we know of our own knowledge that this is commonly the case; though, of course, when they belong to the prostitute castes, they must marry pimps, they will live by procuration, and their female children will be brought up to their mother's occupation. One of the patients in the hospital at Ambala, when questioned by Maulvi Sami-ullah, declared that she preferred her present life to marriage. The other said that she "would not mind marrying, if she could get a comfortable living by it."

Prostitution in Cantonments.

14. We have said above that, from the very nature of the case, a larger number of recruits are probably admitted from outside the hereditary castes to the ranks of prostitutes, than is the case with regard to many other occupations. Answers 590 to 597, given before the India Office Committee, illustrate the manner in which such recruits are obtained. But the process must not be imagined to be in any way peculiar to Cantonments. All over the country, among the lower classes, widows who are unhappy at home, wives who cannot agree with their mothers-in-law, and women whose amours have unfortunately become public, leave their homes and fall into the hands of men who make their living by trading in such women. There are, within a few miles of the capital of Punjab, two villages which are notoriously depôts for such women. They are bought up all over the country; and, as soon as a sufficient number has been collected, are sent off by train, chiefly to Sindh, there to be placed out as wives, concubines, or prostitutes; often only to return after awhile to their employers with the jewels of the persons with whom they have been placed, preparatory to starting afresh on the same course. Legal proof of sale and of intention is impossible to obtain. The facts are well known; but the police and the Magistrates are powerless.

The manner of recruitment.

15. We now turn to consider certain circumstances which are special to the prostitutes of our Indian Cantonments. The question of how far they are reserved exclusively for the use of our troops will be discussed later on. But there is little doubt that a native harlot does to some extent lose caste among her fellows by consorting with British soldiers. The dislike to miscegenation is double-edged; and it is notorious that if any one of the women who occupy the foremost ranks of the calling were to receive a European, she would forfeit her position. The British private soldier is looked upon by the natives as an Englishman of low caste; a woman who receives him suffers in estimation accordingly; and "*gorá kamáná* (to earn one's living from the British soldier) is used as a term of reproach. At the same time, the strength and extent of this feeling may very easily be exaggerated. It exists only among the better class of natives, a class by whom the sort of prostitute who inhabits our Cantonment chaklas could hardly hope to be frequented; and it operates in practice in very much the same manner, as does in England the feeling which would restrain an Englishman of the middle classes from associating

Reservation for the use of British troops.

himself with a garrison prostitute. As a fact, there can be no shadow of doubt whatever that the women in question *do* consort freely with natives, though perhaps not often within the chakla, owing to causes which will be discussed later; and that most of them, like prostitutes elsewhere, have lovers chosen from their own nation and class of life.

Their indebtedness.

16. It has been alleged that the majority of these women are so heavily in debt to their mahaldarnis, that they are unable to leave cantonments or to abandon their life of shame. As regards the life of shame, no other life is possible to the hereditary prostitute; or rather, if she marries, she may abandon personal prostitution, but must earn her living as a procuress, and will bring up her daughters to the occupation of her caste. We have been unable to discover any case in which the fact of a prostitute being indebted to her mahaldarni was admitted. The mahaldarni often keeps the woman, and takes the whole of her earnings; but we could find no admitted instance of actual debt. But we nevertheless believe that such instances do exist, and are probably not infrequent. It is in the nature of things that it should be so, in India as in Europe; for *entreteneuses* are common and prostitutes are careless and extravagant all the world over. A great number—it is said a large majority—of the prostitutes of Indian towns and cities are maintained by procuresses, who either take all their earnings, or make advances to them which they are unable to pay off. But we wish to point out, what is probably not so true elsewhere as in India, that this state of affairs is by no means peculiar to prostitutes. There are hundreds of artisans in every large city, there are thousands of agricultural labourers in most districts, who have taken an advance from their employers, and so contracted a burden of debt which they can hardly hope to clear off. A description has been given of how one mahaldarni transferred to another a prostitute who was in her debt, in consideration of the debt being paid by the latter. (Answers 550 to 559 before the India Office Committee.) The latter woman denied the transaction before us, probably untruly; and all the statements made to us go to show that such transactions do not take place. We do not believe these statements. But, be that as it may, it is certainly a fact that the artisans and agricultural labourers just alluded to, are commonly transferred from hand to hand on precisely the terms thus described. The women, while denying indebtedness to their mahaldarnis, freely admitted owing money to their shopkeepers. Now the native of India, almost without exception, deals on credit; and the normal condition of his account, however solvent he may be, is that of a debit against him. The only question in each case is, whether the assets cover the liabilities. When they do not, so long as imprisonment for debt continues to figure in the Civil Code of India, the debtor's movements are dependent upon the will of his creditors.* It is an experience familiar to Anglo-Indians, that servants are frequently unable to follow their masters to another station, until an advance has been made to enable them to pay off the debts they have contracted; and that not unfrequently the wife and children will be left behind, by way of hostages to the creditors.

Their general condition.

17. As for our own experience, we have met with *very* few instances of evident poverty—perhaps five or six out of the 143 women examined by us. The remainder have seemed to us who are brought into daily contact with the poorer class of natives, to be contented, well clad, well nourished, in appearance comfortably off, and in no small number of cases very distinctly well-to-do. Certainly the women we saw in the *native* chakla in Ambala fell very far behind them in these respects. The same impression has been produced upon the minds of Drs. Ranking, O'Connor, Hamilton, and Wardrop, all of whom have had much experience of the women in question, and some of whom have shown themselves to be inspired by quite unusual sympathy for them. The women

* NOTE.—After the report was signed it was pointed out to us that, since 1888, no woman can be arrested or imprisoned in India in execution of a decree for money.

bring their own bedding, and sometimes their own bedsteads, with them to the Venereal Hospital, though both are provided by Government. They enjoy their small luxuries while there, such as tobacco, pan, and opium; it is not found necessary to supplement their clothing; the diet which suffices for the ordinary in-patient of our hospitals is too plain for them; and we observed at Lucknow that many of the houses in the chakla were provided with a pankhah, a table, and a chair or stool. It is beyond doubt that some of them amass very considerable wealth, as measured by the standard of an Indian bazaar.

Their age.

18. As for their age, Dr. Cleghorn carefully passed under review the 143 women who appeared before us. He found one of 16 at Ambala (of course the ages are approximate only), one of 15 at Meerut, and one of 14 or 15 at Lucknow. These were the only ones who appeared to be younger than 17 or 18. The youngest girl we came across was one of about 8 years of age in the *native* chakla of Ambala, who was living with her mother, a hereditary prostitute, but had not yet begun to practise. Dr. O'Connor at Meerut has examined prostitutes every week for three years, in numbers varying from 60 to 90; but never remembers to have seen one younger than 17. He remembered the girl called Mariam, who is evidently referred to by Mr. Bell in Answer No. 1549 before the India Office Committee. She was the youngest looking girl of her age that he had ever had in hospital; but she was certainly not under 17 years old. In one case Dr. Ranking returned without examining, a girl, a new comer, sent to him for examination, with the remark that she was too young to practise.

IV.—THE SEGREGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

The segregation of occupations in India.

19. By Indian custom, persons following a common trade or occupation generally live together in one or more quarters of their town or village, which are occupied almost exclusively by them. The custom is strongest in the case of callings which are followed by outcasts, or the exercise of which is in any way offensive or annoying to the neighbours, such as the calling of the sweeper, the tanner, the copper-smith, the maker of raw hide vessels, the butcher, and so forth. It is, however, by no means limited to them; but it is in a greater or less degree common to all occupations and to all towns. A few conspicuous instances which occur to us are, the shawl-weavers and silk-workers of Amritsar, the shoemakers, wire-drawers, and lace-sellers of Delhi, and the bangle-makers, silk-dealers, and fruiterers of Peshawar. In the case of callings by which the feelings or comfort of the neighbours are not affected, this custom is based upon the ties of common caste or guild, always strong in India, and upon the convenience of both traders and customers; and is wholly voluntary and spontaneous, both in its origin and in its observance. In the case of more or less offensive occupations, while the custom is stronger and no less old, statutory powers exist in all large towns to compel its observance. The Municipalities of the Punjab are invested by law with powers to regulate the carrying on of certain occupations and classes of occupations, arranged under twenty-two different heads, to grant licenses for their prosecution in specified localities, and to direct its discontinuance; while persons prosecuting such occupations without such license, or in disregard of such directions, are liable to severe punishment in a Criminal Court. So, again, the shops of beef-butchers are under the very strictest regulation in all parts of the country.

The segregation of prostitutes in cities.

20. The case of prostitutes offers no exception to these general statements. The Indian harlots (who, it may be remarked, do not solicit, in the sense in which solicitation is practised in England) affect certain special quarters of the towns in which they reside, such as the Anarkalli Bazaar at Lahore, the Thatti

IV.—THE SEGRAGATION OF PROSTITUTES.

at Peshawar, the Bazar Kanjrian (prostitutes' bazaar) at Amritsar, and the Chauk at Lucknow. There they generally occupy the upper storeys of the shops, and sitting at their open windows, expose their charms to the passers by. To such a pitch has this scandal reached in some of the Panjab towns, that the last Panjab Municipal Act (passed in 1891) contains an enabling section by which a Magistrate may, on proof of annoyance to the neighbours, peremptorily forbid any given house to be used for the purposes of a brothel, and inflict a substantial fine for disregard of his orders. Indeed, the civil authorities have not always waited for statutory powers. At Peshawar, prostitutes were formerly confined to one main quarter, to which, of late years, two or three smaller ones have been added. At Amritsar, it is only recently that they have been allowed to live outside what are still their three main quarters. And at Delhi, no prostitute is permitted to take up her abode in the Chandni Chauk, or "Regent Street," of the city.

The segregation of occupations in Cantonments.

21. In Cantonments, as has been already remarked, the powers of regulation and control are wider and more minute than those exercised over the extra-military population. At Meerut and Lucknow, every person wishing to reside, or to change his residence in Cantonments, has to apply to the authorities for permission to do so. And so far is this carried at Lucknow, that every officer in civil employ who wishes to occupy a bungalow in Cantonments, has first to obtain written sanction in a form which will be found in the Appendix. The persons who have done to include (to quote two instances given us) the chief revenue, criminal, and executive authority in the Lucknow District, who is the immediate representative of the British Government to a population of 775,000 souls; and a Colonel of Royal Engineers, who is the administrative head of a railway system comprising 700 miles of open line. Permission, while granted as a matter of course where no objection exists, is constantly refused when to grant it, would in any degree endanger the comfort, convenience, or safety of the neighbours. At Lucknow, indeed, the practice goes further; people are expected to reside in the quarters allotted to their callings; and a second-hand furniture dealer (for instance) is not allowed to open a shop, except in the proximity of other shops of the same nature. At Ambala no special permission is required as a condition prior to residence or change of residence; but the regulation of residence is only less strict, and people are freely moved when their presence disturbs the neighbourhood.

The segregation of prostitutes in Cantonments.

22. With the single exception of the beef-butchers, prostitutes are the class of all classes whose residence it is most important to regulate strictly. Regard for public decency requires that they should not be allowed to pursue their vocation in all parts of Cantonments indifferently; more especially as, owing to the nature of their calling, they would naturally select (as they often do in cities) the most public thoroughfares for its practice. Sanitary considerations possess especial force in the case of women frequented by British troops; and special sanitation is most easily enforced in definite quarters. Breaches of the peace and other offences are, all the world over, of most frequent occurrence in the haunts of the vicious; and public order is more easily preserved when those haunts are collected together, than when they are scattered. Finally, military discipline requires that soldiers shall pass the night in barracks, and that absentees without leave shall be apprehended. Such absentees are most often found in the houses of prostitutes; and the search for them is greatly facilitated when these houses lie in close proximity to one another. Accordingly, we find that, in all Cantonnments, public prostitutes are required to reside in certain specified portions of the bazaars; and at Lucknow a European harlot was not long ago turned out of the bazaar, and left Cantonments, because she declined to comply with this rule.

So long as they confine themselves to these quarters, absolute liberty in the selection of their actual place of residence is ordinarily allowed to them. But at Ambala we found that, in view of the considerations noted above, and on the report of the Garrison Police that, so long as the women were scattered, they had no proper control over their men, the Cantonment Magistrate had been bringing pressure to bear upon the women to leave their separate houses, and to come into the enclosed quarters devoted to prostitutes. That the pressure was not very severe, is evident from the fact that a considerable number of them had not yielded to it.

Permission to reside.

23. It has just been explained that at Meerut and Lucknow, every person wishing to settle in Cantonments, or to change his residence, has to apply for permission to the Cantonment Magistrate. These applications are made on the form or paper prescribed for that purpose, which generally costs three pies. They bear (like all miscellaneous applications presented to a Magistrate) a stamp of one anna, and are, in the case of illiterate applicants, written by a petition-writer, who works for payment. No other fee of any sort whatever is ever levied in connection with them (*cf.* Answer No. 584). At Meerut they are accompanied by a form, which is returned to the applicant with formal permission endorsed upon it, and which he shows to the police as his authority. When presented by a prostitute, they often take the form of an application to reside, and to practice as a prostitute in a certain house; in which case the order granting the permission is carefully silent as to the prostitution. We find that in October 1891, the medical officer at Meerut reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, that two European women residing in the city were in the habit of coming over to Cantonments, and there practising ss prostitutes. This is probably the case referred to in Answers 718 and 1183, given before the India Office Committee; though we have not been able to identify the visitors' book there referred to. We have ascertained from the office records that the police made inquiries, and found that both the women were admittedly diseased; and that one of them had been turned out of Cantonments in the previous June, under the rules of July 1890; but had obtained permission, conditional on her not prostituting herself there, to re-enter Cantonments in order to conduct a law-suit in which she was interested. It did not appear that the women had prostituted themselves in Cantonments, and no further action was taken. This is the only case that has come to our notice, in which there was any attempt to object to a woman practising prostitution within Cantonments without permission; and here the point of the complaint evidently was, that the women lived outside Cantonments, and thus removed themselves from the operation of the rules of 1890.

Medical examination prior to permission to reside.

24. So long as the Lock Hospital Rules were in force, a prostitute wishing to reside in Cantonments had in all cases to apply for permission to reside, and to be brought on to the Register of Prostitutes. She was then sent in charge of the police to the Medical Officer, to be examined before permission was granted. At Meerut this practice has been absolutely discontinued since 1888. At Lucknow it was, until lately, the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate, to ask a woman applying for permission to reside whether she would be examined by the Medical Officer; and in case of her agreeing, which she always did, to endorse upon the application a request to the Medical Officer that he would examine her. This she took herself to the doctor (without the intervention of the police), was examined, and had the result endorsed upon her application, which she brought back to the Cantonment Magistrate for final orders upon it. We shall comment later on upon this procedure. At Ambala no such applications are required, nor is any medical examination made. But such applications are still occasionally received; and in one or two instances women (a French woman among them) had of their own accord presented themselves to the doctor for examination as a preliminary to

residence. In no such case, however, did he give any certificate of the result of his examination. We asked one woman, who had recently acted in this manner, who had told her to go to the doctor; and she replied, "Tell me! Why should they tell me? Have I been a prostitute for eleven years, and not know the custom?"

Permission to leave Cantonments.

25. Under the old Lock Hospital system a prostitute had to apply formally for permission to leave Cantonments, in which case she was sent to a medical officer for examination. Such applications are still occasionally presented; but permission is always granted on them as a matter of course, and no medical examination ever suggested. As a fact, prostitutes leave every Cantonment weekly without asking for or receiving permission. In no case of late years has a woman presented herself for examination as a preliminary to leaving Cantonments; and the old procedure has almost dropped out of memory. The women who appeared before us were in every case unanimous that they were absolutely free to leave the chakla or Cantonments at pleasure. Nor is the fact of a woman having left Cantonments without permission any bar whatever to her return. At Lucknow we noticed a petition from a woman for leave to reside, who distinctly stated that she had done so; but permission was granted as a matter of course, after medical examination, by order dated 18th February 1892. The story told by Dr. Bushnell, in Answers 983 to 1061, before the Departmental Committee, has been retold before us by Major Campbell, the Cantonment Magistrate referred to (see pages xxxii and xxxiii of the Appendix), and the result of our examination of the record will there be found noted. The 10th Bengal Infantry had left Lucknow, so that we were unable to examine their doctor. We are perfectly satisfied, however, that at that time every woman was absolutely free to leave Cantonments without permission or examination; and the fact that a police constable thought otherwise is merely another instance of the extraordinary persistence of established observances among natives, to which we refer elsewhere, and which has been sufficiently exemplified in this and the preceding paragraphs.

V.—THE CHAKLAS.

What a chakla is.

26. The quarters of a town which are most affected by the commoner class of prostitute are commonly known as chaklas, a vernacular word of which the origin is unknown to us. In Cantonments the word is employed in the same general sense; but it is also specially applied to an enclosure, with more or less numerous quarters within it, which is devoted to the use of prostitutes. It is, however, far from being the case that all the prostitutes of the general chakla or quarter are collected within the special chakla or enclosure. In the Lal Kurti bazaar at Meerut, for instance, there is no enclosure, and the women live in separate houses at one end of the main street of the bazaar; and in every case we found unoccupied rooms, and sometimes many of them, within the enclosure, while we found that prostitutes, often in considerable numbers, were living outside of, though in the immediate neighbourhood of, the enclosure. Even in the case of regimental bazaars, which are generally small, where control is stricter than in the Sadar, and where it is probable that before 1888 prostitutes were never allowed to live outside the special quarters allotted to them, prostitutes were permitted at Ambala after 1888 to live outside the chaklas, so long as the latter were Government property. Even the old regimental chaklas themselves were not always enclosed; as, for instance, in the case of the Cavalry chakla at Meerut, and the Infantry chakla at Lucknow, where the chakla has always consisted of an open portion of a small side street.

The enclosed type of chakla.

27. The enclosed chaklas are buildings of the type so universal throughout India, if not throughout the East, which is familiar to us from childhood under the name of caravanserai

(shortened in India to serai). It consists of a high wall enclosing a larger or smaller area, to which a strong gate gives access. The middle of the interior is occupied by an open space; while round all four sides are ranged numbers of small rooms or quarters, some being larger, and affording better accommodation than the others. This type is commonly followed in India, wherever accommodation is required for a number of persons or families connected by almost any common tie, or wherever the resident persons or families are continually changing. The serai for travellers, the native hotel of India, has been already mentioned, and is the type of the class. But many of our older hospitals and dispensaries were built on the same model; and the Revenue and Criminal Courts and offices at the head-quarters of subdivisions of districts were so built till quite recently. The quarters set apart for, and occupied by, the lower castes in agricultural villages are, in many parts of the Panjab, almost invariably of this form; and the private servants of Englishmen are not unfrequently lodged in enclosures built on the same plan. In every large town, apart from the serais, there are many of these collections of quarters, which are occupied by people generally of the poorer classes, and of one and the same caste. As Maulvi Sami-ullah puts it: "Turn the prostitutes out of the chakla and replace "them by ordinary lodgers, and you have what, under the name of *katra*, is a "common form of lodging-house in all our cities. Turn the lodgers out of one "of these *katras* and put in prostitutes, and it becomes a chakla at once. If "drivers of hackney carriages live there, it is called an adda; if small shop-"keepers or greengrocers occupy it, it is called a mandi; if travellers, "a serai; if prostitutes, a chakla." In the Cavalry bazaar at Ambala a private enclosure of precisely this type was occupied by prostitutes in 1890, and was from that moment known as the chakla; and the old regimental chaklas have for the most part since 1888 been occupied by private lodgers; though they still stand (with the exception of the Artillery chakla at Lucknow, where the enclosing wall has been taken down), exactly as they stood before 1888. Outside Cantonments such quarters are seldom occupied by prostitutes, the very essence of whose trade is publicity, and who cannot afford to hide themselves within the four walls of an enclosure. Amritsar seems to be the exception which proves the rule; for there two of the three main quarters for prostitutes are *katras*.

Regimental and Sadar chaklas.

28. The chaklas of our Cantonments fall under two heads—the small ones in the regimental bazaars, probably frequented almost exclusively by men of the regiment to which the bazaar is attached; and the larger ones in the Sadar bazaars.

Property in the Sadar chaklas.

29. At Lucknow the Sadar chakla was built by Government in 1877 from the materials of an old palace, before which date a small open bazaar close by had been used for the purpose. It was sold in 1888, and has since then been private property. The two chaklas in the Sadar bazaar at Meerut have never belonged to Government. The smaller one (Kalandar's) was built shortly after the Mutiny by a private individual, upon confiscated land bought from Government. The larger one (Hira's) was built as a private speculation by a prostitute, to whom Government land was granted for the purpose, when the ejectment of the prostitutes from the regimental bazaars in 1888 created a demand for accommodation. There is no enclosed chakla in the Lal Kurti bazaar. At Ambala the chakla now known as the *gorá*, or British chakla, was built in 1843, when the Cantonments were transferred from Karnal to Ambala, by the hereditary pimps, who, with their women, accompanied the garrison. The present native chakla also has always been private property. It used to be the British chakla till the sudden demand for accommodation in 1888; when, the other chakla being much the larger, the two were interchanged.

V.—THE CHAKLAS.

Property in the regimental chaklas.

30. At Lucknow there has never been a left Infantry chakla, as the regimental lines are close to the Sadar bazaar. The right Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery chaklas were originally Government property, but were sold in the end of 1888. At Ambala also, all the regimental chaklas were Government property. The Artillery chakla was sold at the end of 1890; while the Cavalry and Infantry chaklas have only recently been disposed of. At Meerut there never has been an enclosed chakla for the Infantry, as the regimental bazaar proper forms, as already explained, a portion of the Lal Kurti bazaar. The Artillery and Cavalry chaklas have always been private property.

The occupation and rent of chaklas.

31. In no case has a Government chakla been sold to a pimp or a prostitute. In no case has a chakla, while the property of Government, been occupied by prostitutes since 1888. We have satisfied ourselves that in no case has Government paid rent for any building used as a chakla, with the following doubtful exception. The present owner of the Cavalry chakla at Meerut states that, at some uncertain date, and for a period of about fifteen months, the Colonel of the 8th Hussars (who were at Meerut from 1884 to 1889) paid the rent, which had before that time been paid by the women, and which the Colonel of the 5th Lancers, who succeeded them, refused to pay. The chaudhri of the bazaar, who admits the payment of the mahaldarni for a time by the 8th Hussars, states that no rent has ever been paid in his time (since 1884) by any regiment.

Residence of prostitutes in regimental chaklas.

32. The Sadar chaklas have, of course, been continuously occupied by prostitutes up to date. By Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3, of 12th May 1888, the residence of registered prostitutes in the bazaars of British corps was prohibited. It was these orders that led to the closing and sale of the regimental chaklas; and, in compliance with them, the women were in all cases turned out of regimental bazaars and sent to live in the Sadar. At Lucknow the regimental chaklas have since that time been occupied by ordinary lodgers, and no prostitutes have since then lived in any of the regimental bazaars. At Ambala and Meerut the regimental chaklas were presently re-opened, or prostitutes again allowed to live within regimental limits; apparently on the grounds that the orders of May 1888 forbade the residence in regimental bazaars of registered prostitutes only, and that, since the subsequent orders of August 1888 had abolished registration, the prohibition was no longer in force. By Quartermaster General's No. 20, of 11th July 1892, the prohibition was repeated in general terms, and these orders were re-issued in May 1893.

The same: Meerut.

33. When the Meerut Lock Hospital was reopened, in July 1889, an arrangement was made by the Cantonment Committee and the Officers Commanding regiments, by which the regimental chaklas were reopened also; and a limited number of women (ten for the Cavalry, ten for the Infantry, and fourteen for the Artillery) invited to reside in them, on the understanding that they would attend weekly at the Lock Hospital for examination, and, if diseased, would remain in hospital till cure. The chaklas were closed again, we have been told, in July or August 1891; but perhaps more probably at the same period of 1892, on the issue of the orders referred to above; and the entry of women in the examination sheets under the heads of "Artillery" and "5th Lancers" up to the 29th August 1892 confirms this supposition. Since then no prostitutes have resided within regimental limits at Meerut.

The same: Ambala.

34. At Ambala a similar arrangement seems to have been made during the latter part of 1889 and the beginning of 1890; only, the regimental chaklas being still Government property,

the prostitutes lived outside the enclosed chaklas, but in the regimental bazaar; though the Artillery women moved into their old chakla in May 1892, some eighteen months after its sale by Government. The Infantry women were turned out or left in the end of 1891, as the Derbyshire Regiment, which then came to Ambala, refused to countenance them. The women of the otner two bazaars stayed on till the re-issue, in May 1893, of the orders of July 1892 already referred to, when they were turned out by the Cantonment Magistrate.

Misconceptions regarding regimental chaklas.

35. It will be convenient at this point to explain certain circumstances, ignorance of which has led to much misconception, that is reproduced in the India Office evidence. When the women were turned out of the regimental chaklas at Meerut and Lucknow they and their mahaldarnis took refuge in the Sadar bazaar. Where, as in some cases, the group of women who had occupied one of the regimental chaklas (or the greater number of them) moved with their mahaldarni into separate quarters in the Sadar bazaar they continued to be known as the women, and the building they occupied began to be called the chakla, of the regiment to which they had belonged. But this was a mere name, signifying nothing. The women, living as they did in the Sadar bazaar, ceased to be in any respect special to the regiment, which never had any concern whatever with the building which they occupied; at Meerut, an enclosure like to, but smaller than, the Sadar chakla; at Lucknow, a small row of ordinary houses open to the street. This accounts for the "Lancers'" chaklas, spoken of by Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell as still existing at Meerut and Lucknow. At Meerut, again, by far the larger portion of what is known as the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry, bazaar lies, as already explained, outside the regimental limits, and is in all respects but name a portion of the Sadar bazaar. So much is this the case, that the Officer at present Commanding the British Infantry at Meerut has declined to be responsible for even that part of the Lal Kurti bazaar which does lie within his limits. Now *all* the prostitutes living in the Lal Kurti bazaar at Meerut live in the former or extra-regimental portion of it. These women have no more special concern or connection with the Infantry than have their fellows living in the Sadar bazaar proper, save in so far as proximity to the regimental lines may give them an advantage. But they are, by reason of their place of residence, spoken of as the Lal Kurti, or British Infantry, women.

Watch and ward over chaklas.

36. Each of the chaklas now occupied by prostitutes is necessarily situated within the beat of some police constable, and at Lucknow, of some Cantonment chaukidar. But in no case is any special guard or watch placed over the chakla; nor is a chaukidar attached to any one of them, as they are not Government property, and it is not usual with natives to employ chaukidars on premises of this sort. The chaukidar whom Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell saw inside the Lucknow chakla was doubtless the Cantonment chaukidar, in whose beat the chakla is situated; who followed them in, and very rightly so, partly, no doubt, from curiosity, but partly also with a view to their protection. A visit by two European ladies to a place of this sort would naturally arouse the most intense curiosity; and the chaukidar, if he did nothing else, would at least keep street loafers from flocking in, as he had to do on the occasion of our visit, which was of a much less startling nature. The Military Police patrol the chaklas after dark, and their visits will be referred to later on in detail. In Lucknow there is a Military Police post within a short distance of the chakla. It appears that a native policeman was stationed on the Ambala gora chakla last cold weather, when the number of prostitutes and troops was at its maximum; but was reported by the Military Police as useless, and was taken off again.

VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

The freedom of the women.

37. In any case, the women are as free as day to pass in and out, and, subject to the conditions already described (paragraph 21), to change their residence from one part of the prostitutes' quarter to another. The picture which is suggested by the India Office evidence, of harlots cooped up for the use of the British soldiery in an enclosure surrounded by high walls, with strong gates watched over by police, is misleading in every particular. As we have already pointed out, the high-walled enclosure is a common form of lodging-house throughout Northern India; and in a country where "pardah" is the rule your respectability is (as Maulvi Sami-ullah remarks) measured by the height of the walls that surround your house. To eyes accustomed to the country the chaklas present no structural peculiarities whatever. The long blank wall at Lucknow does, indeed, look somewhat jail-like; but only because it has not, as the walls of such enclosures generally have, a row of shops or houses along its outer face. It is pierced by three entrances, with never a door among them; and the adjoining wall of the courtyard to which it belongs is all too low for privacy. The gate of the Ambala British chaklas has not been shut, certainly, for a twelvemonth past; and if it were fastened, it is so broken that it would stand in no one's way. The gate of the native chakla is far more formidable, and in far better order. Wherever we went, many rooms in the chaklas were empty, while prostitutes were living in numbers outside them. Even in Ambala there were eight or ten so living, though there some pressure had recently been put upon them to come into the chakla. The only complaint of any sort which was made to us of any restraint upon perfect freedom was by two of the leading and most attractive women in the British chakla at Ambala. It obviously sprang from their resentment at the recent prohibition of a practice which had grown up, of the women sitting in the street outside the chakla doors, to wrangle for the custom of the soldiers who were drinking at the sherbet shops close by, and at the strictness with which native men had recently been excluded from the chakla. The very complaint, and the very practice the prohibition of which was complained of, show that perfect freedom is ordinarily enjoyed; and the other women there, and all the women elsewhere, professed themselves absolutely free to come and go at will. From all we saw and heard we are convinced that it is absurd to suppose the contrary. Neither the Cantonment Magistrate nor the Medical Officer treats the chaklas in any way differently from any other Cantonment premises, in the way of supervision, inspection, or control. In short, the *only* difference in the control exercised over the chaklas and over other parts of the bazaar is in connection with the Military Police, a subject to which we shall presently return.

VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

The Indian system of headmen.

38. The organic communities into which Indian society is divided are for the most part represented by headmen, either hereditary or elected, in their dealings with the local authorities. These headmen are recognised by Government in degrees which vary, from actual appointment, through approval of the selection, down to mere recognition as the persons with whom matters affecting the group are discussed, and to whom orders are communicated. When the duties of these headmen are in any degree arduous they receive payment, sometimes from the public purse, but more often from the people whom they represent; and in this latter case their fees not infrequently take the form of a cess upon earnings.

Such a system of representatives of village communities and their groups and subdivisions, forms an integral part of the revenue system of Northern India; witness the zaildars, lambardars, and thuladars of our villages, and the considerable emoluments which they receive under rules framed and enforced by Government. The wards or muhallas into which towns are divided are

VI.—THE MAHALDARNIS.

represented by leading inhabitants or muhalladars, who are summoned when information is required or orders are to be communicated. Most of the trades or occupations have their headmen or chaudhris; and when, as in the case, for instance, with carriers of all sorts, dealings with the authorities are frequent, their selection is held by tradition and practice to be subject to official approval. In many cases these headmen levy an impost upon all earnings. The gangs of hereditary navvies, who wander about the country taking contracts for earth-work, are dealt with through one of their number, who is called their jemadar, and who takes a larger share than the others of the payments for work done. In the station where this report is being written (Kasauli) the chaudhri of coolies takes half an anna for every four annas paid for a coolie, and the chaudhri of ponies two annas out of every rupee paid for a pony. Both are appointed and dismissed by the Magistrate. Neither receives any pay from any public source.

The mahaldarnis described.

39. Under the old system in force prior to 1888 the Officer Commanding a regiment used, at any rate in some cases, to arrange for the provision of women for the use of his men. A hereditary pimp or a prostitute (more commonly the latter) would offer to bring the women required. If the offer was approved she collected women from among her acquaintances, and became responsible for their management and good conduct. From them she received fees, generally in the form of a levy upon their earnings; while in some cases, but apparently rarely, she also received an allowance from regimental funds. She lived with her women in the regimental chakla; and her duties were to attend generally to the comfort and welfare of the women, to fill up vacancies in their ranks, to take them to the periodical examinations by a doctor, and personally make supplementary examinations, to settle disputes, and to report such as she could not settle, together with all disturbances and offences occurring in the chakla under her charge. If her performance of these duties was not satisfactory, she would be dismissed and another appointed in her place, who would probably bring her own women with her in place of the old set.

Such persons were called mahaldars if men, and mahaldarnis* if women. The whole system was simply a replica of that under which numberless other needs were being supplied on all sides. It, unfortunately, did not occur to us to ask the question; but, since large numbers of pankah coolies are needed in Cantonments during the hot-weather months, we should not be surprised to find that in many cases they are obtained through a chaudhri or jemadar of pankah coolies, whose duties and emoluments (whether paid by Government or levied from the coolies, or both) are precisely analogous to those of the mahaldarni. These mahaldarnis and their women often attached themselves to an individual regiment, and followed it from one Cantonment to another. In other cases (and especially when regiments were transferred by rail from long distances) they remained in the regimental chakla, and were taken over by each new regiment as it succeeded the old one. Many of the old mahaldarnis still act as *entreteneuses* to their groups of women, and levy fees upon their earnings as before; but they do so in a purely private capacity. In fact a mahaldarni may best be defined as an *entreteneuse* who is recognised by authority. She takes by custom a proportion of the women's earnings, varying from one-fourth, if she finds them in board and lodging, to one-eighth if she does not.†

The appointment of mahaldarnis by Government, and their dismissal.

40. This was the system prevailing from of old in all chaklas, long before Lock Hospitals were founded or the Lock Hospital Rules framed. In 1883 it

* The Persian word "mahal" means abode, hall, palace; and, metaphorically, a noble lady, a queen. The word "mahaldár" (*feminine* mahaldárni) would mean the person in charge of a mahal; and the latter word is said by Platts (Urdu Dictionary, London, 1884) to mean "the female superintendent of a Lock Hospital; the head midwife of a quarter or district; the head of a brothel, the mother bawd."

† NOTE.—This is what appears from the evidence as recorded; but we are not sure that the meaning of the women was not that half an anna (or an anna) was taken on each visit; which would amount to one-eighth, or one-fourth only when a private soldier paid no more than the minimum four annas, and to less in all other cases.

was apparently decided to utilise more fully the services of these women; and with this view it was determined to bring all mahaldarnis under proper control as paid Government servants. Accordingly, by Circular Memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, orders were issued to appoint to each chakla a paid head woman, to be called a dhai, whose name was to be borne on the roll of the Lock Hospital establishment, but whose duties were confined to the chakla. In 1888 the women were turned out of the regimental bazaars; and the regimental mahaldarnis were shortly afterwards dismissed, and their appointments abolished. In August 1888 and July 1889 the Meerut and Ambala Lock Hospitals, respectively, were temporarily closed; and their establishments, including the Sadar mahaldarnis, brought under reduction. At Lucknow, however, Amiran, the mahaldarni of the Sadar chakla, was retained in her appointment. In November 1890 the Officiating Cantonment Magistrate wrote of her: "She is not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but is employed to maintain order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order, as in other parts of the bazaar." In December 1890 a Cantonment Hospital, with enlarged establishment, was substituted for the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, by Quartermaster General's letter No. 5276-B. (Sanitary), dated the 5th December 1890; and in the revised scale of establishment the word "dhai" had disappeared, and provision was made for two matrons, on Rs. 12 and Rs. 10. Amirjan, the existing matron, was appointed to the former post; while the latter, that on Rs. 10, was given to Amiran, the old Sadar mahaldarni. It was probably intended that these two matrons should work at the women's ward of the general branch, as well as at the venereal branch, as they do elsewhere; but the general branch was not started at Lucknow till January 1892; and accordingly Amiran continued to live in the Sadar bazaar, where she apparently enjoyed a practical sinecure. At any rate, the Medical Officer hardly knew her by sight, never gave her any orders, and did not know where she lived and performed her duties, such as they were. Certainly presenting the women for examination was not one of them. In his Memorandum, dated the 15th December 1891, the Medical Officer pointed out that, "under the present system of Cantonment Hospitals, the services of the dhai are not all necessary," and proposed that a compounder should be appointed in her place. The General forwarded the proposal with his letter No. 836, of 23rd December 1891; and the change was sanctioned in January 1892, with effect from the 1st February. On that date Amiran was dismissed; and from that date no woman has been employed or has received pay on account of duties, either nominal or real, connected with a Sadar chakla. We quote these dates particularly, which we have verified by actual inspection of the letters, because they effectually dispose of the suggestion contained in Answers Nos. 884 to 919, and 471 and 472, given before the India Office Committee, that the dismissal of the woman was due to anything that had occurred at or after the first visit of Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell to Lucknow. No other woman of the sort was dismissed at the same time. In fact, the only other woman then employed, besides a female sweeper, was Amirjan, the Lock Hospital matron, who still holds her appointment. Both the Cantonment Magistrate and the Medical Officer absolutely deny that they ever held out any hope of re-employment to Amiran, or indeed contemplated the re-opening of the regimental chaklas as possible, or ever advised her as to her means of livelihood.

Regimental mahaldarnis after 1888.

41. As we have already said, regimental mahaldarnis were dismissed when the chaklas were closed in 1888. When, at Meerut and Ambala, women were allowed again to reside in the regimental bazaars, mahaldars or mahaldarnis again appeared with the women; but they seem to have received no pay from the regiment, with the doubtful exception of the Cavalry mahaldarni at Meerut, who is said by the bazaar chaudhri to have received Rs. 2 a month (and each woman Re. 1), on condition of keeping soap and towels in their

houses, for the last year of the stay of the 8th Hussars, who left in 1889. There is clearly something wrong about his dates, as the chakla was not re-opened till July 1889. When the 8th Hussars were succeeded by the 5th Lancers, this allowance was discontinued. In every case that has come to our notice in which women have been allowed to pitch their tents near a regiment in standing camp a mahaldarni has been at their head; and whenever women have accompanied troops on the march they will almost certainly have been in charge of a mahaldarni. These women doubtless held office subject to the pleasure of the Commanding Officer; but we have met with no case in which the mahal-
910 darni has received any pay from the regiment. Any such payment, if made, would necessarily be from some such private regimental fund as the bazaar fund, which consists of small dues levied from traders for permission to trade within regimental limits. From the moment that the mahaldarni ceased to be borne on the sanctioned scale of establishment payment from any fund under the control and audit of Government became absolutely impossible. It is to be noticed that these mahaldarnis still continue to levy their fees as before from the women to whom they act as *entreteneuses*, even where they have long since ceased to have any recognised position or duties.

42. It will be well to note here that great confusion has been caused by
920 the indiscriminate employment of the two terms, mahaldarni and dhai. The meaning of the former has just been explained. The latter term means originally a wet nurse or midwife, and is commonly applied to a matron attached to an institution for females. The matrons of Lock Hospitals are very properly called dhais; but they were probably, without exception, old mahaldarnis, perhaps because no other class of women would accept the post. On the other hand, the women appointed to the chaklas in 1883, as already related, were also described in the orders and in the establishment rolls as dhais, although they were emphatically mahaldarnis. By the custom of India a person who
930 has once held a position of authority continues to be known by his old title, long after he has ceased to have any right to it; indeed it is often continued to his descendants. We constantly noticed in the course of our enquiries that the native officials spoke of and addressed the matrons as "dhais" or "mahaldarnis" indifferently; and the confusion between these two terms explains at once much misconception that has found a place in the evidence given before the Departmental Committee.

Confusion between mahaldarni and dhai.

VII.—PROSTITUTES WITH REGIMENTS ON THE MARCH AND IN STANDING CAMP.

43. The regimental bazaar is exclusively intended for the accommodation of persons who have dealings with the particular regiment within whose
940 lines it lies. Every such bazaar contains a certain permanent population, which ministers to the needs of each successive regiment as one follows the other. But besides these, and besides the paid followers of the regiment, there are always a considerable number of persons resident in every such bazaar—petty traders, cooks, keepers of cook shops, makers of ginger-pop, washermen, barbers, and the like, who attach themselves to one particular regiment, and accompany it from place to place, at any rate whenever it travels by road. On the line of march these persons pitch their tents in the immediate vicinity of the regimental lines, and, together with the paid regimental followers, are collectively known as "the bazaar." During the winter months British Infantry regiments which are
950 stationed in the hills come down to Cantonments in the plains for what is known as the winter concentration; and, as there are no permanent quarters for them, they live in tents arranged to form a standing camp. Here, again, their bazaar accompanies them; or, if they have just reached India, grows up. In former days a "regular staff of women," to use the words of a Quartermaster

The "bazaar" of a regiment on the march or in camp.

VII.—PROSTITUTES WITH REGIMENTS ON THE MARCH AND IN STANDING CAMP.

of old standing, formed part of every regimental bazaar, and accompanied the regiment from Cantonment to Cantonment.

Provision of carriage for the "bazaar."

44. When a regiment marches, carriage is provided through the Civil or the Commissariat Officer, on formal indent by the regimental authorities. This carriage includes both public carriage for the tents, stores, ammunition, &c., of the regiment, which is paid for by Government; and private carriage for officers and others, who pay for it themselves. When the bazaar can make their own arrangements for carriage in the open market, they do so; but this is often impossible; and in that case the Kotwal indents for their requirements, which are included in the general indent for private carriage, the hire, however, being paid in all cases by the persons for whose use the carriage is required. The regiment provides tents for the paid regimental followers; but the rest of the bazaar find their own tents.

Orders on the subject of this section.

45. By Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888, it was ordered that in future no registered prostitutes were to be allowed to reside in the bazaars of British corps in Cantonments, and that no public prostitutes were to accompany regiments on the line of march or to standing camps. By Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892 (repeated in May 1893), it was laid down that prostitutes were not allowed to reside in regimental bazaars, or to accompany regiments on the march. If these orders are held to prohibit the residence of prostitutes in the immediate vicinity of regiments in standing camp, as well as on the line of march, they have been repeatedly violated or evaded. We will take the Gordon Highlanders and the Royal Irish, as typical instances of regiments in camp and on the march respectively.

Regiments in standing camp.

46. The Gordon Highlanders reached Ambala direct from Ceylon in January 1892, and went straight into standing camp. When, on their arrival at Sabathu, the regulations on the subject of prostitutes were brought to the Commanding Officer's notice, he immediately severed all connection with them. But while at Ambala, a certain number of women, under a mahaldarni, were provided by the direction of the Commanding Officer through the Kotwal, a site was chosen for them, and an enclosure of matting erected within which they pitched their tents, at some little distance from the bazaar, and in the rear of the camp. One of the Regimental Police was posted there every afternoon and evening until roll-call, to keep order, being relieved every two or three hours. The mahaldarni and the bazaar peon used to take the women to weekly examination, with a book in which the medical officer entered the results of his inspection; and the fact of a woman having been admitted to hospital as diseased was reported on their return. No male natives were allowed within the women's enclosure. No payment of any sort was made to the mahaldarni, and the women were free to come and go as they chose. In the case of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who were encamped close by, somewhat similar arrangements were made, with the cognisance and approval, but not by the direct authority, of the Commanding Officer; but in their case there was no guard, though the Military Police patrolled the bazaar and its vicinity, in which the women's encampment was included; and no report was made of women being diseased. During the winter of 1890-91 the women of the two Infantry regiments then in standing camp at Ambala attended weekly examination; and in all probability some such arrangements existed as have just been described. At Meerut women were allowed to encamp, in somewhat the same fashion, in the vicinity of the bazaar of the Royal West Kent, which was in standing camp there in 1892-93. There was no special guard on their tents, and no special arrangements for examination, which they doubtless attended in common with the rest of the Cantonment women.

VIII.—THE REGISTRATION OR LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

Regiments on the march.

47. When the Royal Irish started to march from Peshawar to Ambala in November 1890, about a dozen women under a mahaldarni accompanied them, being changed twice on the road by the bazaar Kotwal. The march lasted between four and five months; much of the road lay through thickly-populated agricultural tracts; and as the Quartermaster put it, "We did it for the safety of the men, and to keep them under observation. If we had had no women they would have been all over the place, and we do not know what offences might not have been committed." The women were examined weekly by the apothecary; they found their own tents, and travelled in carts provided for them as part of the bazaar carriage, but for which they paid. No special guard was put over or accompanied them, but the Regimental Police patrolled their tents. They marched with the rest of the bazaar at night, in advance of the regiment, and no sort of guard or protection was afforded them on the road, nor could they have travelled in the company of regimental carts over which a guard was placed, as these followed the regiment and travelled by day. No payment of any sort was made to the mahaldarni. In this instance the women seem to have been arranged for by the regimental authorities. We find that women (in most cases the same women who had previously lived in the regimental bazaar or chakla) accompanied the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders to Dagshai; the 18th Hussars from Mathra to the Cavalry Camp at Aligarh, where they were turned off by the camp authorities and preceded the regiment to Ambala; the Gordon Highlanders to Sabathu; the West Yorkshire to Chakrata; and the West Kent to Chakrata, and back again as far as Rurki, where the Cantonment authorities objected to their presence. Probably, in most of these cases, the women accompanied the regiment with the cognizance of the regimental authorities, though not at their instigation. In no case was a special guard placed over their encampment, though doubtless the Military Police patrolled it or its vicinity. In no case was carriage knowingly provided for them, though in some cases it was very possibly included in the indents for the bazaar. In no case did any guard accompany them on the march, though it is just possible that some of them may, for the sake of protection, have followed (but not mixed with) regimental carts marching under a guard. No arrangements seem to have been made for the examination of the women, and no payment was in any case made to the mahaldarni. In all cases the women brought their own tents, and paid the hire of their own carts; and the only suggestion that has been made to us of carriage having been paid for by the regiment came from two women at the Ambala gora chakla. We think that they were mistaken, and that if they did not pay their own carriage the mahaldarni paid it for them.

VIII.—THE REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

The old Lock Hospital Rules.

48. Under the old Lock Hospital Rules, every woman practising as a prostitute within Cantonment limits was bound, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to record herself as such at the Cantonment Magistrate's office. A register of prostitutes was maintained; a number was allotted to each, which she retained throughout the term of her residence in Cantonments; and a descriptive ticket was given to each, which was practically a licence to practise her calling. She was bound, again under penalty of fine and imprisonment, to present herself periodically at the Lock Hospital for examination by the Medical Officer. If found to be diseased, she was detained in hospital till cured. If not, the fact was noted on her ticket. If she wished to leave Cantonments she had to obtain permission to do so; and if she contemplated moving to another Cantonment notice of her intention was sent on before her. On entering a new Cantonment she was bound to present herself at once for registration and for medical examination.

VIII.—THE REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF PROSTITUTES.

No registration since 1888.

49. So far as these regulations concern registration and licensing, the old practice has entirely disappeared. No register or record of prostitutes as such is now maintained in any form or shape whatever; no numbers are allotted to the women; no tickets are issued; nor even are certificates of sound health given after examination, where examination is still practised. The Cantonment Magistrate maintains in his office certain registers for administrative purposes. At Ambala a general register of owners and occupiers of all buildings is kept up, in which the occupation of the latter is shown. At Meerut similar information can be extracted from a register kept up for the purpose of the assessment and collection of the house-tax. At Lucknow there is actually no register in which the occupations of house occupiers are entered. But in whatever register prostitutes are now entered, they are entered, not because they are prostitutes, but in common with all other residents of Cantonments, for the general purpose for which the register is maintained. No extracts from these registers are furnished to medical or other officers, nor are the alterations by which the registers are kept up to date communicated to them. It is true that (except at Ambala since August 1892) the Medical officer has kept a record of the results of his examinations of such women as presented themselves before him to be examined; and wherever, and in the same degree as his examination included the whole body of prostitutes (a matter which will be discussed later on), there, and in the same degree will this record have been a complete list of these women. At Ambala, where duplicates of these records were in some cases furnished to the mahaldarnis for the Commanding Officers' information, the number of women entered in them formed an insignificant fraction of the whole. And at Meerut and Lucknow, where the examinations were more general, the records were simply medical notes for the information of the examining officer, which were not communicated to any other person, and which, at Lucknow, were actually pasted one over the other as each new month's list was opened. No list or record of any sort is now maintained in the chaklas; though, when the regimental chaklas at Meerut were re-opened in 1889, a register seems to have been opened also of the women who consented to live in them on the prescribed conditions. It was found to be practically useless, and was probably discontinued as soon as the examination became general. So again, up to August 1892, the notes of examination of the few women examined in Ambala remained in the hands of the mahaldarnis of the regimental chaklas.

No numbering since 1888.

50. There are now no numbers by which the women are known, nor have there been since 1888. The numbers given in the notes of examination just referred to are simply the serial numbers of the entries. The houses occupied by the prostitutes bear their proper numbers in the serial numbering which extends to all houses in Cantonments. At Lucknow the rooms in the chakla still retain the old numbers which they had prior to 1888, and which were directed to be affixed by Circular Memorandum No. 69 of 26th November 1883, in order that soldiers might be able to identify the women thereby; but these numbers do not extend to the numerous houses occupied by prostitutes outside the chakla. At Ambala, apparently on the issue of Government General Order No. 617 of 4th July 1890, tin labels bearing large numbers were affixed to all houses, whether within or without either the British or the native enclosed chakla, which were at that time occupied by prostitutes; the object being to assist the soldier's memory in identifying the woman whom he believed to have diseased him, in order that she might be dealt with as "supposed to be suffering from a contagious disorder;" it being found that so many women had the same name (always a fertile source of confusion in dealing with natives) that some such assistance was necessary. But the numbers have not been touched since they were first put up; with the result that they now exist on many houses which are not, and are absent from

many houses which are, occupied by prostitutes. In any case, the number was that of the house, not of the woman; who was identified, not as Prostitute No. so-and-so, but as the woman then occupying house No. so-and-so. And in no case do these, or any other series of numbers, correspond with the numbers under which the prostitutes are entered in any record whatever.

1130 51. No tickets have been used since 1888, either at Ambala, Meerut, or Lucknow; and no sort of certificate of soundness has been given to any woman after examination, if we except the entries in the mahaldarnis' books at Ambala, and the case (to which we shall revert presently) of new women applying for a permit to reside at Lucknow, where the Medical Officer noted the result of his examination on the application. When Dr. Hamilton recommenced the examinations at Lucknow, he began on the first day to give to the women whom he found free from disease out-patient tickets, with the word "nil" filled into the column for disease. But it presently struck him that these might be used as 1140 certificates of soundness; and he discontinued the practice—he thinks before the first day's examination was over, but certainly before the second day's was begun. In one case a woman was examined and given a formal certificate of freedom from disease, who had been expelled from the Cantonment under the rules of 1890 and wished to re-enter it. Properly speaking, under the letter of the rules, a written permission to re-enter should have been given; but that would have implied freedom from disease.

No licensing since 1888.

IX.—APPROPRIATION OF PROSTITUTES TO THE USE OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AND THEIR TREATMENT BY THEM.

52. We have been told that, before 1888, it was an understood thing that registered prostitutes were reserved for the use of British troops. It is clear that this was not always 1150 the case; for every prostitute was bound to register herself; and at Ambala there has always been a native chakla for the reception of prostitutes who were not in any way so reserved. The large enclosed chaklas at Meerut and Lucknow are still known as the gora or British chakla, though no kala chalka exists under that name; and it is probable that in former days, when a considerable proportion of the women lived in the regimental chaklas, the large enclosed chaklas in the Sadar bazaars were considered to be more especially reserved for British soldiers. This tradition still survives, and is acted upon. So far as the superior officers are concerned, any such reservation is unknown, with the trivial exception of the Cantonment Magistrate at 1160 Ambala, who, coming new to the place and finding a separate gora chakla, gave orders for natives to be excluded from it, which orders he presently reconsidered, and cancelled as being *ultra vires*. But the Military Police have no such scruples.

Appropriation before 1888.

53. The duties of the Military Police are to follow the British soldier everywhere, to keep order wherever he is, to apprehend him when drunk, and to see that he is not out of barracks after midnight if he has a pass, or after 10 P.M. if he has not. They are divided into two classes, Regimental and Garrison; though the former only is found at Meerut; and are under the command of a Provost Sergeant. The 1170 concern of the Regimental Police is with men of their own regiment only; and though they may follow them anywhere, yet as a fact, they seldom patrol outside their own lines, save in search of absentees. So long as the regimental chakla was open, they would prevent male natives who had no obvious business there from visiting it. The Garrison Military Police (which does not exist at Meerut) patrol Cantonments generally, and the chaklas especially, as being the places where British soldiers are most likely to be found drunk or out of hours, and where disturbances are most likely to occur. These Military Police

Appropriation in theory.

IX.—APPROPRIATION OF PROSTITUTES TO THE USE OF BRITISH SOLDIERS AND THEIR TREATMENT BY THEM.

take it as an established rule, to be acted on, that male natives are not allowed in the gora chaklas; though they do not interfere with the separate houses of prostitutes. They have no general or special order to that effect; but from every gora chakla they eject any male native found there by them at night, or in the day time without business to account for his presence. They are not without justification for their action; for their duty is to prevent disturbance, as well as to put it down when it has arisen. If English soldiers and natives were openly to consort with the same set of women, jealousies would certainly arise, and quarrels, which are specially to be deprecated as inter-racial, would frequently occur. We gather that the British soldier generally looks upon these gora chaklas as specially reserved for him, resents the intrusion of natives, and turns them out whenever he finds them there. There is thus little doubt that natives were rigorously excluded from regimental chaklas, whether in the bazaar or in the camp, so long as those chaklas were open; and that, in theory at least, they are not allowed to visit the gora chaklas for the purpose of consorting with the women who inhabit them.

Appropriation in practice.

54. In practice, it is almost certain that they do visit the gora chaklas, in the mornings, when the soldier is on duty, and after hours, when the soldier is in barracks. And there is still less doubt that the women of these gora chaklas do consort freely with natives, whether in the chakla or not. They are perfectly free to come and go at all hours, and to visit all portions of cantonments; where, as at Lucknow, the city is close by, they frequent the bazaars in the vicinity of cantonments; and most of them have native lovers, apart from the men from whom they earn their living. This last fact was recognised in military orders issued before 1888. In any case they are (except quite recently at Ambala, where the native chakla is open to them) perfectly free to live outside the chakla so long as they do not leave its vicinity. We have already discussed the strength and extent of the objection entertained by the better class of native to consort with women who are frequented by British soldiers. The same objection is felt in England by the better class of Englishmen. Beyond this feeling, all that the so-called reservation of these women for the use of the British soldier amounts to is that, so long as a prostitute chooses to reside within the four walls of the gora chakla, certain obstacles are put in the way of her receiving natives; but the obstacles are easily surmounted, and the chakla can be at any moment exchanged for a residence outside it.

Entry of the women under regimental headings.

55. As for the entry of the women under regimental headings in the hospital books, about which so much has been said before the India Office Committee, those entries are nothing more or less than addresses. We have stated in full detail in other sections of this Report, when and where prostitutes have been allowed to reside in a regimental chakla since 1888; and their entry by regiments simply amounts to a note of the place where they were residing at the time, just as "Sadar bazaar," "gora chakla," and "kala chakla" were noted against those women who did not live within regimental limits. So, in the hospital admission registers, the name of the bazaar (and therefore, in some cases, of a regiment or branch of the army) took the place of the registered numbers when registration was discontinued. In no case has the name of a regiment been entered except with reference to prostitutes living in the regimental bazaars; and the fact of their living there is the important point; the entry is a mere incidental consequence.

The treatment of the women by British soldiers.

56. As for the treatment of the women by British soldiers, there is no doubt whatever that, when the soldier is drunk (as he often is at Christmas, and sometimes is after pay-

day) he occasionally beats, and otherwise ill-treats the women. But the women themselves make singularly little complaint on this score. Among the thirty-eight women whom we had before us at Ambala in the beginning of June, only one had been ill treated since Christmas. Among the seventy-one women at Meerut, only one had recently been ill-treated. The thirty-three women present at Lucknow said they were seldom ill-used; and the women of the Lancer chakla had no complaint to make. On the other hand, there is much to show that the British soldier is habitually kind to them. In all three places the women testified to his good treatment of them when sober. The statement of the Ambala women, to whom the native chakla was open, as to why they preferred to live in the gora chakla, should be read in this connection (page x. of the Appendix). One of the patients in hospital said that she had left Lahore to come to Ambala, because there was no gora chakla there. We made some enquiries (not all formally recorded) as to what the class of prostitute who frequents these chaklas would expect to receive from a native, and have come to the conclusion that of the two, as stated by the Ambala women, the Englishman pays far higher. Above all, in the gora chakla, the women have the Military Police at hand to protect them from ill-usage, and to insist upon the men paying them. To this protection they evidently attach great value. We find that the suggestion of habitual cruelty on the part of the British soldiers is wholly unfounded.

The customary scale of minimum payments.

57. As for the scale of payment which is mentioned in the evidence before the Departmental Committee, it appears to be current everywhere as a scale of *recognised minimum payments*; and, like everything else in India, to have become customary and traditional. If it ever rested upon authority, which is exceedingly unlikely, the time when it did so is lost in obscurity. In one place the women described it to us as coeval with British rule. The different charges, according to rank, are based upon universal custom. A hawker will refuse a rupee from an officer for what he will sell for eight annas to the sergeant next door; and some of our vernacular newspapers have a published scale of subscriptions, varying with the rank of the subscriber. The only manner in which the scale is recognised by authority is, that in the case of dispute, no more than the minimum customary payment will be enforced. The men constantly pay more; but if a woman complains to the Provost-Sergeant (in charge of the Military Police) that a private has not paid her, he will compel the man to pay four annas only, as being the recognised customary payment. We have been able to obtain no evidence as to complaints of non-payment reaching the Colonel of a regiment, except that the Provost-Sergeant of Ambala has known such cases. But in such an event, the complaint would be treated exactly as similar complaints by traders in the bazaar of non-payment for articles purchased would be and are treated; unless, indeed, the Colonel was prepared to deny to a prostitute the justice which he meeted out to others. As for the amount paid by a private, viz., four annas, it must be remembered that five rupees, or eighty annas, is the monthly wage on which many of our servants support themselves and their families, while many employés of Government get four rupees only; that three annas is a full day's pay for a labourer hired by the day; that the subsistence allowance made to a patient in a Lock Hospital, or to the ordinary civil debtor when in jail, varies from two to two and a half annas; and that the allowance for dieting patients in Civil (extra-Cantonment) Hospitals varies from one anna three pie to one anna nine pie.

Result of the changes of 1888.

58. We have met with many indications that the women are worse off now in the matter of attention to small grievances, than when they were registered and lived in the regimental bazaars. They were then looked upon as in a way attached to the regiment, and had a ready remedy in a complaint to the

Kotwal, to the Regimental Police, and, if necessary, to the Quartermaster and the Commanding Officer. Now they have the Garrison Provost Sergeant to help them, where Garrison Police exist; but beyond him is the Cantonment Magistrate, who cannot interfere executively; and there is a tendency to tell them that they are no longer recognised by authority, and therefore no longer entitled to assistance by summary order.

X.—The Rules of July 1890.

59. The old Lock Hospital Rules were suspended by Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 12 of 6th August 1888, and for two years no others were framed to take their place. In July 1890, rules under Section 26, Clause (21) of the Cantonment Act of 1889 were published by Government General Order No. 617, dated the 4th of that month. These rules—

Abstract of the rules.

(i) Provide for the establishment, at the public expense, of as many hospitals as may be necessary for the treatment of persons suffering from infectious and contagious disorders, in which treatment shall be gratuitous, and subsistence allowance shall be made to pauper patients, and to all persons who are received into hospital at the request of any Cantonment official.

(ii) Lay down that, if the Medical Officer in charge of such a hospital certifies in writing to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment that any person is suffering, or is supposed by him to be suffering, from any infectious or contagious disorder, and if such person refuses to go to hospital, the Cantonment Magistrate may, on the application of the Medical Officer, order such person to leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours, and prohibit him or her from re-entering them without the Medical Officer's written permission.

(iii) Lay down further, that if such person, having gone to hospital, leaves it before the Medical Officer has pronounced such person to be free from the disorder, the Cantonment Magistrate may act as in the preceding clause.

(iv) Provide a penalty of fine and imprisonment for any breach of orders given by the Cantonment Magistrate under either of the two preceding clauses.

These rules thus provide for the medical examination (under penalty of exclusion from Cantonments) of all persons supposed to be suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder; since the first thing to be done on the person reaching hospital would be to examine him or her, with the view of ascertaining whether the supposition as to the disorder was correct. They further provide (under the same penalty) for the detention in hospital of every person found to be suffering from such disorder, until pronounced free from it by the Medical Officer in charge.

60. The rules are absolutely general; they refer to all classes of people, to both sexes, and to all infectious or contagious disorders without distinction. But it was never intended that they should be applied in all cases to which they are applicable. The section and clause of the Act under which they were framed, empowers the Governor-General in Council to make rules for "the prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disorders within a Cantonment." It was intended, and is expected, that Medical Officers will use the powers thus given them with discretion, and with the sole object of *preventing the spread within Cantonments of diseases dangerous to the public health.*

Discretion required in working the rules.

X.—THE RULES OF JULY 1890.

No right-minded Medical Officer will exercise his powers in the case of disease from which no sort of danger is to be apprehended; nor, even in the case of a disease from which such danger may be apprehended, so long as he is satisfied that the risk of the spread of infection or contagion can be, and is being, otherwise duly guarded against. Again, the Medical Officer's freedom of supposition is, so far as the letter of the rule goes, absolutely unlimited; but it was clearly never intended that he should act without good *primâ facie* ground for suspicion, or that he should institute inquisitorial proceedings into the private life of persons against whom no such *primâ facie* suspicion can fairly be said to exist.

The infectious and contagious disorders of India.

61. The only diseases from which danger to the public health may be apprehended, and which are met with in Indian Cantonments are cholera, small-pox, and venereal diseases. Typhus and scarlet-fever are practically unknown; and diphtheria is exceedingly rare, and, when met with, can generally be effectively isolated in the house of the patient.

Treatment of infectious disorders.

62. Cholera and small-pox are perennial in every Indian Cantonment. When found to exist under such circumstances that effective precautions cannot be taken in the house of the sufferer, the usual procedure seems to be for the police to march the patient straight off to the infectious hospital, and then report to the Cantonment Magistrate and Medical Officer that they have done so. Even when such cases were reported to the Medical Officer at Ambala, he generally moved the patient to hospital at once, before reporting to the Cantonment Magistrate. So, again, we find a case at Meerut, where a small-pox patient was formally reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and taken (apparently without the option of leaving Cantonments) to the infectious huts; though the general practice there seems to have been to send the Hospital Assistant to warn the person, and if he refused to go to hospital, to report to the Cantonment Magistrate. Cases of refusing to remain in hospital have apparently never occurred, if we except one woman at Lucknow, who left Cantonments at once. But one Medical Officer stated that, had such a case occurred, he would without hesitation have placed a guard over the patient, and detained him until he had communicated with the Cantonment Magistrate. In fact, the action in the case of cholera and small-pox has throughout been far more arbitrary and peremptory than in the case of venereal disease, since the danger of infection is far more imminent, and the infection to be apprehended more widespread. Recent orders from Army Headquarters seem to have somewhat limited the power of a Medical Officer to remove a cholera patient from his house; perhaps because of the outcry which was raised in the Press last year on the expulsion of a cholera patient from Cantonments,—the only legal method of treating him, be it noted, if he declines to go to hospital.

Treatment of venereal disease: the exception of males.

63. We now turn to the venereal disorders. And here the Medical Officer's real difficulty is to obtain information. Cholera and small-pox cannot long be concealed; but it is otherwise with venereal affections. Soldiers are bound to report themselves as sick as soon as they find themselves affected, and are punished, when detected, for failure to do so. So soon as the sickness is reported or discovered, the man is put under medical treatment, and so kept until cured. There is therefore no room in the case of soldiers for action under the rules. As regards men other than soldiers, it is practically impossible to obtain information until the patient voluntarily submits himself for medical examination and treatment. When he does so, he is almost invariably, except in very serious cases, treated as an out-patient; so that no such detention in hospital is attempted as the rules contemplate (however indirectly), and as is carried out in the case of women. A large number of the male patients come

from beyond Cantonment limits, and to them the rules are not applicable, since their sanction fails. As regards residents in Cantonment, the difference in the treatment of the two sexes has been explained and justified to us by the fact that venereal cases among the male members of the civil population are so numerous (during 1892 over 400 at Ambala and 500 at Meerut were treated at the General Hospital), that there would be neither room to receive them as in-patients, nor money to diet them; that any action of the sort would only prevent men from availing themselves of medical aid, and so aggravate the evil which it was intended to cure; and that it is far less important to keep men than woman under observation while affected by venereal disorders, since the affection itself very generally incapacitates or disinclines the former (but not the latter) for sexual intercourse; so that the danger of the contagion being communicated is infinitely greater in the case of the female than in that of the male. At any rate, be the cause what it may, the rules are not enforced against males in the case of venereal diseases so far as the civil population of Cantonments is concerned.

Treatment of venereal disease in women.

64. In the case of women, the difficulty is still that of obtaining information. Except in the not infrequent cases where a woman herself applies for medical aid, this can only be obtained from men who have been diseased by them; and in practice this resolves itself into information received from British soldiers. We are told that venereal disease is comparatively uncommon in the Native Army. The men are all married, and have their wives, sometimes living with them and always within reach of a visit. They seldom drink, are far more careful than the Englishman in sexual matters, and have means of learning when a woman is diseased which a British soldier is without. Finally, when they do contract disease they refuse to state from whom they have contracted it. As a fact, much of such disease as there is among native troops is contracted from women living outside Cantonments, who are not subject to the rules.

Treatment of venereal disease in prostitutes.

65. Thus, so far as venereal disease is concerned, the operation of the rules, or rather of the provisions regarding women who are supposed to be diseased, is practically confined, not by any action or inaction of the authorities, but by sheer force of circumstances, to women who are frequented by British soldiers. Even with regard to them information is difficult to obtain; for a man often does not know, and still more often will not tell, which woman has diseased him. The second section of the rules, regarding the (indirect) detention of persons in hospital, is applied indifferently to all women who enter hospital, whether spontaneously or after examination. We find as inmates of the Lock Hospital women alike from the British and native chaklas, from the regimental and Sadar bazaars, from within and without Cantonments; and to all the rules are applied with equal rigour.

The rules worked with proper discretion.

66. The rules are, generally speaking, worked with reasonable discretion. If a soldier's wife is reported to have spread disease, she is not always (though she is sometimes) required to come into Lock Hospital; but the Commanding Officer of the Regiment is informed, who will see that she is kept under treatment in the Station Hospital, which is the proper place for her. So, again, when a woman who has been reported as diseased is found to be living an apparently respectable life, or even to be living with one man, not her husband, so that there seems to be no danger of her spreading disease, no further action is taken. Action is often deferred till two or three reports point to the same woman, or till an outbreak of disease occurs in a regiment. And if the disease is of a mild nature the woman is treated as an out-patient, and not required to come into hospital. Under the second section of the rules, reports are made by way of precaution; but it is seldom found necessary to actually put the rules into

operation; as they are well understood, and a woman who persists in leaving hospital before cure knows that she must leave cantonments also, and does so of her own accord. Here, again, the rules are for the most part worked with the least possible harshness. One diseased woman is given two days' leave from hospital, before leaving Cantonments or being reported, in order to dispose of her property. The woman's word as to her intention of leaving, supported by the subsequent statements of her associates that she has actually left Cantonments, is often accepted as sufficient. Nor is it only against natives that the rules are enforced. The number of European and Eurasian women against whom formal action is taken is large out of all proportion to the total numbers of the class, compared with the cases in which action is taken against native prostitutes; probably because the former are far less amenable than the latter.

Identification of women by soldiers.

67. The usual procedure seems to be as follows: When a soldier comes into hospital with a venereal affection, he is asked to specify the women who diseased him. If he cannot do so he is sent down to the bazaar with a non-commissioned officer or one of the Military Police, to identify the woman. When the woman can be identified she is reported to the Medical Officer, sometimes separately, but more often on the weekly report which is made of the health of British troops. From this point the practice differs somewhat.

Subsequent procedure: Ambala.

68. At Ambala, where the books clearly show that no action of any sort was taken until after the publication of the rules of 1890, if the Medical Officer knew the woman, he sent the Hospital Assistant to tell her to come to him. Otherwise he reported her to the Cantonment Magistrate; in which case she either left Cantonments, especially if badly diseased, or came to him, not in custody of or accompanied by a policeman, but alone. If then (or in the course of his weekly examinations referred to later) he found a woman to be diseased, he asked her to come into hospital. In the rare event of her declining to do so, he warned her that in that case he must report her; and if she persisted, he did report her to the Cantonment Magistrate, and she had to leave Cantonments. On three or four occasions since the weekly examinations were discontinued, he found an outbreak of disease in a regiment (generally, if not always, the Artillery) and sent a matron to ask the women living in the bazaar of that regiment to come to him. They invariably did so, and he then asked them if they would be examined. They agreed, and he examined them, generally finding them free from disease. This was, of course, irregular. In most cases where a special woman was summoned on information, she was found to be diseased. If, after admission to hospital, a woman wished to leave before cure, she was warned that she would have to leave Cantonments; and if she persisted, the Cantonment Magistrate was informed of her intention, and asked to make arrangements, in which case he apparently sent a chaprassi (or policeman) to the station to see that she left Ambala. Occasionally she would not wait for this, in which case no restraint was exercised. In August 1890, the Apothecary in charge of the Lock Hospital suggested that all the women of the Sadar bazaar should be sent for examination; but no action appears to have been taken upon his suggestion.

Subsequent procedure: Meerut.

59. At Meerut, reports of women on information derived from soldiers were almost unknown, as up to May 1893 all the women of Cantonments appeared for weekly examination; but if a woman did not appear at examination, inquiries were made from the other women or through the Hospital Assistant; and if she had no good reason for absence she was warned through her friends or the hospital chaukidar, and in the very rare cases in which she again absented herself, she was reported as supposed to be diseased. So, too, a newcomer who did not attend at examination would be reported. Women of both

classes would, on examination, generally be found to be diseased; as, if they were not, they attended the weekly examinations. The propriety of the action thus described will be discussed later on. The present Cantonment Magistrate's practice on receipt of a report (since January 1893), has been to send for the woman (probably through the police), and warn her that she must either go to be examined or leave Cantonments. As a rule she went; but occasionally left Cantonments. His predecessor's custom was, to order the police to warn the woman that she must either attend the examination or leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours. (See answer No. 1195 in the India Office 1520
evidence.) The cases in which women left hospital before cure were very rare; and in such cases they almost invariably left Cantonments at once. The police were not called in in the first instance; but in one case a woman was reported, and the police were ordered to remove her from Cantonments, if not already gone. She was found living quietly with a butcher, and no further action was taken. We examined the record of the case referred to in Answers Nos. 1192 and 1194, given before the India Office Committee. One Massamát Ali Rakhi was fined Rs. 5 by order dated 15th January 1892, for re-entering Cantonments after having been formally expelled on the report of the Medical Officer, dated the 6th of January, that she had left hospital while still diseased. 153
She was not imprisoned; in fact the order did not state, as it should have done, the term of imprisonment to be undergone in default of payment; and she was not punished for leaving hospital.

Subsequent procedure: Lucknow.

70. At Lucknow no action whatever appears ever to have been taken under the rules. Till April 1892, all the prostitutes of Cantonments attended bi-weekly examination; and from June of the same year a large proportion of them attended weekly up to May 1893. No woman appears ever to have been reported as supposed to be diseased. But on two occasions, once in the summer of 1892, and again early in 1893, on the occasion of an outbreak of disease, the 1540
Cantonment Magistrate had the diseased men down to the bazaar to identify the women in fault in his presence, and then and there gave the women the option of going to hospital or leaving Cantonments. They chose the former, and many of them were found to be diseased. This was, of course, quite irregular. While Dr. Ranking was in charge (till May 1892), it seems that the only woman reported for leaving hospital was a leprous and syphilitic woman, who was afterwards found to have left Cantonments. After that time some ten or twelve women were reported; but they appear to have left Cantonments, and no action seems to have been taken. In no case was any report made of a woman on account of menses only. 1550

71. Under the rules of 1890, the formal procedure is as follows:—

Formal procedure not always observed.

(1) The medical officer certifies in writing to the Commanding Officer (not the Cantonment Magistrate) that a person is diseased or supposed by him to be so.

(2) The person is directed to attend at hospital (it does not appear by whom).

(3) If he refuses, or if, having attended, he leaves hospital before cure, the medical officer must apply to the Cantonment Magistrate.

(4) Who may then order the person to leave Cantonments within twenty-four hours. 1560

It will be seen that the technical formalities are seldom, if ever, fully carried out. Probably the first report was never made in the first instance to the Commanding Officer, and stages (1) and (3) are almost invariably combined in one letter to the Cantonment Magistrate. But the business of doctors and military men lies elsewhere than with legal technicalities; and, except in a few

cases of wholly irregular action, the spirit of the rules has been observed in the treatment of venereal disease, though their letter may have been overlooked. It is impossible to say as much for the action taken with respect to cases of cholera and small-pox, which appears to have been very generally absolutely illegal; the excuse doubtless being that, while formalities were being observed, the epidemic would have been gaining ground in the bazaar.

Expulsion not tantamount to starvation.

72. The question has been raised, how far the examination under these rules, in the case of prostitutes, can be said to be compulsory; and it has been stated that although, so far as the letter of the rules is concerned, there is no compulsion, since the woman can always avoid the necessity of examination by leaving Cantonments, yet in point of fact the compulsion is real, since the alternative means, in their case, starvation. This argument applies, of course, to all infectious and contagious diseases with equal force. *Primâ facie*, there is no reason whatever why expulsion from Cantonments should mean starvation to a prostitute, any more than to a groom, a cook, or other person to whom Cantonments offer exceptional opportunities of profitable employment, save in so far as the search for a new field of labour is more difficult for a woman than for a man. But there is a real reason which probably operates to render expulsion from Cantonments in some measure a greater hardship to a prostitute than to most other persons, and that is the loss of caste involved by intercourse with British soldiers, which we have already discussed at length. On the other hand, these women do in fact constantly leave one Cantonment for another, and the Cantonments for the native bazaars; for there is always and everywhere a demand for the wares which they offer, and even British soldiers are tolerably widely distributed over India. The question of how far indebtedness is a bar to their freedom in the matter of leaving Cantonments has already been discussed, and it has been shewn that this indebtedness is in no way peculiar to the prostitute, still less to the Cantonment prostitute. Of course, if a prostitute cannot leave Cantonments because of debt, it is no sufficient answer to say that others are in a similar position; because, unlike those others, she must, under certain circumstances, go to hospital because she cannot leave Cantonments. But here again, we are met by the fact that these women *do* leave Cantonments, year after year, in considerable numbers for the hot weather, and in smaller numbers permanently.

XI.—PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS OF PROSTITUTES.

Examination apart from the rules.

73. We have shown that the rules of July 1890 provide for the examination of persons supposed to be diseased. But in addition to these occasional examinations, we find that in all the three Cantonments which we visited, periodical examinations of prostitutes had been systematically carried on, and only discontinued within the twelvemonth. We shall briefly note the history of such examinations in each Cantonment.

Periodical examinations at Ambala.

74. We have already described, in paragraph 34, how about the end of 1889 and beginning of 1890, women were resettled in the regimental bazaars at Ambala. The Lock Hospital of that Cantonment was closed experimentally by Government for a year from July 1889. On its being reopened in July 1890, weekly examinations were begun of those prostitutes, and of those only, who were then living within regimental limits; and there can be little doubt that, as at Meerut, attendance at examination was made a condition of permission to reside within those limits. The examination of women from the Artillery and Cavalry bazaars was continued without intermission from the 22nd July 1890 to the 2nd August 1892, and of those from the Infantry bazaar from the 29th July 1890 up to the 3rd November 1891, when the Queen's Regiment left the station and were succeeded by the Derbyshire, whose Commanding Officer would

allow no prostitutes in his bazaar. During the cold weather the women of the two Infantry regiments who were in standing camp at Ambala for the winter concentration were also examined; those of the West Yorkshire and of the King's Own Scottish Borderers in 1890 to 1891, and of the Argyll and Sutherland and the Gordon Highlanders in the beginning of 1892. The women appearing under the heading of each regiment were constantly changing; it was frequently noted against a woman that she had "left the bazaar"; and it is clear that the women were perfectly free to come and go, to attend examinations or to absent themselves; the only understanding being that if they did absent themselves, they must leave the regimental bazaar or (in the case of the regiments in camp) the chakla. The numbers attending for examination varied from about 20 in the hot to 40 in the cold weather. Dr. Wardrop, on taking over charge in November 1891, found these examinations in full swing; and continued them as before, till, early in August 1892, he received Quartermaster General's No. 20 of 11th July 1892, already referred to, which forbade "any special examination of prostitutes other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases." From the date of the receipt of these orders he discontinued his examinations, and the last entries in his books are dated 2nd August 1892. Before Dr. Wardrop took over the hospital, women living in regimental bazaars had once been reported (on 29th September 1891) to the Cantonment Magistrate as not attending examination; to which the Cantonment Magistrate replied that he had no power to interfere, unless the women were certified to be diseased or supposed to be diseased. A similar report was made on the 24th November 1891, very shortly after Dr. Wardrop's arrival, but with what result is not known to us. But after the end of November 1891 no such report was ever made; and no communication regarding the women to be examined, or that had been examined, was ever sent to or received from either the Cantonment Magistrate or any of the Officers Commanding Regiments. The women were usually brought up by mahaldarnis; and such as presented themselves were examined, new names, if any, being added to the existing lists. No measures of any sort were taken by the Medical Officer to induce or compel women to attend. The results of the examinations were noted for his own information; and when (as was generally, but apparently not always the case) the mahaldarni kept a book of her own, the results were noted in that also. These books were doubtless taken back to the regiments, and the results, at any rate in the case of the disease, communicated by the mahaldarni through the Kotwal to the Officer Commanding. But no such communication was ever made by the Medical Officer to any authority. If the time of examination was changed (which was very rarely done), the women were informed through the Hospital Assistant or matron, as there was no chaukidar attached to the hospital.

Examination by request at Ambala.

75. It was not only the women of the regimental bazaars and camps, however, that Dr. Wardrop examined. On several occasions some of the women of the Sadar bazaar came up with one of their number who had been taunted by her fellows with being diseased, and asked him to examine her to show that the taunt was unfounded. And on two occasions, after his examinations had been discontinued, they came to him in a body thirty or forty strong, and not only asked him to examine them, which he did, but also begged him to re-establish weekly examinations for all the prostitutes in Cantonments; saying, what was no doubt true, that "there were a great many women living about the "places, casual prostitutes, and many of them foreigners, who were diseased. "That these women diseased the troops, while they, the proper Ambala prosti-"tutes, were blamed for it." So anxious were they in the matter, that on the second occasion they brought an interpreter with them, to make sure that they should not be misunderstood.

Periodical examinations at Meerut.

76. At Meerut, on the issue of the orders of 1888, which prohibited compulsory examination, and directed that the Lock Hospital should be worked as

a purely voluntary institution, the sixteen women then in hospital were told that they were free to stay or go; upon which, with one accord, they left the hospital, which was accordingly closed from September 1888 to June 1889. We have already related (paragraph 33) how, when it was reopened, thirty-four women were settled in the regimental bazaars, on condition of attending weekly examination and staying in hospital if found to be diseased. How or when this limited system of examination became general, we have been unable to discover with certainty; but we are told that the change followed upon the publication of the rules of 1890. At any rate, in March 1892, when
1690 Dr. O'Connor took over charge of the hospital, he found that it was the practice for all the prostitutes of Cantonments to attend for weekly examination, and this practice he continued. In May 1893 the reissue of the orders of July 1892, forbidding special examinations "other than what would take place for any other contagious diseases" reached Meerut, and the Cantonment Magistrate issued a notice that the women were free to attend for examination or not at pleasure. The next Monday (Dr. O'Connor being on leave) none attended. The Monday after that, some thirty women from the Lal Kurti bazaar came, having been told by the Hospital Assistant that they had better wait and see what Dr. O'Connor said about it. And the following
1700 Monday, after our visit to Meerut, and Dr. O'Connor having returned in the meanwhile, not a single woman presented herself for examination. The maximum number ever examined after the beginning of 1892 (before which we have no figures), was 5 from the Artillery, 3 from the Cavalry, 34 from the Lal Kurti, and 65 from the Sadar bazaar. The usual attendance was about 60 in the hot, and 70 to 90 in the cold weather. Up to the end of 1889, we found that women were not reported for non-attendance; and in fact, until the rules of 1890 were published, there were no possible means of enforcing attendance.

Dr. O'Connor found lists of prostitutes who appeared at the weekly exam-
1710 inations, which were made over to him by his predecessor. He received no intimation from any Cantonment or regimental authority, of women who should be added to or removed from these lists. Ordinarily, every prostitute newly arriving in Cantonments accepted the existing practice, and presented herself in due course for examination. When she did not do so, her fellows were only too ready to act as informers, or the Hospital Assistant heard of her arrival. She was warned to attend through her friends, or the hospital chaukidar. A similar warning was similarly conveyed to any woman absenting herself from examination, who appeared, on enquiry by the Hospital Assistant, to have no sufficient excuse. In the very rare
1720 cases where these warnings failed to procure attendance, the Medical Officer reported the woman under the rules as "supposed to be diseased." As a fact, the supposition almost always turned out to be well founded; for the custom was so firmly established, that no woman, unless diseased, would dream of absenting herself. The time for examination was fixed each week, and the hospital chaukidar sent to let the women know. The results of the examination were noted simply and solely for the medical officer's information, and were not communicated to any other person in any way whatever. The women were brought up by nobody, not even by a mahaldarni, and still less by a policeman, but came of their own accord and unattended.

1730 77. At Lucknow, as elsewhere, the Cantonment authorities were directed by the orders of August 1888 to abolish compulsory examination, and to "work the Lock Hospital as a purely voluntary institution." No explanation of these orders was afforded; and while the authorities closed their registers and recalled their tickets, they allowed the weekly examinations to continue as before; the only change being that there was no longer any penalty for non-attendance.

Periodical examinations at Lucknow up to March 1892.

So strictly indeed did they adhere to the voluntary principle, that they made no use of the power which the rules of 1890 placed in their hands, and the rules have practically remained a dead letter at Lucknow up to the present moment. When Dr. Ranking took over charge of the hospital in February 1740
1891, he substituted a bi-weekly for a weekly examination, and seems in a short time, by the display of practical sympathy and interest, to have gained an extraordinary personal influence over the women. His evidence at page xxxvii of the Appendix is well worth reading. He found, as at Meerut, lists existing of the women who attended examination; and, as there, he never received intimation from any authority that any woman was to be added to the list. But at Lucknow (as already described in paragraph 24) it was the practice of the Cantonment Magistrate until latterly to ask all new comers who asked for permission to reside whether they would be examined by the doctor; and on their consenting (which they always did) to send them to 1750
the hospital, with their application, for examination and report. This enabled the Medical Officer to keep his list up to date, and was the only means he had of doing so. If a woman did not appear, no steps were taken to compel her to do so. In fact, Dr. Ranking relied throughout upon his influence with the women; and with good reason, for absence appears to have been almost unknown. Compulsion was not exercised, even when a woman was found to be diseased and would not attend hospital, or left it before cure; though we find from the hospital report of 1892 that a certain small number of such cases did occur. The results of the examination were communicated to nobody, and were purely for the Medical Officer's information. The largest number ever 1760
examined on the same occasion was 83.

Periodical examinations at Lucknow after March 1892.

78. In March 1892 demi-official orders were received, and if any list of prostitutes was kept up, or if their attendance at examination was secured on pain of expulsion from Cantonments, that would be a breach of the orders of Government, which orders were to be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter, "That," the Cantonment Magistrate remarks, "was the first intimation we received "of what was to be understood by the term 'Voluntary Lock Hospital system." The examinations were then discontinued, and Dr. Ranking was almost immediately succeeded by Dr. Hamilton. About the end of June 1892 venereal disease 1770
was rife among the troops; and at the suggestion of the Cantonment Magistrate, Dr. Hamilton let it be known that he would always be at hospital on a certain afternoon in the week to examine all who chose to appear. In May 1893 these examinations were discontinued, under the orders already so often referred to. But between these two dates women appeared, week by week, in numbers which varied between forty and seventy, and which increased rather than fell off towards the end of the period. The attendance of individuals was exceedingly fitful and irregular; but it seems to have been not only voluntary, but spontaneous, if anything can be spontaneous in India; for not even persuasion, still less any stronger measure, was exercised, and no sort of notice was 1780
taken of absence. Out of the first batch that appeared for examination, no fewer than twenty-seven were admitted into hospital as diseased. In deference to the demi-official orders about lists of prostitutes, the results of examination were simply noted in pencil, and the notes destroyed as soon as the admission register had been filled up. No note was kept, as formerly, of the names of women examined for permission to reside; in fact, the Cantonment Magistrate ceased latterly to send these women for examination.

The objection of the women to examination discussed.

79. We now proceed to discuss the nature of the examination thus conducted; and the question of how far attendance at them was spontaneous, voluntary 1790
or compulsory, is the most difficult one which the Commission has to

consider. In the first instance, we were unwilling to believe that any woman, whether prostitute or not, would voluntarily submit herself for medical examination, merely as a measure of precaution, and unless something at least was to be gained by it. But the course of the enquiry has shaken out conviction on this point. Drs. O'Connor, Ranking, Hamilton, and Wardrop, all of whom speak with the authority derived from much experience, and some of whom at least have practically shown a very unusual degree of sympathy with and interest in the welfare of the women, are unanimous. They all declare with absolute conviction, derived from the whole demeanour of the women, that they do not feel the *slightest* objection on the score of modesty to the process of examination. The Meerut women, who certainly spoke to us most freely, and concealed nothing of their feelings, told us that, given an honest hospital staff, they had *no* objection to examination in itself, though they disliked the use of the speculum. The fact that women on several occasions spontaneously presented themselves to Dr. Wardrop for examination, simply in order to disprove the truth of a taunt by a fellow-prostitute; the fact that, after the total discontinuance of examination by Dr. Ranking, the women, on hearing that Dr. Hamilton was ready to revert to the old practice, attended in large numbers, and *absolutely* of their own free will, for a whole twelve-month; and the anxiety of the women of Ambala for the reinstitution of systematic examination—all tell most weightily against the theory that the women have any strong inherent objection to being examined. On the other hand, the women of Meerut absented themselves from examination on being told that they were at liberty to do so; but then they had grievances against the hospital staff. It appears that the women object strongly to the working of the rules of 1890 by the process of identification, on the ground that it acts unfairly, other women who are far worse diseased than those who are identified escaping scot-free. As the Ambala women said to Dr. Wardrop, there are many casual prostitutes about the place who disease the soldiers, while they, the proper prostitutes of Ambala, are blamed for it. And the women of Meerut, after we had taken down their statement and were standing up to go, said: "*We* know how to take care of our bodies and to keep them clean. It "is not from us that the soldiers get the disease, but from the coolie women and "others who go about the barracks and Cantonments." From all we have heard we believe there to be much truth in this statement.

Conclusion as to the above.

80. On the whole, we have come to the conclusion, which is entirely opposed to our preconceived opinion, that women of this class do *not* object, on the score of modesty, to systematic examination; and that they infinitely prefer it to occasional examination, based upon identification and report by a man who has been diseased. But the intense apathy and fatalism of the native would probably prevent them from availing themselves of it as a purely precautionary measure. There is reason to believe that submission to inspection, so long as it continues, lowers them to some extent in the consideration of their fellows; and we think that, if no influence were exerted or persuasion employed, nor any pressure used to induce the women to attend, and if they had nothing whatever to gain (such as freedom from examination on the report of a soldier) by such attendance, they would not attend of their own motion.

Their objection to remaining in hospital.

81. As for remaining in hospital when diseased, there is little doubt that when treatment is protracted and the disease is not so malignant that remedies bring relief from physical pain or anxiety, residence in hospital is felt to be irksome; and that few if any would consent to it, if nothing were to be gained by consent or lost by refusal.

XI.—PERIODICAL EXAMINATIONS OF PROSTITUTES.

The vitality of observance in India, and the docility of the native.

82. The whole question is complicated by certain considerations peculiar to the country and people. In the first place, the tenacity of custom and habit in India is absolutely extraordinary to the European mind. Once establish a course of action, and its traditional observance continues by mere inertia, long after the stimulus of sanction and penalty has been removed. A typical instance is afforded by the woman at Ambala who, having reported her arrival and obtained permission to reside, went straight to the doctor to be examined; and who, when asked by us why she did so, and whether any body had told her to do so, replied, "Tell me! Why should anybody tell me? Have I been a prostitute for eleven years without knowing the custom?" So, following the custom previous to 1888, women still occasionally petition at Ambala for leave to reside at Meerut for leave to practice as prostitutes, and at Lucknow for permission to leave cantonments; and women occasionally present themselves for examination, even at Ambala, prior to settling in cantonments. Every Indian official's experience supplies numberless instances of a similar nature. Again, the docility of the uneducated native as a class is extraordinary. The Englishmen, on being informed of an order, asks at once who gave it, and by what authority, and what is the penalty of disobedience. The native's first idea is to ascertain the order, or (what is to him the same thing) the custom; and, having ascertained it, to comply with it without further question. Thus, the mere fact that it has never been found necessary to enforce a rule or practice by compulsion, or by the infliction of a penalty, is not sufficient to show that the practice has not been looked upon as authoritative by the people whom it concerned.

The question of voluntary or compulsory a two-sided one.

83. The fact is, that the question whether any particular action can be said to be voluntary, presents two entirely different aspects according as it is looked at from the point of view of the official or from that of the woman. The action of the officer may be purely persuasive, and entirely free from any tinge of compulsion. But for countless generations the *marzi hákim*, or pleasure of the governor, and the *hukm hákim*, or order of the governor, have been equivalent terms in India. The idea that the local representatives of Government do not always possess authority to compel people to do all that they may wish them to do, and that there is a law which limits their power, is, at any rate as regards executive matters, an entirely novel conception, which may be said to have had its birth (in the Punjab at least) within the last 15 years, which is still filtering slowly down through the masses of the people, and which is even now fully apprehended by but few. There is still a strong tendency to receive the expression of his wish by one in authority as equivalent to a command. Add to this the extraordinary tenacity with which observances, once established, survive in India; and it becomes impossible to say how far a given result is due to the personal influence of an official, how far to his position of authority, and how far to a mere continuation of a traditional observance.

The voluntary nature of the examinations discussed: Ambala.

84. At Ambala, the attendance at examination was clearly voluntary. It was made a condition of permission to reside in the regimental bazaars, or in the vicinity of a standing camp. Such permission was given in violation or evasion of standing orders. But it was free to every woman to accept or reject it upon the terms upon which it was offered, and at any moment to discontinue her attendance at examination and return to the Sadar bazaar. By doing so, the most that she forfeited was a convenient residence in close proximity to a body of customers; and it was still open to her to pursue her calling in a place familiar to her, among old associates, and among the class of men to which she was accustomed.

The same: Lucknow.

85. At Lucknow we are without precise information as to how the custom of the general examination of prostitutes, which Dr. Ranking found in existence when he took

over charge, came to survive the changes of 1888. It was probably a mere continuance of the old practice; and there is nothing to show that the women in any way realised that attendance had become optional. But it is clear that the attendance at bi-weekly examination during Dr. Ranking's term of office, was mainly due to the personal influence which he obtained over the women. There was clearly no sort of compulsion; no pressure, as distinct from persuasion, was exercised, no threats held out, no penalty enforced. The attendance at examination, when subsequently re-introduced by Dr. Hamilton, was as nearly spontaneous as it was possible for it to be. The powers given by the rules of 1890 were never exercised. As a fact, occasion seldom or never arose for their exercise; but even if this had not been so, it is doubtful whether they ever would have been exercised; for even during Dr. Hamilton's term of office, when the attendance of individuals had become fitful and irregular, action was taken on two occasions only, and it is clear that the Cantonment authorities regarded the whole matter as essentially voluntary. It is no doubt probable that Dr. Rankin's doctrine carried greater weight with the women than it would have done had he been merely a private individual. But to say that such persuasion is therefore of the nature of compulsion, and that its exercise deprives the action resulting from it of its voluntary nature, is to lay down as a maxim that all officials in India are precluded, by the mere fact of their being in authority, from endeavouring to influence their native fellow-subjects for their good.

The examination of new comers at Lucknow discussed.

86. It is impossible to speak so decidedly as to the voluntary nature of the submission to examination, by women seeking permission to reside in the cantonments of Lucknow. It is true that the Cantonment Magistrate neither had, nor pretended to have, any power to enforce such examination; that he held out no threat, and gave no order; and that the woman was simply asked by him whether she would consent to be examined, and in all cases agreed. So far as he was concerned, the examination was voluntary. But, from her point of view, it can hardly be said to have been so. The magistrate to whom she was applying for permission to practise her calling asked her to submit to examination, and at the same time postponed his order on her application. Such a request, especially when addressed to a woman who was accustomed to or acquainted with the old regulations, must have presented itself to her mind in the light of a command. It is by no means certain that the success of Dr. Ranking's system did not largely depend upon this very action of the Cantonment Magistrate; for, without it, new comers might never have come within range of his persuasion, and as the older women died or left the place, his attendance might have gradually dwindled away.

The examinations at Meerut discussed.

87. The case of Meerut is very distinct from the other two. There, a woman who persistently absented herself from examination without good cause, or who, being a new comer, failed to present herself, was reported by the medical officer as supposed to be diseased, and was offered the option, under the rules of 1890, of submitting to examination or of being expelled from Cantonments. Now, given a well established custom, accepted and acted upon in practice by the women, that all prostitutes should present themselves for weekly examination, it is probable that no better ground for "supposing a woman to be diseased" could possibly be found than her absenting herself without good cause. As a fact, in the great majority of such cases, the woman, when examined, *was* found to be diseased. But, in the absence of such a custom, it is clear that the medical officer's action would have been wholly unjustifiable. It was never intended that, under the rules of 1890, a medical officer should say to the prostitutes of a Cantonment as a body: "Such of you as do not attend examination, I shall report as supposed to be diseased; when you will be given the option of submitting to examination or of leaving Cantonments." Such action would be an abuse of the rules, and equivalent to the reintroduction

of compulsory examination in a slightly altered form; the chief alteration being that the women could escape it by leaving Cantonments. The "supposition" of the rules must be based upon reasonable grounds. In this particular case the reasonable grounds existed; but they depended upon the prior existence of a customary rule of attendance at examination, and we are unable to say how that customary rule had grown up. To say the least, the system approached dangerously near to compulsion. 1970

The examination of women on the march discussed.

88. In the case of women accompanying troops on the march, it is clear that they were, in some cases at any rate, periodically examined. The Quartermaster of the Royal Irish Regiment states that the Apothecary of the regiment conducted the examination; and the old mahaldarni of the Artillery bazaar at Meerut had a certificate dated January 1891, and signed by the Assistant Apothecary of a regiment, to the effect that she "was painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." In such cases the examination will have been practically compulsory; the alternative being ejectment from camp while on the line of march. 1980

XII.—CANTONMENT CIVIL HOSPITALS.

The Civil Hospitals.

89. In every Cantonment ample means exist for the medical treatment of the soldiers and their families, whether British or native, at the military hospitals and by the medical officers attached to them. The arrangements for the relief of the civil population are not so complete. There has always been provision of some sort for the isolation of infectious cases; and in some Cantonments, but not in all, charitable dispensaries have been maintained.

History of the Lock Hospitals.

90. In 1865 Lock Hospitals were opened in all Cantonments for the treatment of such of the registered prostitutes as were suffering from venereal disease. 1990 For some twenty-three years they were worked under the Lock Hospital Rules, which have already been summarised in paragraph 48. The Resolution of the House of Commons was passed in June 1888; and two months later Quartermaster General's Circular No. 12 of 6th August 1888 was issued, which directed that, pending the issue of revised rules on the subject, no register of prostitutes was to be kept nor tickets issued, nor any compulsory examination of the women to be held, and laid down that "the Cantonment Lock Hospital was, in fact, to be worked as a purely voluntary institution." From that date the name of Lock Hospital was officially disused, and the hospital was known as the "Voluntary Venereal Hospital," and from some time in 1890, 2000 as the "Cantonment Hospital." The Lock Hospital at Meerut was closed from August 1888 to July 1889, and that at Ambala from July 1889 to July 1890.

The Cantonment General Hospital.

91. Early in 1891 the Government of India decided to constitute in each Cantonment, for the use of the army followers and the civil population of Cantonments, a "Cantonment General Hospital," and steps were taken to this end. The new hospital was, like existing military hospitals, to include three sections —the general, the infectious, and the contagious or venereal. The last two were already everywhere in existence. Where there was a departmental fol- 2010 lowers' hospital, or a charitable dispensary, it was amalgamated with them to form the first of the three sections; and where there was none, arrangements were made for opening a general section of the new hospital. At Ambala and Lucknow this institution, with its three sections, exists in a complete form. At Meerut the general branch has not yet been built, though a site has been selected and plans and estimates prepared. But since August 1892 an outdoor department has been attached to the venereal branch, at which all diseases, whether

venereal or otherwise, are treated. At Lucknow Dr. Ranking of his own motion extended the scope of his Lock Hospital, provided separate accommodation for males, and carried it on very much on the present lines of the Cantonment General Hospital, from February 1891 till the general branch was opened in January 1892.

The Lock branch mainly for prostitutes.

92. As has already been explained, cholera, small-pox, and venereal or quasi-venereal diseases, are practically the only infectious or contagious disorders known in India from which danger to the public health can be apprehended. The first two are in all cases treated at the infectious branch; the last, in the main, at the venereal branch. For reasons already given in paragraph 63, males suffering from venereal disease and belonging to the civil population, are for the most part treated at the General Hospital as out-patients; and when it is necessary to take them into hospital, they are admitted into the general branch, as there is no separate accommodation for them in the venereal section. Among females, by far the larger number of venereal cases naturally occur among prostitutes; and the result is that the venereal section is practically a prostitutes' hospital. It is not exclusively so, for respectable women are still occasionally admitted to it at Meerut, where there is no charitable dispensary or general branch for them to go to, and used to be so admitted at Lucknow before the general branch was built. Nor is it exclusively a venereal hospital; for prostitutes suffering from non-venereal diseases who require in-door treatment are admitted to it, partly because they prefer the society of their fellows, and partly because their presence in the female ward of the general branch is considered objectionable. In serious cases, however, or when a major operation becomes necessary, they are removed to that branch. European females are admitted under the same circumstances and with the same freedom as native women. Where, as at Ambala, separate chaklas exist for the use of British troops and natives, prostitutes from both are admitted indifferently; and everywhere patients from outside Cantonment limits are not unfrequently received for treatment. In all three Cantonments cases of secondary syphilis are always admitted.

Admission to hospital for mesnes.

93. At Lucknow Dr. Ranking made it his practice to admit prostitutes to hospital during their menstrual periods. This he did on the ground that during such periods sexual connection, while only endangering the man's health very slightly if at all, involves very serious risk to the health of the woman. His successor, Dr. Hamilton, found the practice established and continued it; though he did not hold quite the same views regarding the risk incurred by the woman. Women so admitted to hospital received no diet, as they were suffering from no disease, and therefore were not entered in the admission registers. At neither Ambala nor Meerut have women been admitted on the score of menses only since 1888. When a woman who presented herself for examination was said to have menses she was sent away unexamined and told to come next time. The Handbooks of daily treatment in which the Hospital Assistant records day by day the doctor's orders regarding each patient contain, no doubt, numerous entries of menses. But this is simply for the information of the Hospital Assistant, since all medical treatment is discontinued during the menstrual periods; and it was found in each case that the patient had been admitted on account of some specific disease. The statements made to the contrary effect to Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell are probably explainable by the fact that native women look upon leucorrhœa as the remains of their menses, and not at all as a disorder. As the Meerut women said to us: "We all have *sufed pani* (leucorrhœa) from the age of 12 years, and the Hospital Assistant calls it gonorrhœa." How doctors differ in dealing with this point is apparent from the fact that Dr. Ranking, who admitted women with mere menses to hospital, recorded 86 admissions for leucorrhœa in 1891; while Dr. Hamilton, who succeeded him, only admitted 8 during 1892

for the same complaint. Dr. Hamilton's practice seems to have been the same as that of Dr. Wardrop at Ambala, who disregards leucorrhœa altogether, unless present in a marked degree.

Detention in hospital for menses.

94. While in hospital, a woman who has menses is never examined. And as she cannot be discharged as cured until she has been examined, it is no doubt possible that the physiological moment of cure might arrive during the currency of her periods, and her formal discharge be delayed till they had ceased. 2080

The "Lock Hospital."

95. The venereal sections of the Cantonment General Hospitals occupy in all three Cantonments which we have visited, the building used as the Lock Hospital under the old rules; and are still commonly known to the people as the "Lock Hospital," or the "Prostitutes' Hospital." Throughout this report we refer to them, for convenience sake, as Lock Hospitals; without, however, in any way accepting any connotation that may be supposed to attach to the term. The persistence of the name among the native population signifies nothing. Names, like everything else, *are* persistent in India. The public garden in every civil station in North Western India is still known as the "Company Garden," though the Honourable East India Company ceased to exist some five-and-thirty years ago. The local head of the police in each district of the Punjab is still always spoken of as the "Captain Sahib," though the police force has ceased to be a military force under captains of the army for a still longer period. 2090

Nature of the buildings.

96. The buildings thus occupied present to eyes accustomed to Indian dispensaries and other public institutions no structural peculiarities. At Lucknow, indeed, the high front-wall with its small doorway, is somewhat suggestive of confinement; but the wall and gate of the recently built infectious ward close by are still more so. In the other cases, high walls mean merely that other buildings or premises adjoin; as, for instance, the police lines at Ambala. 2100

The hospital chaukidar.

97. A chaukidar usually forms part of the establishment; sometimes attached to the Lock section only, and sometimes to it and the general branch in common. This chaukidar wears a brass badge of office, as being a Government servant; but he is in no case one of the Cantonment police force (known at Lucknow only by that name), but is as much a hospital servant as is the matron or the sweeper. Such chaukidars are attached to most public and private institutions, and are in many stations entertained by every English resident who is worth robbing. Thus, when the Lock Hospital at Meerut was closed, the chaukidar was the only member of the establishment whose services were not dispensed with. Their duty is to keep watch over the premises and property, more especially at night; and where there is no chaprassi, they are commonly used as messengers, having less to do than the other servants. British soldiers, when drunk, have several times been known to try to get at the women in hospital; and it would doubtless be the part of the hospital chaukidar, as it would be of the matron or of the Hospital Assistant, to prevent the intrusion of unauthorised visitors. In this respect, the chaukidar at Lucknow appears to have been the only one who did his duty on the occasion of the visits of Mesdames Andrew and Bushnell. 2110 2120

Watch and ward over the hospital.

98. The hospital, like all other buildings in Cantonments, is included in the beat of a policeman or Cantonment chaukidar. But in no case was there, on the occasion of our visit, any special guard of any sort posted over the hospital; nor had there previously been, except at Ambala where there is not 2130

even a chaukidar attached to the Lock Hospital, and where a policeman had been put over the hospital in consequence of some drunken British soldiers having attempted to gain access to the inmates. This policeman was taken off some months ago as unnecessary, the police station being next door. His orders were simply to keep people out who had no business there, and not to interfere in any way with the patients. At Lucknow a police guard was applied for not long ago, as a European patient complained of having been robbed; but a man could not be spared for the purpose.

Restraint not exercised over the patients.

99. As in all hospitals, or at any rate in all military hospitals, the patients, while in a Lock Hospital, are not free to go in and out at pleasure at all hours. So long as they stay in the hospital they must observe its rules, without which discipline would be at an end. But the discipline is of the mildest. Leave is freely obtainable; and the women make constant visits to their houses to look after their property, and to see their friends—visits often purposely arranged at hours when the soldiers will be on duty, so that the chance of disease being spread may be minimised. On one occasion indeed, in June 1892, the Medical Officer in charge of the Meerut Lock Hospital stopped the leave of all patients for a week. But the reason was that one of the women who had gone out had returned drunk. But while, so long as a woman elects to remain in hospital as an in-patient she must conform to the discipline of the hospital, the moment she elects to leave hospital she is free to do so. Before the issue of the rules of July 1890, she was *absolutely* free to do so. Since the issue of those rules, she does so with the knowledge that she will not be allowed to remain in Cantonments. Instances have been numerous in which women have left on that understanding; and the only trace that we have been able to discover of any obstacle being placed in the way of their so leaving is, that at Ambala, after July 1890, it was the custom to report the woman's intention to the Cantonment Magistrate, and not to allow her to leave the hospital until arrangements had been made (as they were made within a few hours of notice being given) to ensure that she at the same time left Cantonments. But even here it is clear that no actual restraint was exercised; as we have several cases of women leaving hospital notwithstanding, before a report could be made. At Meerut, the usual course was to warn the women that leaving hospital would involve leaving Cantonments also. At Lucknow, even that was not done, at any rate under Dr. Ranking; as the necessity seems never to have arisen in his time.

Subsistence allowances to patients.

100. The rules of July 1890, already referred to, provide that persons suffering from certain disorders must either remain in hospital until cured, or leave Cantonments. Attendance at hospital being thus rendered quasi-compulsory, they further lay down that treatment at such hospitals shall be gratuitous; and that if the patient "is without means of support, or was admitted to the hospital "on the request of the Cantonment authorities, or of any officer of that "Authority, such patient shall receive from the Cantonment fund subsistence "allowance." In all the general and infectious branches, and in the Lock Hospital, Lucknow, the patients are dieted at the expense of the hospital, as is the universal custom in the case of pauper patients in all civil hospitals outside Cantonments throughout Northern India. In the Lock Hospitals at Ambala and Meerut, subsistence allowances of two annas and six pies, and two annas per diem, respectively, are made to the inmates; the coresponding allowances in civil hospitals varying from one anna three pies to one anna nine pies. In venereal disorders, diet ordinarily forms no part of the treatment; while prostitutes, who constitute the great majority of the in-patients, are accustomed to better and more varied food than other native women of the lower classes. At Ambala dieting was tried for a while; but the opposition on the part of the women was so strong that the system of allowances was returned to. At Meerut one anna of the allow-

ance is paid to the keeper of a cook-shop close by, who for this amount provides a plain diet, which is supplemented by the women from the remainder of the allowance. In all cases, except in the few exceptions where poverty prevents them, they provide themselves with small luxuries, such as tobacco, pan, and opium.

Treatment of patients by the hospital staff.

101. At one place, Meerut, the women complained bitterly of the subordinate hospital staff; and the complaints seemed to be genuine. They said that unless the hospital assistant was feed, he delayed their cure by applying unsuitable drugs to them; and at this very hospital the doctor had had to dismiss the matron and chaukidar, for obtaining money from the women on pretence of being able to hasten their discharge. These Lock Hospitals are visited two or three times a week by the doctor in charge; and unless he very grossly neglects his duty, any action of the nature attributed by the women to the hospital assistant would be absolutely impossible. But it is exceedingly possible that a dishonest subordinate should instil into the minds of the women the belief that he has such power of hastening or retarding their cure, and so obtain money from them. And from what we know of native subordinates, we have little doubt that this is sometimes done. If it is, it is only what is done all round us, in every department, and by almost all petty officials according to their opportunities. At Ambala and Lucknow the women spoke warmly of the staff, and said that they were well cared for while in hospital. As to the superior medical staff, we have been strongly impressed with the consideration for the feelings of the women which seems in every case to have governed them in their discharge of unpleasant duties; and with the marked degree in which they had won their confidence.

XIII.—MINOR POINTS AND SPECIFIC ALLEGATIONS.

Minor points.

102. A few minor points remain which it will be well to notice; and we shall refer briefly to such specific allegations contained in the India Office evidence as have not already been noticed.

The official supply of prostitutes for the use of the troops.

103. It has been suggested that Government officials are still concerned with the supply of women for the use of British soldiers, and with the proportion which the number of prostitutes in cantonments bears to the number of troops. So far as to procure women from the neighbouring bazaars and to allocate them in the vicinity of the regimental lines, for the convenience of the men of the regiment, by the orders or with the cognisance of the officer commanding, comes under this description, we have already given full details. But if the suggestion goes further, and implies that, subsequent to 1888, officers have concerned themselves in any way whatever with the supply of women to the Cantonment market, or with the maintenance of the general supply of prostitutes, we are convinced that it is absolutely without foundation. We have asked every cantonment authority who has come before us, and they have with one accord scouted the idea. It is alleged in Answer 484 before the India Office Committee, that Colonel Plowden, Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut, used to give money varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 with which to procure new women. Colonel Plowden has left India. His head clerk, who has been twenty-five years in the office, and twenty years as head clerk, states that he has never heard of such a thing. One thing is certain, that if Colonel Plowden ever did so advance money, which we do not believe, he did so from his private purse; for Cantonment Funds are drawn upon by cheques bearing the signature of the officer commanding the station, and the accounts are audited by the Accountant General; and it would be absolutely *impossible* for such a charge to escape challenge, unless a deliberately false entry was made. All

the officers whom we have examined state that such a thing is absolutely unheard of.

Extortion by the police.

104. In answers 564 to 567 it is suggested that the police habitually oppress and ill-use prostitutes as such. We have asked all the officials who would be most likely to have knowledge of or to receive complaints on the subject, and none of them have any reason to believe that such was the case; nor did the women themselves complain when questioned on the subject, though in one instance (already discussed) they complained very bitterly against the hospital staff. But extortion by the native police is common all over India and in almost all classes of life. The particular instance given in the India Office evidence had no connection with the status of the women, and is, so far as the demand for money goes, exactly what a policeman would do wherever he thought it safe. The allegation of physical cruelty is always added to strengthen accusations against the police, and generally without truth. Prostitutes are more intelligent and less timit than other native women of their social stratum; and so far would be less easy victims to impression. On the other hand, they are more often without male protection. One thing is certain, that for every opportunity that a policeman now has for extortion from a prostitute, he enjoyed a hundred before the abolition of the Lock Hospital rules.

XIV.—SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

Statement of "Facts" examined.

We now proceed to summarise our conclusions; and in doing so we shall take as our text the "Statement of Facts" prepared by Messrs. Stansfeld & Stuart, which formed the enclosure to the Secretary of State's Despatch No. 50 (Military), dated 20th April 1893; and which would perhaps be better described as a "Statement of Deductions from Facts." We shall take the individual allegations therein contained, in the order in which they occur, and affirm, contradict, modify, or explain each one, following as far as is possible the language in which it is stated. The words quoted from the "Statement" will be italicised in the following paragraphs. Our conclusions, as before explained, refer to the three Cantonments of Ambala, Meerut, and Lucknow, which we have visited, and to no other.

(1) *In each Cantonment there are assigned* several *quarters for prostitutes;* as there are for the followers of many other callings, and in particular, of those which may annoy or offend the neighbours.

(2) All *quarters* thus *assigned for prostitutes are called chaklas,* so long as they are occupied by prostitutes.

(3) *They are frequently situated close to,* and in some cases, till quite recently, actually within, *the military* (Regimental) *bazaars.*

(4) *The* individual *chakla in some cases consists of a single building* or enclosure, *having a series of small rooms* or houses, of a type common throughout Northern India, and in no way *similar in appearance to* any *military building. In other cases it consists of separate tents* (not *huts*) *grouped together; and sometimes,* when in the open, *enclosed within,* not *a fence,* but a matting screen. It most often consists of rooms or houses scattered about the prostitutes' quarter, among those of shopkeepers and others, which may or may not include one or more enclosures such as are described above.

(5) *Each room or tent is occupied by one woman, native* or otherwise, *and used by her to receive the visits of* her customers; who are,

in the case of certain of the enclosures, chiefly *British soldiers who come to the chakla for the purpose.*

(6) *The women,* like all Indian prostitutes, *do no work for wages, and live for no other purpose.*

(7) *There is no solicitation by the women,* unless within the chakla, or (until put a stop to) at its gate; as solicitation is not practised in India.

(8) Of many of the enclosures it is hardly an exaggeration to say that, owing to the fear of the soldiers, and to the action of the Military Police, but not owing to any action or orders of the authorities, *no natives are allowed to resort to them*; though they do visit them at certain hours, and the women consort freely with natives outside the enclosure.

(9) *The women are at* perfect *liberty to leave the* chakla or *Cantonment without permission,* either temporarily or permanently.

(10) In no case does *the chakla belong to the Government*; nor has any chakla been occupied by prostitutes, while the property of Government, since 1888. In some cases it is *owned by persons who have acquired the property from the Government.*

(11) *In* no *Cantonments* do *the women live rent-free*; *in* all *they pay rent.*

(12) *In* no *Cantonments is a guard in uniform placed within, or near to, the chakla*; though in one case a policeman was placed over the chakla for a short time last year; and in one instance a military policeman was posted at the tents occupied by women in the vicinity of a regimental camp. In both cases the sole object was to preserve order, and not in any way to interfere with the freedom of the inmates.

(13) *In* no *Cantonment is a register kept of the chakla women*; though in certain of the regimental chaklas the head women have kept lists of the prostitutes occupying the chaklas.

(14) There is no such thing as the *register numbers of the women.*

(15) *In* one *place metal plates bearing numbers were affixed over the entrances of* such of the *separate rooms in the chakla* as were occupied at the time by prostitutes (*which rooms also bear other distinctive numbers*); of which numbers the object, when first affixed, was, *that a soldier might be able thereby to designate a particular woman otherwise than by name and address.* This object soon ceased to be secured, owing to changes in the rooms (or houses) occupied by prostitutes.

(16) *In every instance the chakla with its occupants* used to be *under the control of a woman superintendent* (or occasionally a male) *called the mahaldarni* (or mahaldar). In 1888 the mahaldarnis were dismissed; and, with the exception of one woman, who was retained till the end of 1890 at Lucknow, have since then been recognised only in regimental chaklas. At the present moment there is no such person recognised by authority, though the old mahaldarnis, who were nothing more than the representative heads of groups of persons following a common occupation, such as are found throughout Indian society, still act as procuresses, and are in some cases still recognised by the women as their heads.

(17) These women used to be *paid in* all *cases* from 1883 to 1888, *out of the funds of the Cantonments,* in addition to receiving (as it is the custom of the country for such representatives to receive)

a share of the earnings of the women. Since 1888, with the Lucknow exception just noted, no such person has received pay from any public funds, though such of them as still fill the position of mahaldarni or procuress continue to levy fees from their women.

(18) In the only case in which we have found a *mahaldarni possessing a certificate signed by a Briiish officer* of later date than 1888, the certificate was signed by an Assistant Apothecary, was dated
2360 Gurgaon (where an Artillery camp is held), 22nd January 1891, and testified to her being "painstaking and careful in carrying out the inspection of prostitutes." Most of the certificates described in the evidence given before the India Office Committee date from before 1888.

(19) At the present moment the mahaldarnis have no duties to perform. The mahaldarnis who were for a time recognised (though not paid) in certain regimental chaklas subsequent to 1888 had such *duties*, which were practically *the same as formerly before the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons, and included*
2370 *the care and control of the women under their charge, and their presentation for periodical examination.*

(20) There have been no women in regimental chaklas since 1888 at Lucknow, and none since August 1892 at Meerut, except in standing camps, or with troops on the march. Where women are placed in such chaklas, *the number of women is* doubtless *proportioned* in some cases *to the number of British soldiers* in the Regiment, *averaging from* 12 *to* 15 in standing camps, but from 4 to 8 only in the chaklas of the regimental bazaars. But *the number of women in* all *the chaklas* of a Cantonment,
2380 taken collectively, *is* in no case whatever *proportioned to the number of British soldiers for the time being in the Cantonment;* this being left entirely to the operation of supply and demand in open market.

(21) *The number of such women in* each *Cantonment* varies from about 60 to 110.

(22) *A uniform* minimum *rate of pay* is recognised (as given in the "Statement of Facts"), the lowest item in which represents two days' sustenance for the woman. More is often paid; though in case of complaint the man is not compelled to pay more. The
2390 scale is higher than would be paid by natives to women of the same class.

(23) *If not paid, complaint is sometimes made to the authorities.* Such complaints rarely go beyond the Provost Sergeant, but it is not impossible that on rare occasions *the amount* has been *stopped from the man's pay*, as would be done in case of a well-founded complaint of non-payment by any trader in the bazaar.

(24) *Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, besides the cost of living,* a customary fee (as in the case of other callings) to the recognised representative of the group to which she be-
2400 longs. We know of no other *various demands.* When a woman is wholly or in part kept by an entreteneuse she, doubtless, has to pay her (as is the case with prostitutes all over India and Europe) *demands of an extortionate nature,* but this seems to be less often the case with the prostitute of Cantonments than with her sister in the neighbouring towns. She is, like all natives, subject to occasional demands from the subordinate police; and at

Meerut there were complaints of blackmailing against the subordinate hospital staff.

(25) Some few doubtless *live in abject poverty*, as some members of every class always will do; but they are very few, and the women as a class are comfortably and in many cases exceedingly well off, far more so than most native women in their stratum of life. 2410

(26) All our evidence goes against the statement that they *generally get into debt to the mahaldarni;* but it is probable that they often do so, like prostitutes all over the world.

(27) Like almost all natives, they deal on credit for their daily supplies; and are therefore *generally in debt to some outside creditor;* though most of them we believe to be perfectly solvent.

(28) Some few of them are probably *therefore unable to quit the Cantonment*, as is the case with many of all the poorer classes of natives. But these women do constantly quit Cantonments in considerable numbers. 2420

(29) Their life is not a *life of shame*, in the sense in which this is true in England. Most of them are prostitutes by caste, and can feel no *desire to give it up*. Those who do feel such a desire would doubtless occasionally be prevented by debt; but far more often by the almost entire absence in India of all remunerative occupation for women, save hereditary occupation, to which caste restrictions would in most cases be an absolute bar, or manual labour, for which they are unsuited. 2430

(30) Many of them undoubtedly *live in the Cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes, until (unless they sooner die) they are too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women.* But this is seldom *the result* of anything that has been discussed before, or of any inability to quit Cantonments at pleasure; but simply because they prefer so to live. If we substitute "servants" for "prostitutes," and "active men" for "attractive women," the sentence stands true of hundreds of residents in Cantonments. 2440

(31) *The prostitutes are generally* not *girls*, but women of over 20 years old; few of them *being very young*, and only two out of 143 examined by us being *apparently fifteen years of age* or under.

(32) *When a regiment changes its Cantonment, women associated with that regiment* not unfrequently *accompany it on the march*; as do numerous other persons who find their livelihood in ministering to the wants of the soldiers. All alike travel *in carts*, always paid for, and sometimes hired by, themselves; but more often *provided for their transport* by the authorities, on indent for "private carriage" for the use of the numerous unpaid followers of the regiment. They *are* never *sent by railway. During their progress they are* never *protected by European guards*; though they may, in rare instances, march behind carts travelling under guards. They are *accompanied by the mahaldarni*, who is one of themselves. 2450

(33) There is no *woman entered on the register*, because there is no register. At Ambala, up to August 1892, the women who were allowed to live in regimental chaklas, and at Meerut, up to a month ago, all the prostitutes of Cantonments, were *required to present themselves for periodical examination by the appointed Medical Officer at the hospital established in each Cantonment for the treatment* 2460

of these particular diseases; on pain, at Ambala, of having to leave the regimental chakla, and at Meerut, of being reported, in case of persistent absence, to the Cantonment Magistrate, and given the option of being examined or leaving Cantonments. At Lucknow no woman was *required to present herself for periodical examination*; but, as a fact, many did so.

(34) *The examinations are usually once a week; but* were for some time
2470 at Lucknow *bi-weekly*. At Ambala they were *limited to the women* living in regimental chaklas, and therefore to *the women consorting* (though not exclusively) *with British soldiers*. At Meerut they comprehended all the prostitutes of Cantonments. At Lucknow they did so until the middle of 1892, after which time the attendance became very irregular; but there was no limitation to any class of prostitute.

(35) *The examination is made individually by the British Medical Officer, and is generally conducted in the presence of the resident Native Medical Officer of the hospital, and in the presence also*
2480 *of the Lock Hospital nurse* (*called the "dhai"*). *The examination is made on a table* (not necessarily special), and generally, though not always, *with speculum, &c. The women subjected to it speak of it* without *abhorrence*; and apparently have no objection to it on the score of modesty.

(36) *The women* (so far as they attend examination) *assemble at* the *fixed time at the hospital*. Doubtless *they either walk there or* (*if distant*) *ride in cabs*; excepting, perhaps, the very few who are "living in abject poverty." The use of *carts* is improbable.

(37) *Upon the examination, the women* attending it *are either dismissed until the next examination day* which they may attend, *with*
2490 *liberty and license* (unwritten) *to resume their shameful occupation in the meantime*; or, if diseased, are not *detained* but invited (with the legalised alternative of being expelled from Cantonments) to remain *in the hospital*.

(38) *Detention is* never *ordered*. No sort of restraint is exercised upon the women. At Lucknow, and there only, the women were invited to remain in hospital, *not only in case of detected disease, but even during the natural menstrual period without disease*; and this for the protection of the woman's health.

(39) *During* residence *in the hospital each woman receives* (under rules
2500 framed by the Governor General in Council and having the force of law) *an allowance from the Cantonment Fund, ranging from two* to two and a half *annas per diem*, whenever she is a pauper, or is received into hospital as an alternative to expulsion from Cantonments, so that her residence is not altogether voluntary. Patients are similarly dieted in all Civil Hospitals.

(40) No *woman* is *registered*. *A woman not presenting herself on the prescribed day for examination* is *breaking* no *regulation*. At Lucknow no action would be taken in such a case. At Ambala
2510 such a woman would, before August 1892, have been reported by the mahaldarni to the Commanding Officer of the regiment in whose chakla her residence was conditional upon her regular attendance at examination; and she would have had to leave that chakla and live in the Sadar bazaar. At Meerut, and at Meerut only, if a woman absented herself without good excuse, *the Medical Officer would send to her* by her friends or the hospital watchman (never *by the Native Police*), and, in the rare event of her again absenting herself, would *report*, not *the fact*, but that she was

supposed to be diseased, *to the Cantonment Magistrate*, who (under rules framed by the Governor-General in Council and having the force of law) would be bound to *order her* either *to come up for examination* or to leave Cantonments. *If she disobeyed*, and did neither, she would be liable to *arrest by the police*: and then, and not till then, she might *be fined or imprisoned*. This amounts in practice to being *expelled from the Cantonment*. The necessity for such action hardly ever arose.

(41) *If* a woman suffering from a contagious disease *leave the hospital before being formally discharged*, she would (under the rules already referred to) be *liable to the like penalties*, though it has very rarely been necessary to resort to them.

(42) Every woman is everywhere perfectly free to *leave the Cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate; which is*, if asked for, always *given* without *medical examination at the hospital. If she leaves without permit, she is* in no way *precluded from re-entering the Cantonment.* No woman can be so *precluded absolutely*: but if she is expelled under the rules, for refusing, when diseased, to undergo medical treatment, she is re-admitted *only on undergoing examination at the hospital.*

(43) *The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman from the Cantonment is* in no way *tantamount to starvation.* Such women constantly leave Cantonments of their own free will. There are many Cantonments; and prostitutes exists in India outside Cantonments.

(44) *All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious diseases are used* quite *exclusively for the treatment of* infectious, and never for the treatment of *venereal diseases.* All *infectious diseases*, that are dangerous to the public health *are treated in them*, whether *contracted by the prostitutes* (there are no *registered prostitutes*), or *not.*

(45) *All the hospitals for the treatment of contagious diseases are used* mainly, and, where a general branch of the Cantonment Civil Hospital exists, *almost exclusively for the treatment of prostitutes*; males and respectable females being treated at the general branch. Prostitutes are freely admitted for other than *venereal diseases. Very rarely*, except as noted above *are patients other than prostitutes admitted*; as they go to the General Branch. *The cases of diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted are extremely few*; as other contagious diseases that are dangerous to the public health are practically unknown in India. The only such case we heard of was a case of leprosy; and there syphilis was present also.

(46) *In all these hospitals, cases of secondary syphilis are treated* precisely in the same way and in the same hospital as cases of primary syphilis. *Such cases are* never *sent out of the Cantonment*; unless it be under the rules already referred to, and under circumstances in which cases of primary syphilis would be similarly expelled.

(47) No *women* are *compelled to submit to the periodical examination*; though in Meerut the system approached very near compulsion. There are no *registered women.* There are no *women reserved for the use of British troops*; though there are places (which the women are free to quit, and can find accommodation next door), from which the natives are expelled when found there. The examination has always been absolutely general to all women in Cantonments,

except at Ambala, where it was confined to women living of their own free will in the regimental chaklas.

(48) We know of no separate *women used by native soldiers;* and no woman is ever *sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment.* But all prostitutes, of whatever class, are admitted indifferently to the Lock Hospital; even (so far as accommodation permits) when coming from beyond Cantonment limits.

Final summing up.

106. To sum up very broadly and generally in our own words. Prostitutes are confined to special quarters of Cantonments, as are the followers of many other occupations, and of all other occupations which are in any degree offensive to the neighbourhood. In these quarters they live in the most absolute freedom, whether in separate houses, or in enclosed quarters; no restraint whatever being put upon their liberty to leave, or to change the house, the quarter, or the Cantonment, save such as is common to *all* residents. Since the issue of the orders of August 1888, there has been no registration or numbering or licensing of prostitutes in any shape or form whatever. Since 1888, no building has been occupied by prostitutes while the property of the Government; and (with one exception) no payment from public funds has been made to any person for duties in connection with a prostitutes' quarter. The prohibition against the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazaars was for some time misinterpreted at Meerut, and has been wholly disregarded at Ambala; the orders forbidding them to accompany regiments on the march or in standing camps have been in numerous instances violated or evaded; and in both cases the permission to so reside or to accompany the regiment has been made conditional upon attendance at periodical examinations, which the women would probably not have attended spontaneously. Periodical examinations of all the women in Cantonments have been held until recently at both Meerut and Lucknow; and at the former place the rules of July 1890 have been used to enforce attendance at examination, on penalty of being compelled to leave Cantonments. At the latter place the attendance seems to have been absolutely voluntary, save in so far as it may have been affected by traditions of the former system; but women newly coming into Cantonments have been examined by the Doctor, under a procedure which to them amounted to an order of the Cantonment Magistrate. The examinations have been conducted in every instance with all possible consideration for the feelings of the women; and are not objected to by them on the score of modesty. The rules of 1890 have been worked with the greatest discretion and impartiality, and with the most careful avoidance of all harshness; and though legal technicalities have not always been observed, yet their spirit has been violated in only the rarest instances. Persons suffering from contagious diseases have been dealt with in a far less peremptory manner than those afflicted with infectious disorders. It has been found practically impossible to apply the rules to males suffering from venereal disease; in whose case indeed, the common danger which can alone justify measures of compulsion is comparatively slight. So, too, the information upon which alone action against women under the rules can be based, is seldom forthcoming except in cases where British soldiers have contracted venereal disease; so that the working of the rules, so far as they refer to the examination of persons suffering from contagious (as distinct from infectious) diseases, has been narrowed by force of circumstances to the case of women who have diseased British soldiers. So far as the rules refer to women already in hospital, they have been applied indifferently to all. In only the very rarest cases has it been found necessary to resort to the penal provisions of the rules. The venereal branches of the Cantonment civil hospitals have for the most part been used almost exclusively for prostitutes; neither males, nor, as a rule, respectable women being admitted, at any rate as in-patients; but prostitutes have been admitted as necessity arose, from whatever disease they might be suffering. No restraint of any sort has been

placed upon the patients, beyond the discipline necessarily maintained in the hospitals; and they have been free to leave, and have frequently left before cure, with the knowledge that their doing so would involve the necessity of their leaving Cantonments also. This fact alone disproves the assertion that expulsion from Cantonments is tantamount to starvation. The women strike us, as a class, as far more prosperous than, and at least as contented as, other native women in their own stratum. Many or most of them are hereditary prostitutes, to whom prostitution is no disgrace, and who are debarred by birth from adopting any other calling. Ill-usage by the British soldier does occur; but is not frequent; and the women on many grounds prefer him to the natives as a customer; among others, on the ground that he is a better paymaster. In certain enclosed chaklas, the British soldier looks upon the women who may be living there as reserved for himself, and resents the intrusion of natives; in which he is vigorously seconded by the military police, though no orders exist to justify their action. But the women of these chaklas live there of their own free will; and do as a fact consort with natives also, though not at such times and places as would bring the two classes into contact.

Conclusion.

107. A picture has been suggested, if not actually drawn, of trembling groups of miserable women, pent up within high walls and guarded gates, the ticketed and numbered subjects of the soldiers' lust; their scanty earnings limited by authority, and accompanied by constant brutality and ill-usage; themselves enslaved by debt beyond all hope of escape, to the custodians whom their jailors have set over them; released from their confinement, only in order to be subjected to the unspeakable indignity of personal examination, or, if found to have been diseased by the men for whose use they are reserved, to be detained in a hospital as well guarded as their homes: condemned to drag on a hopeless life of abject poverty and degradation, of shame and self-abhorrence, of futile yearning for escape, till fading charms cause their rejection as articles no longer serviceable, or speedier death brings release. For such a picture, or for any portion of such a picture, we find no shadow of foundation.

KASAULI,
28*th June* 1893.

DENZIL IBBETSON.
JAMES CLEGHORN.
M. SAMIULLAH.

APPENDIX.

RECORD OF EVIDENCE, NOTES, STATEMENTS, AND REPORTS.

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APPENDIX.

Statements and Notes.

AMBALA, THE 6TH JUNE.—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

AMBALA, 6TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited the **Cantonment General Hospital.** It consists of three parts. The main building is in the bazar, and is open to patients suffering from general diseases. It has a separate building for women. The branch for infectious diseases is called Section I, and consists of a brick building with room for sixteen beds, generally used for small-pox cases, and a temporary structure for cholera patients, which can be enlarged at pleasure and burnt after use. It is situated about a mile from the main hospital, and at some distance from habitations. The branch for contagious venereal diseases is called Section II, and is in the bazar, some three or four hundred yards from the main building. All these parts of the hospital are under the same medical officer, with a separate hospital assistant in charge of each. The branch for venereal diseases presents no unusual structural features. Over the gate is a board with the inscription "Cantonment General Hospital, Section No. II," and in vernacular "Charitable Hospital" It contains three wards with four beds each. Patients applying for admission or suspected of disease are examined in an upper-storey room. At the time of our visit the hospital contained two prostitutes suffering from syphilitic disease. We were told by the Surgeon in charge and his hospital assistant that the hospital was confined exclusively to female in-patients, and that, as a fact, the cases were almost without exception venereal. An inspection of the admission register bore out this statement.

In the main hospital and its infectious branch the patients are dieted. Here they are given a subsistence allowance, partly because diet does not enter so largely into the nature of their treatment, and partly because the patients, being mainly prostitutes, are accustomed to a more varied diet than that of the other classes who enter the hospital.

We examined the books. We found a general register of prostitutes, the last entry in which was of October 1888. The hospital assistant stated that no register had been kept up since, and that the examination of prostitutes not applying for admission or suspected of disease had been discontinued for more than two years under Dr. Beatson's orders. There were no ticket forms, and the two patients said that they had neither numbers nor tickets, though their houses were numbered like all other houses in cantonments.

The form of admission register has a column headed "Regimental corps, battalion, or brigade," in which is entered the name of the bazar in which the patient lives; as "Royal Artillery," "British Infantry," Sadr Bazar, and so forth; and in the book of daily treatment corresponding initials are entered under the woman's name to serve, as it was explained, as an address and means of identification. The admission register form was printed Form I.A., and is used in all Military Hospitals.

The letter book and certain registers had been sent to Simla under orders of Government. But in a small book of letters received we found a letter dated 29th September 1891, which is referred to below in Dr. Cleghorn's note. The registers sent to Simla were said to contain the results of the inspection of women supposed to be diseased and examined accordingly, whether subsequently admitted to hospital or not.

In the book of daily treatment is found the letter M. (menses) entered against certain patients on certain dates. It was, we were told, entered to account for the modified treatment which was pursued during these periods; and as a fact we found in all the cases which we examined that the women had invariably been admitted for a specific disease, during the course of which the menses had occurred.

Of the two patients, one lived in the chakla frequented by the British troops, and the other in that used by natives. They both seemed happy and contented. The former said she preferred English to natives, and had recently left Lahore for Ambala because there was no British chakla there. Asked if she would rather marry and lead a virtuous life, she said she would not mind if she could get a decent living by doing so.

It may be noted that the hospital assistant spoke of the matron (dhai) as the mahaldarni. He admitted that the name was more properly applied to a manager of a chakla; but said that it was often used for these matrons also.

Dr. Cleghorn subsequently examined such of the hospital books as had not gone to Simla, and recorded the following note:—

The Commission visited the "Cantonment General Hospital" and its two sections on the afternoon of the 7th June. The General Hospital is a large building for the treatment of departmental followers, and the civil population residing in and out of cantonments. It is

AMBALA, 6TH JUNE.—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

supplied with all the necessary medicines and instruments for treating medical and surgical cases. During the year 1892 the following number of patients were treated :—*In-patients* —male, 552 ; female, 73; total 625. *Out-patients*—12,265, of whom about 1,700 were women and children. Among the other diseases treated in this department were 447 cases of venereal disease, of whom 41 were women and children. Several cases were also treated as in-patients.

Of the two sections of the Cantonment General Hospital, one, called officially No. I, is set apart for the treatment of cases of cholera, small-pox, and other infectious diseases. Cases of cholera are treated separately in a temporary grass or mat hut. During 1892 six cases of cholera were admitted, and six of small-pox ; among the latter two children.

The other section, No. II, is intended for the treatment of prostitutes. It is in the centre of the Sadr Bazar, conveniently situated near the two chaklas. It is the old Lock Hospital, and as such is supplied with the necessary furniture, medicines, and instruments required for the treatment of venereal cases. A few other medicines are kept in stock, such as are required for the treatment of ordinary diseases ; and when different medicines are required for the treatment of any particular case, the stock in the General Hospital is indented on.

In this section I found the following books, &c., at present in use :—

i.—Admission and discharge register of in-patients, called officially Military Hospital Book, No. I, used in all Military Hospitals.

ii.—Hand-book of daily treatment.

iii.—Book of quarterly and half-yearly return of surgical instruments.

iv.—A file in which loose correspondence, copies of bills, &c., are pasted.

In Book No. 1 was entered the serial number of the patient, place of residence, name date of admission and discharge, disease, &c. It had been in use since January 1887. The last admission was dated 11th May 1893. From the commencement till 8th July 1888, the place of residence of admissions was noted as the Gora chakla, Royal Horse Artillery, British Cavalry, British Infantry, Kala chakla. From the above date till 29th June 1889, there were only admissions from the Gora and Kala chaklas. Then, till 23rd July 1890, no patients whatever were admitted; after which the admissions were from 7th Dragoon Guards, Royal Horse Artillery, West Yorkshire Regiment, King's Own Scottish Borderers, 2nd Queen's, up till 10th November 1891. From 30th November 1891 till 15th January 1892, there were only admissions from the Sadr Bazar chaklas. From 19th January 1892 to 25th November 1892, from 18th Hussars, Royal Horse Artillery, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and Gordon Highlanders and Sadr ; and from 5th December 1892 to 11th May 1893, from the Sadr chaklas and from Royal Horse Artillery, and one from 18th Hussars. The great bulk of the patients were admitted for venereal diseases— many for leucorrhœa and other non-specific complaints : but none for menstruation.

Book No. 2 was a hand-book containing the names of the patients, in which the hospital assistant entered daily the orders and the treatment prescribed for each patient by the medical officer in charge; it was used for no other purpose. Opposite the names of several patients the letter M. was prominently marked, and was employed for the purpose of recording that this particular patient had her monthly illness while under treatment for some other disease, and that during menstruation no medicine was to be given to her. Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, while visiting the hospital here, recorded in their evidence that patients were then kept in hospital for menstruation ; the fact being that their illness appeared while being treated for disease, as clearly shown both by reference to the hand-book and to the admission and discharge book.

Book No. 3 contained the usual return of surgical instruments.

Book No. 4 contained several memorandums to the Cantonment Magistrate regarding the examination of women supposed to be diseased. The latest is dated 29th September 1891, written by the officer in charge Cantonment Hospital to the Cantonment Magistrate, simply reporting that the four women named, residing in regimental bazars, had not reported themselves for examination. The Cantonment Magistrate returned the memorandum with this endorsement—" Are these women diseased or supposed to be diseased ? Unless this is certified, I have no power to interfere."—(Signed) R. ANDERSON, Captain, Cantonment Magistrate, dated 29th September 1891.

The total number of patients treated in this section of the General Hospital amounted to 85 during the year 1892, their diseases being—

Venereal	45
Leucorrhœa	19
Ulcerations and abrasions of Os uteri	18
Menorrhagia	1
Caries of spine	1
Bright's disease	1

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—CAPTAIN BAIRNSFATHER, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—KOTWAL OF SADR BAZAR—INSPECTOR OF CANTONMENT POLICE.

The medicines and instruments were kept in a small room in the second storey of a detached building in the compound. This room is also used for examining patients when it is necessary to introduce the speculum. It is fairly well adapted for such examination. The room is perfectly private, and those examined could not be seen from the outside.

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.

Captain Bairnsfather, Cantonment Magistrate, attended by Saraj ul Haqq, **Kotwal of Sadr Bazar** since 1881, and Mr. Meakins, **Inspector of Cantonment Police** for 18 years, and at Ambala since March 1884.

I have been Cantonment Magistrate here since 1st March 1893. I officiated for four months at Rawal Pindi and Mian Mir during last hot weather. Captain R. F. Anderson was Cantonment Magistrate during 1891 and 1892, and up to 28th February 1893. He is now Assistant Judge Advocate General at Pachmari, Central Provinces. Besides being Magistrate and Small Cause Court Judge, I am the Executive Officer of the Cantonment Committee and of the Officer Commanding the Station. As such I have very considerable powers. No building can be erected or altered in cantonments without permission conveyed through me. The localities in which persons practising any trade or calling must reside for the purposes of such trade or calling may be specified, and such persons required to reside there. The Act gives power to frame rules authorising us to eject any person from cantonments without grounds specified; but as yet no rules have been framed under that section so far as I am aware. The only power we have to exclude persons from cantonments is under the rules regarding people suffering from infectious or contagious disorders (Military Notification, No. 617, of 4th July 1890).

My power and duties extend alike to all bazars, regimental or otherwise; though the regimental bazars are, unlike the Sadr Bazar, under the immediate control of the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

We maintain two registers of houses in cantonments. The one is merely for the purposes of house-tax, and has only been kept since last September. The other is a general register of old standing, and shows each house in cantonments. This includes regimental bazars. I produce the register in five volumes. It is headed (in vernacular) "Register of houses and persons, Ambala Cantonments," and its columns are—(i) Serial No.; (ii) Name of occupier; (iii) Parentage and caste of occupier; (iv) Occupation of occupier; (v) Date of registration; (vi) Name of owner of house; (vii) Parentage, caste, and residence of owner of house; (viii) Amount of rent; (ix) Number of residents, with detail of men, women, and children; (x) Name of quarter or locality; (xi) Remarks.

Column (i) is the serial number of the house, all houses having been numbered, and the last number being 5841. This is the Sadr Bazar Register only. The registers for the other parts of the cantonments are in the same form. The British chakla is entered at Nos. 2825 to 2920, these being the numbers of the houses in the chakla. Of these, nineteen houses are empty, one is occupied by a wood and hay merchant, two by ginger-beer sellers, two by labourers, one by a servant, one by a cook, two by cloth sellers, one by a tailor, five by male owners whose occupation is not entered because the owner is the occupier, three by pimps, and the other fifty-eight by prostitutes. In only forty cases are two consecutive houses owned by the same person; and this includes two groups of seven and five houses respectively.

The native chakla is entered in just the same way, Nos. 1693 to 1779, of which twenty-seven are occupied by prostitutes and two by pimps. Both chaklas have been used as such for very many years.

I have no other register of prostitutes besides this, which has been maintained since 1885, the present copy being made in February 1892. We supply no copies or extracts to medical officers or others, nor do we communicate alterations in it. We treat the portion of the registers which refers to prostitutes, in EVERY respect, in *precisely* the same manner as we do the rest of the registers. I have *no* registration of prostitutes as such.

I have had two or three applications from a woman wishing to practise as a prostitute, stating what chakla she wished to live in; and I have given permission—at least, I have passed an order that there is no objection. If a woman settled without permission we should say nothing. [The Kotwal and Inspector say that, as a fact, women nowadays do not often give applications. When they do, a vacant house is found for them.] They are not sent to a doctor for examination, and have not been since inspection was abolished. There is no register of, or form of, permission. The petition is stamped and written by a petition writer like all other petitions, and we charge no fee.

We now have two chaklas in cantonments, both in the Sadr Bazar, one for the use of British troops, and the other for that of natives. There used to be three other chaklas, Royal Artillery, British Cavalry, and British Infantry, in their respective bazars. A letter from the Quartermaster General of 12th May 1888 directed that registered

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prostitutes be no longer permitted to reside in the bazars of British corps in cantonments, and that in future no public prostitutes were to be allowed to accompany regiments on the line of march, or to accompany them to standing camps as part of the ordinary bazar followers. These orders were communicated on 29th June 1888 by the Cantonment Magistrate to all Commanding Officers of British corps, with the request that the registered women in the regimental chaklas might be directed to go to the Sadr Bazar chakla for British troops and reside there. Additional accommodation was at once provided in the Sadr chakla, and the women moved there within a month. The regimental chaklas were then let to ordinary tenants, and are still so occupied, though they have been sold meanwhile by public auction. They were before that cantonment property. I believe I am safe in saying that no prostitutes are living in these chaklas. If they are it must be secretly; for since the orders of 1888 the regulation has been that no prostitutes may live in regimental bazars. When I came here I learned from the police that they suspected certain persons living in these bazars of being prostitutes, and I had them turned out. There were six or seven such persons in the regimental bazars. I believe their residence there was unknown to the regimental authorities, and that they were living there as private individuals.

If initials or words are entered in the Venereal Hospital Registers, showing that the patients live in regimental bazars, I believe that they must refer to these six or seven women, and that the entries must be of a date prior to my order, which was issued in the first half of May last.

The two Highland Regiments have never been stationed here. In the cold weather, 1891-92, they were here for winter concentration, and were living in tents within cantonment boundaries, but quite apart from all bazars. In such a camp I should not think of interfering, unless absolutely necessary on sanitary or other grounds.

[The Kotwal states that before the transfer of 1888 from the regimental chakla to the Sadr chakla there were some 40 prostitutes in the latter. After the transfer the numbers were 80 or 90. There are now about 40 or 45. The difference is due to the women having gone to the hills where the regiments have gone. But since the transfer, the chakla being insufficient, many of them live outside the chakla; most of them close to it, but a considerable number at some distance from it.

The chakla is by no means always full, as when women move out other women who have rented houses outside do not move in. I am trying to get them in as much as possible, as they are there better under control, or rather the soldiers who visit them are so; for disturbances occasionally occur.

All land in cantonments belongs to Government; but the houses belong to their builders or their successors, subject to cantonment rules. No ground rent is charged. The Sadr chakla belongs to private individuals, and it is believed has done so always. [The Kotwal speaks for 12 years past.] Nothing is or has been received by Government or by cantonment funds on account of the chakla except the house-tax, which is levied on all buildings alike. The rooms are rented by private arrangements, with which we have no concern.

I am the head of the Cantonment Police, who wear the ordinary police uniform. We have no cantonment chaukidars, nor do we use badges with that inscription. There is no watch or guard of any sort over the chakla, though the chakla is, of course, included in one of our police beats. [The Kotwal states that there used to be a chaukidar placed over the chakla the day before the examination of prostitutes to prevent soldiers having access to them. But that has been discontinued since the examination was stopped four or five years ago, at the time when the regimental chaklas were closed.]

One of the Sadr chaklas is for British, and the other for native use—not for troops necessarily. I am not sure that if an Englishman, not a soldier, entered the former, the soldiers might not resent his intrusion; but there would be no objection on our part. Such a thing practically does not occur. The latter is used by natives indiscriminately. The British troops do not go, as a fact, to the native chakla, partly because some women object to entertain Europeans, and they might have difficulty in finding a woman there; partly because they are used to their own women. But there is no rule forbidding them to go there, simply because there is no need for such a rule. If I found that they did go, then I should certainly suggest the framing of such a rule. No part of cantonments is out of bounds for British soldiers, as far as we are concerned; but there may be regimental rules with which I have no concern. There are four or five prostitutes not associated with either chakla, who are visited without objection by British soldiers. The women already described as living outside the chakla are still held to belong or to be attached to the chakla. There are probably plenty of other women who do receive men, but no others who can be said to be public prostitutes, in the Sadr Bazar at least. I know of no rule against a native going to the British chakla; but there would probably be a disturbance by the soldiers if he did, and I should, I think, interfere to prevent it. The women attached to but living outside the British chakla may perhaps receive visits from natives.

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[The Kotwal thinks that, if so, it is done secretly, and that they do not habitually go from their houses to meet natives. The Police Inspector believes that they do receive natives frequently, whether at home or outside. He has seen them driving to the city with natives.]

I do not know whether there is any woman at the head of the chakla. I have never made enquiries, nor have I ever heard of such a woman. If there is such a woman, I, as Cantonment Magistrate, have *no* concern with her of any sort whatever. We neither pay her nor appoint nor dismiss her; nor do we require anything of her, or take any cognisance of her existence. [The Kotwal states that when the women used to be inspected there was a mahaldarni over each chakla, whether sadr or regimental. The sadr mahaldarnis were paid from cantonment funds. They looked after the women, reported matters to the police that required report, presented the women for their examination, and reported and sent to hospital women suspected of disease. There are now no such women; the prostitutes are all independent.] There are chaudhris for trades of every description in the bazar—yekka drivers, cartmen, milk sellers, petty grocers, grain sellers of the mandi (grain market), the brokers, the banias—these men being elected by the persons whom they represent, and the first two being subject to the approval of, and dismissal by, the Cantonment Magistrate, who has constant relations with them on account of the large demand for carriage. These two levy fees on all earnings of the drivers, and receive all requisitions (official or private) for carriage and make the necessary arrangements. In short, they represent the body in all dealings with the officials and the outside public. In all other cases any orders issued or arrangements made are issued to or made through the chaudhris as representing the body. They receive nothing from Government, and are in no sense Government servants.

The segregation of prostitutes in two quarters can be paralleled in the case of many of the other occupations of the bazar. The butchers live all together, the grain sellers in their market, the cow-keepers and vegetable sellers, the leather makers and tanners in a separate quarter, the copper-smiths—in short, almost all the trades are every bit as much segregated as the prostitutes are. Even the grocers and cookshops are mainly confined to a single part of the bazar. These people, as a fact, live so by general custom or for convenience. There are no rules or orders on the subject. If a copper-smith lived outside his quarter, I should take no action of my own motion; but if the noise was complained of by the neighbours, I should make him live in the copper-smiths' quarter. [The Inspector of Police states that, as a fact, no such order has been passed for the past 12 years, because there never has been any complaint; since, in fact, the people do *not* live outside their quarters.] I should be particularly ready to interfere in the case of butchers, where religious feelings are concerned. I should peremptorily refuse to allow, or I should close, a butcher's shop in the Hindu quarter. If a woman known to be a prostitute settled outside the chaklas, I should, as already explained, try to move her into the chaklas in order to prevent the risk of disturbance; and this whether she was frequented by British or natives; and in the case of well-founded complaints by the neighbours, I should certainly move her. That is the extent of the control exercised by us over their residence. I do not know whether rules have been framed under the Act regarding the residence of persons following certain trades; but I should certainly act as above. I wish to explain that I consider the occupation of prostitutes, by its nature, to require stricter control and supervision than others, as it is more likely than any other to give rise to disturbances, especially between natives and Europeans, which are particularly to be deprecated.

A woman is absolutely free to leave cantonments at pleasure; she is absolutely free to return at will. [The Kotwal and Inspector of Police state that when the women used to be examined they had to get a permit to leave, and to state where they were going and information used to be sent there so as to bring them on the registers. Since the regimental chaklas have been abolished and inspection discontinued (four or five years ago) this is wholly at an end.] I have no more power to exclude people from cantonments than I have to expel them. In fact, I have *no* power to exclude, though I can expel under Notification 617, already quoted, and that only.

The Sadr Bazar has a population of 23,000 souls. It may be defined as that portion of cantonments, outside regimental lines, which is inhabited by natives.

The total population of cantonments is 51,020 souls.

[The Kotwal and Inspector of Police states that there are now about 40 or 45 prostitutes attached to the British chakla, and about the same number to the native. There may be 100 altogether in this cantonment. The numbers in the native chakla fluctuate much less than those in the British chakla. They are always lowest in the hot weather. The maximum will probably be 80 to 90 in the British, and 45 or so in the native, chakla.]

I have no concern with the number of prostitutes in cantonments, and I have never known of any official notice being taken of the numbers being too small. [The Inspector of Police says the same, and so does the Kotwal for the Sadr.] I have never heard of money being advanced for the purpose of supplementing them.

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—CAPTAIN BAIRNSFATHER, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—KOTWAL OF SADR BAZAR—INSPECTOR OF CANTONMENT POLICE.

I have no knowledge or concern with the charges made by the women to soldiers. I have never had or heard of any complaints, either by women or by soldiers, regarding payment [nor has the Kotwal or the Inspector of Police].

I exercise no supervision nor do I make any inspection, either personally or through my subordinates, with regard to the chaklas, save such as is exercised over or made of all other cantonment premises. As a fact, I do not happen ever to have been inside the chakla here.

Cases are reported of women suspected of disease. I have had two or three cases, one of them a European woman, the wife of a corporal in one of the British regiments. We keep no record of these cases, the original docket being usually sent back to the medical officers, as the matter is treated as confidential. The letter book of July to September 1890 shows that an English woman was reported by the medical officer, sent for inspection by the Cantonment Magistrate, and detained in the hospital as being diseased. She at first refused to remain in the hospital, but on being threatened with expulsion from cantonments, consented to do so. In another case an English woman was given the option of being examined or leaving cantonments, and chose the latter. This was in November 1891. I can give no figures for the number of reports, but I can for the number of expulsions from cantonments. There were *no* such cases in 1892. The medical officer does not give reasons for his suspicion—at least not since I have been acting as Cantonment Magistrate. I had no reports of this sort during the four months during which I officiated last year. I have never expelled anybody from cantonments. I may, on the whole, have had three reports here, not more. I have had no reports against men; but one of the women referred to above was not a public prostitute, but an English woman living with her husband, and I felt some hesitation in dealing with the matter. One of the women habitually leaves the station when summoned on suspicion, and returns afterwards.

I have issued orders that prostitutes are *not* to live in any regimental bazars. If they are so living, the chaudhris of the bazar should have reported them. [The Kotwal says that since the last two or three years prostitutes have begun to live in the regimental bazars, but he cannot say where they live in the bazars.] There are women in every bazar whom we cannot say are actually prostitutes, but who do, without doubt, receive men. It is very difficult to draw the line where to interfere.

No fine or imprisonment has been inflicted last year [nor, says the Inspector of Police, since the regimental chaklas were abolished] under Notification 617. The report goes to the police, who warn the woman to go to the hospital, and she goes.

I had a case of small-pox reported under these rules—a male. The child had been taken to hospital when the report reached me. The man was punished for not reporting the case. In previous years other cases of small-pox have been reported under the rules.

I have never heard of any general examination of prostitutes in any one of the three cantonments in which I have acted. Certainly there is none here.

There are a certain number of camp followers living in regimental bazars who move with the regiment; but the population of the bazar consists mainly of permanent residents. It is like the Sadr Bazar on a small scale, and is controlled by the Commanding Officer of the regiment.

[The Kotwal states that the Venereal Hospital was in old days the Lock Hospital. It was then known as such, and the common people still call it so, and it is generally known as such. There has been no alteration in the wall or gate since then.]

I have not, nor ever have had, reason to think that the police practise oppression on this class more than on any other. [The Inspector says the same.]

There are no police now on the Lock Hospital. There used to be, I believe, before the inspection was abolished. After that they were removed. Then a policeman was put on again at the request of the medical officer for the protection of Government property in the building, and was finally removed last April. He used to patrol outside the wall in the front of the gate. There is a policeman on the church; on no other public buildings, I think, except the guard on my office. We have no chaukidars on public buildings. The police guard was simply to preserve the property. He had orders not to interfere with the prostitutes in any way, but he might or might not have interfered with a soldier trying to go in. He had no orders to that effect. A soldier would not wish or try to go in.

I have never known prostitutes to apply to the Cantonment Magistrate for pecuniary assistance. The cantonment accounts are audited by the Accountant General, Punjab.

Questioned by Maulvi Sami Ullah.—[The Kotwal states that the alterations in the Sadr chakla, which were made to receive the regimental women in 1888, were made by the owners of the houses at their own expense, but at the instance of the cantonment authorities.]

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—LIEUTENANT BAKER, QUARTERMASTER OF THE 18TH HUSSARS—SADR CHAKLA FOR BRITISH TROOPS.

Lieutenant Baker, Quartermaster of the 18th Hussars.—I have been Quartermaster of the regiment five years, and in the regiment 31 years. There is a regimental bazar which is controlled by the Commanding Officer through me. There is no regimental chakla there. There is a building which used to be the women's quarters. There are no women there now. I know of no prostitutes in our bazar. So far as I know there are none. I believe that there are none. I do not think the women in the Sadr chakla look upon themselves as belonging to different regiments. The bazar is divided into two parts; one part is occupied by native followers, sweepers, syces, watermen, and their families, who move with the regiment from place to place. That part is absolutely under my control. The other part is occupied by permanent residents. That I have nothing to do with beyond sanitary supervision. I believe there were women living in this second part of the bazar, but I had nothing to do with them. But they were moved into the Sadr Bazar some three weeks ago by the Cantonment Magistrate's orders. They petitioned me against the orders. I have not the least idea how many there were. They lived in the permanent part of the bazar; not in the old women's quarters, which is now a yekka and cart stand. We had nothing of any sort to do with them, or with where they lived so long as they did not live in our lines, which they did not.

I believe our men do go to the chakla for natives. We object on sanitary grounds, and also because it leads to disturbances if the women are used by both in common. We have no rule against it, and do not punish men who go. They go all over the place. It is practically impossible to prevent them. We do not mind their going to the women who live in our own bazar, because we see that it is kept clean. Nor do we interfere with any women coming to live in or leaving our bazar—at least I never did, and should not now from a regimental point of view. But now I should not allow it, since the Cantonment Magistrate's orders that they were not to live there.

The regiment has been here 18 months. It came from Mhow by rail to Matra, and then by road. I can state positively that there are no women here now who were at Mhow with the regiment. I can't say whether there are any Matra women; but we were only there two weeks. From Matra we went on to the Aligarh Cavalry camp. On arrival there I found that eight or ten women from Matra had come with us, and I turned them out of camp. They were in the followers' lines. I had had nothing to do with their carriage or the tents they were living in. They had arranged all themselves. We find tents for the camp followers and carriage for them. I don't think the women had come with the camp followers; but they were pitched outside my lines, close to the camp followers. They went clean away, probably back to Matra. We brought no women here to my knowledge, and certainly provided no tents or carts for any. In 1864, when I was out here, women followed the regiment and marched with it, but at their own expense. We have no guard on the followers on the march, but have a guard on everything carried in carts, not with camels.

I have never had a complaint by women of ill-treatment by British soldiers. I am the person to whom such complaints would be made by persons living in our bazar, and I do receive daily complaints.

There is no system of inspection or tickets connected with our regiment; nor have I any sort of official concern with any prostitutes whatever, save in so far as I have with all the other residents of our bazar.

I have never had any complaints by men or women of overcharge or non-payment. I have never heard of any case of money being cut from pay. It would come to me first, and I should take no action, as the women are no longer recognised. It used to be done in old days, when I was in India before, 1864–71.

When a man gets venereal disease, he is taken to the bazar to identify the woman who gave it to him. The police go with him. We take no further action. The woman has to go to the hospital.

The Commission visited the **Sadr Chakla for British troops.** It is situated in the nanbai (bakers) bazar, sometimes called the Gora chakla bazar, a portion of the Sadr Bazar.

It consists primarily of a large enclosure, with 46 small quarters ranged round, numbered in small numbers, 2832 to 2877, and in large numbers 1 to 46. It is surrounded on all four sides by bazars. The quarters were originally two rooms deep. When more accommodation was needed (in 1888), the communications between the two were closed, and doors opened from the inner room into the outer bazars, thus giving a double row of quarters, back to back; the inner ones opening into the enclosure, the outer ones into the bazar. The 46 rooms within the enclosure are exclusively occupied by prostitutes. The outer rooms are in many cases occupied by shopkeepers and others; the rest by prostitutes. Other prostitutes occupy other houses, somewhat separated from the chakla, as described above; but all within 100 yards or so of it. They are all considered to belong to the chakla. There are said to be a few living independently at a distance. There is a large wooden gate to the enclosure;

AMBALA, 7TH JUNE 1893.—BOALI BAKHSH KANCHAN (PIMP)—THE WOMEN OF THE BRITISH CHAKLA.

but it apparently has not been shut for at least a year; it cannot now be shut; and the panels are all gone, so that if it was shut it would not prevent ingress or egress.

The large numbers, 1 to 46, are continued outside the enclosure, but not consecutively, the series running up to 112 (it is said). They were attached about eighteen months to two years ago on the application of the medical officer, who found that, many of the prostitutes having the same name, the soldiers were unable to identify the women whom they alleged to have diseased them. They were affixed to all houses then occupied by prostitutes, and have not since been altered; so that now some of the numbered houses are occupied by others than prostitutes, while some of the prostitutes live in houses which are not so numbered.

Boali Bakhsh Kanchan (Pimp).—Has lived here for 50 years. Since the cantonment has been here this has been a chakla (since 1843). The Kanchans, including my father, built this place when we came from Karnal at our own expense. Now the houses have passed into the hands of different owners, the same man owning the inner and outer rooms of each pair. The women pay Re. 1 per month in the hot weather; in the cold weather, Rs. 2 to 3; and Rs. 4 for two superior quarters which have been built. The rent rises in the winter, because the women come back from the hills, and there is greater demand for accommodation. The owners pay house-tax since last September to the Government, and nothing else.

This chakla was for the native troops till five years ago. The Gora chakla was then where the Kala chakla now is. It is only half the size of this. At that time the regimental chaklas were closed, and all the women were collected in the Sadr; so this was taken, as being the larger, and enlarged as already noted. There is only one woman in each quarters. There are now about 38 in the enclosure, and there are still eight or ten outside, though four days ago they were all ordered to come and live in the chakla. Four of the old Kala chakla women live by permission in the outer rooms, as they owned the rooms.

There is no chaukidar. If there is a row, the policeman in charge of the bazar is called in. He is not specially in charge of the chakla. Besides this, military police of the British regiments visit the chakla occasionally during the night, partly to turn out British soldiers staying after hours, and to see that no natives visit the place. If they find one they turn him out. Till lately this rule was not insisted upon strictly; but since 20 or 25 days they turn out even the male cooks and tailors. This is after 7 p.m. The door (a big wooden gate) always stands open at night.

No register or list of the prostitutes is kept up here.

Till twelve years ago I was mahaldar. Then a mahaldarni was appointed on Rs. 10. I used to get nothing. The Rs. 10 were paid by Government. I used to take one anna of each rupee of the women's earnings. Since there was a mahaldarni I have taken nothing, and live on my rent. [This the women confirm, and say that nobody now takes fees on their earnings.] Now for three or four years the mahaldarni has been turned off, and has left the station. I am the chaudhri of the women, but take no chaudri's fees. I do the work for nothing. They pay me nothing.

None of the women receive natives here, nor do they go outside to prostitute themselves. The men who used to come were men who brought things from the bazars—tailors, cooks, &c.

No woman has lived in this chakla as mahaldarni for the last three or four years. Before that there was one who regularly received pay from Government. The women do not have tickets since the examination, which was stopped now three years or so ago. Before then they got tickets after examination; since then there has been no mahaldarni.

The Commission then examined **the women of the British chakla,** 39 in all. The youngest was about 16, another about 18 years old, and the rest all older. Five belong to the Royal Artillery, six belong to the Cavalry, and 28 to the Sadr. There are five women who belong to the 2nd Queen's. When that regiment went away, about one and quarter years ago, they attached themselves to other regiments. The regiment that came in its place, the Derbyshire, brought no women, and none consider themselves as belonging to the Infantry. Of the 39 women, 31 are hereditary prostitutes, and the rest belong to other castes. One or two of the oldest ones seem poor (not poverty stricken), most of them distinctly comfortable, and some distinctly well-to-do. The five Royal Artillery and six Cavalry women have only been living in the chakla some 15 days after being turned out of the regimental bazars.

The five Royal Artillery women used to live in this chakla two years ago. The Royal Artillery mahaldarni (who has now left the station) took them to the Colonel and then to the hospital, and they were settled in the Royal Artillery bazar.

The six Cavalry women were similarly taken, after inspection by the doctor, by the Cavalry mahaldar who came with the 18th Hussars. He got no pay, but his daughter was in service and sent him money. His name is Umra. We call him mahaldar because he took us to the regiment.

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893—SERGEANT OF MILITARY POLICE.

We used all to be examined, without exception, periodically. But since this has become the Gora chakla, that has been stopped (*dikhai tutgayi*). But we still have to go if a soldier says we have diseased him.

Q.—If you do not go, what then?

A.—Why should not we go when we are summoned?—No one here has ever been punished for not going. But we used to be fined and imprisoned when examination was the rule. Since Government has released us from this, we eat our bread in peace.

All say that no one has ever been compelled to accompany a regiment which has moved. We all go for a living of our own free will.

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.

The commission revisited the British chakla and found the Military Police at the chakla.

Sergeant T. George, 2nd Derbyshire Regiment, **Sergeant of Military Police,** states that he is responsible for keeping order wherever British soldiers are. The police visit the chaklas every night to take drunken soldiers into custody, to turn out men after hours (10 P.M. without, and 12 p.m. with passes), and to see that no men come in after hours. They also visit the place occasionally in the day time. They allow one male native cook for each woman, and up to a reasonable hour at night. After that they would be turned out, and male natives at any time who have no business in the chakla, *e.g.*, native police. Men working for the women would not be interfered with in the day time. The women are free to come and go, and are not interfered with, except that a custom of sitting in chairs at the gateway and quarrelling for the men's custom has been stopped. If a woman was seen driving in the bazar with a soldier, they would be stopped; but if the woman was alone, she would not be interfered with. I have complaints of men ill-treating the women—generally when drunk. They knock them about, and sometimes do not pay. In that case I make the man pay. I have known the man had up before the Commanding Officer, and made to pay, but I have never had to go so far as that myself. I have been on this duty for nine months. If a shopkeeper complains that he has not been paid for things bought exactly the same procedure is followed. The rate varies with the women, and some men pay more; and sometimes they pay more according to the time they stop. But 4 annas is supposed to be the minimum rate. I should not interfere to make a man pay more than that. The customary rate is 4 annas, but there is no order about it. That is for privates. I should expect a Sergeant to pay one rupee, a Corporal 8 annas, a Lance Corporal 6 annas. These are the customary minima, but more is often paid. We found that so long as the women lived all about the place we had no control over the men. They used to break out of barracks, and go at all hours. So we reported the matter to the Cantonment Magistrate lately, and he has got the women into the chakla as far as possible, where control over the men is easier. I know as a fact that the women go out at night and consort with natives. So long as they are outside the chakla and not with a British soldier, I have no concern with them and do not interfere. Some days ago we had to complain about the native police who would come into the chakla. The Cantonment Magistrate told us to see that natives did not come in; but after that again we were told we had no power to turn any men out. At present my orders are not to turn them out unless there is a disturbance, or probability of one. If soldiers come down here and find native men here without business there would very likely be a disturbance. Some of the native police have taken to going with the women and the men do not like it.

[*Cantonment Magistrate* (present).—The Chair nuisance was stopped because they blocked the street. The chairs were provided by shopkeepers outside the chakla, and they were fined for obstructing a public road. When the women were concentrated here, I gave the police orders (some three weeks ago) to keep natives out of the chakla. But since then I reconsidered the question, and doubted whether I had the power. So now my orders are to turn men out, only if a disturbance is taking place or is apprehended. I issued this order a week ago or so.]

Last year, before I was on this duty, I have sometimes seen a native policemen sitting on a chair by the chakla gate. I can't say whether he was on the chakla. Some time ago I complained that the native police did not look after the place and prevent chairs being put in the street, and prevent disturbances and stop people from coming in without any business; and the Cantonment Magistrate told me that I had better keep the chakla in my own hands. Since then the native police have had nothing to do with it, but only have to patrol the bazar. [*The Kotwal* (present) says:—A special police constable was put on the chakla last cold weather. I do not know why.]

I have occasional disturbances and constant complaints. The other day a native "fancy man" took away all his woman's things and left her on the bare ground. She complained to me, but I could do nothing. Natives sometimes complain that British soldiers who have found them here have struck and abused them. I never had any serious row; but I always prevent what is likely to cause one. I come here every night and stay here for some hours; sometimes to 3 or 4 A.M., especially after pay day. Last night a lot of men came down after midnight. I have eight men under me.

AMBALA, 8th JUNE 1893—WOMEN OF THE BRITISH CHAKLA.

The regimental bazars are also under me, and I go where prostitutes live if I think a man is there after hours. The women in the 18th Hussars bazar used to live in the 18th Hussar's chakla; but that was broken up ten or fourteen days ago. Before that eight women lived in the chakla, and I used to visit it every night. They now live in this chakla. I know of no other common prostitutes living in that bazar. The chakla had about ten houses; there are no shop-keepers or similar people in the chakla. Three or four women, now here, used to live in the Royal Artillery bazar. But the regimental police used to look after that, so I left it to them. No women have been living in the British Infantry bazar.

In the sarai near the railway station prostitutes occasionally live. We have to go and look *everywhere* for men out of bounds after hours. I was complained of by a man who kept a woman in that sarai for searching for men at night. It is not only the prostitutes' houses that we are bound to turn men out of; but that is where they are most likely to be found. Sometimes a man will disappear for two or three days, and we have to search for him. The women always deny his presence.

Women of the British Chakla (38 *present*).—We are absolutely free to come or go, to leave the chakla or the cantonment. We are not interfered with in any way. Many have gone. We shall go to the hills, some of us, if it gets hot. We might go and live in our own houses, but we prefer to live here all together. We prefer to live here in the Gora chakla, chiefly because we can earn more money here than we can in the Kala chakla. There they often don't pay us at all. When they do it is 2 annas to 6 annas. Some of us have lived there too. Here we can get the Serjeant to make the man pay us. The natives expect us to sit and talk for hours, and give them pipes and *pán*. The British soldier comes, does his business, and is gone. The British soldier gives us no trouble. When he is drunk he beats us, but that is seldom. No one here has been ill treated by a soldier since Christmas day. There was a general row that night. We took all our valuables out of the chakla for that night for safety. The *police turn out a drunken man and protect us. One woman complains that for the past fifteen or twenty days they have had great trouble, because they are not allowed to sit outside as they used to, and now their cooks are turned out of the chakla. If they may not go out, how can they get their food. Another woman says she was prevented from going out ten days ago, but not since. The woman who complained says she had not been stopped for three days. The others all say they go and come as they choose. [The real trouble seems to be that they are not allowed to go and sit outside.] We welcome the presence of the *police. We are alone in the rooms with the men, and might be killed sometimes if it were not for the *police.

Of the 38 women present, only three have come here with regiments during the past five years. In two of these cases the Commanding Officer paid the carriage, but not the tent hire. In the third case the woman paid all. They camped at some little distance from the lines. In one case a guard was put on to keep the men visiting them in order. In the others there was no guard; but they were made to march at 10 P.M.

We pay nothing to Boali Bakhsh, our chaudhri. He is a good man, and wealthy.

We used to have numbers, but not since the examination was given up; and then we got tickets. Now we have no numbers, except those of our houses, and no tickets. In those days we should have been fined and imprisoned if we did not go to be examined. Now we need not go, and we do not.

Two women recently came, and were told by the other women that they should report themselves. One gave a stamped petition. The other reported at the Kotwali. The former, after giving the petition, on which the order was that she might live here, went straight to the doctor to be examined. No one took her or told her to go. "Why should they? when she has been a prostitute eleven years and knows the custom." The doctor examined her and noted her name, but he gave her nothing in writing. No one here goes to be examined unless she is called on complaint, or is ill and wishes to be treated. The women do not put pressure on one another by warning men that so and so does not go for examination.

Most of us owe some money to banyas, or for rent, but none to the chaudhri. We cannot go away while in debt, as the banya would be sure to have us arrested for debt.

We have no complaints against the police or against the hospital staff of extortion or ill-treatment. We are well cared for in Hospital.

No fees are taken when we first enter the chakla.

There is license for three days at Christmas. The men are not arrested then, except when there is a real disturbance.

* *Note.—i.e.*, the Military Police, or *Gora Dandawalas*.

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.—CHAKLA FOR NATIVES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN MUMBY, IN CHARGE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—KISHN CHAND, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

We used to have to go to hospital for menses before the examination was given up. Since then no single woman has ever been to hospital for that. We sit in our houses and do not practice our calling during that time, but are not interfered with in any way.

[*Cantonment Magistrate* (*present*) :—We have no form of application for persons to practice as a prostitute, or any register for such applications.]

The scale of payment is as stated yesterday, the men only pay more: sometimes less if they have not got the money.

The Commission then visited the **Chakla for Natives.** It is a building on precisely the same plan as that for British troops, only smaller. The women live in the same manner, both inside and outside the enclosure, which is surrounded by a high wall, and the gate is a strong wooden one in good order, with spikes on the top. It used to be shut and locked under the old rules to prevent the entry of British soldiers. This is no longer done. The quarters occupied by the women have large and small numbers, as in the chakla for British troops. The main difference is that the native chakla is dirty and untidy, whilst the other is clean and in good order. Here we found a young Kanchani of 8 years old, not yet practising. There is no guard on the chakla beyond the police patrol in the bazar. The women pay Re. 1 per month for quarters much the same as the worst in the other chakla, and take 4 annas to 8 annas, and less than 4 annas, sometimes, from their visitors. Some of the best women charge Re. 1. They say that British soldiers do not come to them, and that most of them would not consort with them if they did. They say that there are plenty of prostitutes living in the bazar apart from the chakla, and that they ordinarily take less than 4 annas. This is only since the examination was abolished. Almost the whole chakla is owned by a single native. It was noticed that some of the cantonment establishment wear a badge with the inscription "Cantonment Police, 1852," though they have no police duties or powers, and do not wear police uniform.

Surgeon-Captain Mumby, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital for the last week only; attended by **Kishn Chand, Hospital Assistant,** in special charge of the Venereal Section, and in general charge of all three branches. Has been in charge of the Venereal Section since February 1892, and also for three months in the beginning of 1891. Has been in Ambala since 1889.

[The Hospital Assistant states the women and common people call it "Lock Hospital," or "Women's Hospital," or Prostitutes' Hospital." There is no general register of prostitutes in the hospital, nor has such register been kept since he joined the hospital.

I have examined no women for the seven days I have had charge, except the in-patients, as none have presented themselves.

I have received no reports about women diseased, have sent for none, and have reported none to the Cantonment Magistrate to be sent for examination.

[The Hospital Assistant states that since he has been attached to the hospital no woman has been admitted to hospital merely on account of menses.]

The Cantonment Hospital is for departmental followers and for the civil population of cantonments. *Not* for soldiers, who would not be admitted in *any* case. Men with venereal diseases would go to the main hospital: the Venereal Section is for women only. If a prostitute had cholera, or small-pox say, she would be sent to Section I, the infectious branch. [If she had a disease that was not contagious or infectious, the Hospital Assistant says that if an out-door patient, or if a major operation was required, she would be sent to the main hospital; otherwise she would be sent to Section II.]

In the main hospital and Section I we give them food; in No. II subsistence allowance. And this for two reasons—

(i) It is of less importance to regulate the diet in venereal than in general diseases.

(ii) The class of women who mainly come to No. II object to being fed.

In the report of the hospital for 1892, it is stated that the dieting had been tried in No. II also, but the women objected to it so strongly that the allowance was reverted to.

I have no power to prevent a woman from leaving hospital; but if she did so, and I considered her in a dangerous state, I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate. [The Hospital Assistant says women are not prevented from leaving before cure, though they seldom wish to do so. One woman, who was very ill, did so last year. She was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate, and left cantonments.]

[The Hospital Assistant says :—Formerly many women used to come and be examined of their own accord who were neither ill, nor reported to be so. But about a year ago Dr. Wardrop told them that he would no longer examine them. They then petitioned him to reconsider this order, saying that they were always liable to be falsely reported for disease, and that they preferred to be examined regularly and have done with it. But the doctor returned their petition, and replied that he was not allowed to examine

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893—MAHR-UL-NISSAH, DHAI OF CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.

them. Women used then to be sent for examination who were reported by soldiers as having given them disease, and this is still done.]

[The Hospital Assistant states that the results of the examination of the women who came voluntarily as above were entered in the books that have been sent for to Simla. In that book the women were entered in different lists, one for each bazar. These lists showed, not all the women of each bazar, but only those who presented themselves for examination. I think dates were fixed, but I am not sure. I copy the letters from Section II generally, but sometimes the second Hospital Assistant does so. The letter book is in my charge. When the women above-mentioned did not come for examination no action was taken. It was purely voluntary. I see the letter, 29th September 1891 (referred to at page ii); that is before my time. Since I have been at the hospital, no such letter reporting women simply for non-attendance has been written.]

[The Hospital Assistant says that if the Highlanders' women came for examination, as stated in answer 641, it will be shown in the book which has gone to Simla, and they will have come voluntarily.]

I have no form of ticket or certificate of Health. [The Hospital Assistant says he has never seen one since he has been attached to the hospital.]

[The Hospital Assistant states that there are chaukidars on the main hospital and on Section I, but not on Section II, as it adjoins the police station (kotwali), and the police sentry on duty there looks after it.]

I have never had a woman come to see me and ask me to examine her. [The Hospital Assistant remembers only two such cases, besides the women mentioned above, who came regularly. There were two persons who wished to set up in Ambala as prostitutes: the doctor examined them, but gave no certificate.]

I examined the two patients we now have in the wards. They are both cases in which mere superficial examination without speculum is sufficient. [The Hospital Assistant states that all first examinations are made in the room upstairs, already referred to. If an in-patient requires internal examination or application, she is taken there for the purpose; and the appropriate dressing and medicines are kept there.]

[The Hospital Assistant says that the women from the native chakla never came for examination except when they thought they were in need of treatment. He never knew one of them reported for having diseased a British soldier. But they came when ill. One of the two patients now in hospital is from the native chakla.]

[The Hospital Assistant knows of no such thing as numbers for the women. The houses are numbered, but the women change about from house to house. In the registers that have gone to Simla, the only numbers entered are serial numbers of entries.]

We treat secondary syphilis in the Venereal Section. One of our two present patients is in for it. Her case is contagious.

There are two dhais in the Hospital Section No. II on Rs. 10 and Rs. 8. Both also work at the women's ward of Section No. I.

[In March 1892 the Hospital Assistant was attached to the Departmental Hospital and on field duty. He was not there when the ladies came. The Hospital Assistant then attached to the hospital is now away from Ambala.]

Mehr-ul-Nissah, Dhai of Cantonment General Hospital, has been here at this hospital 12 or 14 years. Before that was a mahaldarni of the kala chakla. Is a Kanchani (hereditary prostitute.)

The women used to come for examination six or seven years ago. Then they had tickets from the Magistrate. That was discontinued six or seven years ago, and the tickets were taken away from them. Since then women who are ill come for examination, and those who are reported by the soldiers are sent for and examined. But no women who do not want advice for sickness come since six or seven years ago. Since then no women have come to be examined voluntarily without disease. Since that time no woman has come to hospital voluntarily or otherwise for menses only. If a woman does not want to stay in hospital she is allowed to go even while ill. Several women have left before cure. As far as I know, nothing was done to them.

About a year ago two ladies came and talked to the women. I talked to them, and showed them where the women used to be examined, and they gave me four annas when they went away. I never told them that women still come for examination, and that if they did not come they would be scolded by the Cantonment Magistrate. I never told them that a woman could not leave hospital till cured, and that if she did she would be imprisoned. I never said that women came on account of menses, and that some of the patients were there then on that account. My assistant dhai was not there when the ladies were there; so she could not have told them. If it is written that the Ambála Hospital dhai said such things it is untrue.

AMBALA, 8TH JUNE 1893.—ROYAL ARTILLERY CHAKLA—BRITISH CAVALRY CHAKLA —THE CHAUDHRI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR—BRITISH CHAKLA—CAVALRY WOMEN —ROYAL ARTILLERY WOMEN—UMAR BAKSH, MAHALDAR OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR.

I am sometimes called mahaldarni, sometimes dhai, indifferently. Properly the mahaldarni works in the bazar (*i.e.*, in the chaklas), and the dhai in the hospitals. There used to be a chakla and a mahaldarni in each bazar. The mahaldarnis have been turned off since examination was abolished. No women have lived in the chaklas since then.

When the ladies came I talked to them in Hindustani. In telling them that women used to be examined I used the word "*peshtar*," for formerly, as I used it just now in my statement. Two ladies came. They both spoke Urdu well, and will have understood what "*peshtar*" means. No one was interpreting for them. We did not talk in English, as I know none. They told the women they would pray for them. They went upstairs and saw where the women used to be examined. I never said any of the women were in debt to me. How could they be?

The Commission visited **the Royal Artillery Chakla**, a small enclosure with high walls and strong doors, and eight houses; exactly similar to the others, but much smaller. It was bought from Government four years ago or so by Karim Baksh, darzi (present). He let it to cartmen, and then to yekka drivers, who used to pay 8 annas per month per house. About a year ago he let it to prostitutes, who paid 12 annas to Re. 1. They were turned out a few days ago. They had no mahaldar or mahaldarni with them.

The Commission then visited **the British Cavalry Chakla**. First the old regimental chakla; an enclosure like the rest, with 20 quarters, which have been let by Government to miscellaneous people (not prostitutes) since it was closed in 1888. It has just been sold. Then the new chakla (now commonly known as the chakla), which is a small enclosure of similar plan, with eight quarters. It has belonged from of old to a banya. It used to be let to bhistis, and then to cartmen. In April 1890 the women of the 7th Dragoon Guards took it. They left on 9th November 1891; and in January 1892 the 18th Hussars' women came on in advance of the regiment and took it, and lived there till they were turned out the other day.

The Chaudhri of the Cavalry bazar, who came with the 18th Hussars, says:—The women were turned out of the Aligarh camp, where they had come from Muttra, and came straight on here in advance of the regiment. There was a mahaldar whose wife acted as mahaldarni, but presently went back to Matra. He believes that the women used to go to weekly inspection till turned out. He never saw them go, but the mahaldar used to tell him that they had been to inspection. A man from the hospital used to come and tell them when they were wanted—generally on Tuesday. I heard that they went to examination three or four days before they were turned out. It was entirely voluntary. The mahaldar petitioned the Commanding Officer for pay as he had had at Matra. The Commanding Officer said he had nothing to do with either chakla or women, and would not pay anything. The women came here at their own expense. If they did not go for examination the first time when summoned, they were sent for again and threatened with being sent before the Cantonment Magistrate. Nobody was ever taken, because they always went.

The Commission then proceeded to **the British Chakla** again, and called **the Royal Artillery women**, who said:—We used to go every week without being reported. If we had not gone, we should not have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar. We also went if reported.

[*Note.*—The Officer then Commanding is now in England.]

The Cavalry women say the same. Going to weekly examination was a condition of being allowed to live in the Cavalry bazar. Used to go on Mondays, unless the doctor was away, and the day was altered. The Colonel made this a condition with us.

[*Note.*—The Officer then Commanding is now in England.]

We used to have a book which the mahaldar kept, who took it to the chaudhri after the doctor had entered the inspection, and he showed it to the Colonel.

The Royal Artillery women say they had a similar book, but do not know who kept it.

Umar Baksh Mahaldar of the Cavalry bazar:—I have lived for 14 years as mahaldar. I used to belong to the Cavalry regiment that was at Matra and went to England. The 18th Hussars took their horses. I brought my seven women here from Matra to Aligarh with the regiment, with a cart supplied by the regiment, but for which we paid the hire, and with our own tents. At Aligarh the General turned us out; or it may have been the Magistrate; and we were turned out of the camp. We came down to Ambala, making our own arrangements, and got here eight days before the regiment. The women went to the chakla, and I lived outside. My daughter came as mahaldarni, but went back to Matra very shortly. The women lived in the chakla till turned out the other day. I got no pay except fees from the women. The hospital chaprassi used to come and tell us when we had to go. It was generally on Tuesday. They used to go

AMBALA, THE 8TH JUNE 1893.—RAHIM BAKHSH, CHAUDHRI, ROYAL ARTILLERY BAZAR. MEERUT, THE 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—CHAUDHRI OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

every week, on Monday. For five or six months that has been given up, and since then they have only gone when reported. When reported they all went, as they could not tell who had been reported. I used to send with them a woman, whom I employed for this purpose, as I could not go, being a man. When they went every week, there were books in which the patients were entered. Since that was stopped the books have been discontinued. I kept the book, and have it now at home. When they used to go every week, they would have been turned out of the bazar if they had not gone. [This witness afterwards produced the book, which was a rough register, ruled and headed by an uneducated man. Heading:—"Attendance Register of women who volunteered (*sic*) on examination, 18th Hussars." Below that a statement with names, and date headings, with columns for "state" and "initials" under each date. The inspections ranged from 12th January 1892 to 26th July 1892, in weekly intervals; the state being entered, for 2nd August 1892 by the Hospital Assistant, but not initialled. The "state" entries are "fit," "M," (menses) or "H" (Hospital). The number of women examined varied from seven to eight.]

Rahim Bakhsh Chaudhri of the Royal Artillery bazar.—Have only done this work for 18 months. The books of the women's inspections were with the mahaldarni. She is dead, and I don't know where they are. I have not seen them since she died. The women left off going every week about a year ago. Since then they have only gone when suspected. In that case the man would come down with a bombardier and point out the woman, and she only was summoned. I never saw them all go. The book was with the mahaldarni. I never saw it, or showed it to the Colonel. The mahaldarni died two or three months ago, and her people have gone. I live about 100 yards from the chakla.

MEERUT, THE 9TH JUNE 1893.

Major Hewett, Cantonment Magistrate, since 2nd January 1893. Has been Cantonment Magistrate since 1885 continuously; at Cawnpore, two months; Chakrata, two years; Allahabad, two and a quarter years; Rawal Pindi, 16 months; Peshawar, four months; Jalandhar, two months.

Attended by **Baseshar Das Chaudhri, of Sadr Bazar**, for a year; before that for **17** years Conservancy Darogha in this cantonment: by **Bansi Dhar, Serishtadar**, for past five years in this office; and by **Karm Singh, Inspector of Police**, appointed here in August 1892.

I have worked the old contagious disease rules.

As the Executive Officer of the Officer Commanding and Cantonment Committee, I have very wide powers; *e.g.*, no house should be built, or even altered, without sanction conveyed through me. I allot localities where certain occupations are to be carried on; and I have the power to expel persons from cantonments under Notification 617 about infectious and contagious diseases, but not under other circumstances. As far as I know, no rules have been notified under Section 26 (20) of the Cantonment Act; but, as a fact, trades and occupations always have been and are regulated within my experience as a Cantonment Magistrate.

My powers extend to regimental lines, as well as to all other parts of cantonments; but, as a fact, they are managed by the Commanding Officers, and I should ordinarily interfere as little as possible. This refers not only to the lines occupied by regimental followers, but also to the whole of the bazar lying within regimental limits.

In this cantonment, and, as far as I know, in this only, there is a very large bazar which has been allowed to grow up contrary to regulations, and which is included within the limits neither of the Sadr bazar nor of any regimental bazar. It is an extension of the British Infantry bazar, and is consequently known, in common with that bazar, as the Lal Kurti bazar; but almost the whole of it is outside regimental limits. I exercise the same control there as in the Sadr bazar.

We keep up three registers in which inhabitants of cantonments are entered; (*i*) only of persons assessed to income tax; (*ii*) of all houses in cantonments for purposes of the house tax; the headings being—(1) Number of the house; (2) Name of the mahallah; (3) Kind of house; (4) Name of owner; (5) Name of tenant; (6) Deductions of one-sixth rent for repairs; (7) Amount of house tax on account of $\frac{3}{8}$th per cent. per annum; (8) Amount paid by owner; (9) Remarks. That does not show the occupation of the occupier. (*iii*) Register of those houses only which have sanctioned private latrines for the purposes of the latrine tax. We keep up *no* other register of occupiers of houses in the cantonments.

We keep no register of any sort in which prostitutes are entered, except in so far as they may be mentioned in the registers above-mentioned. I produce the old register of prostitutes. The latest entry is dated 27th August 1888, and a remark is entered below that, "in accordance with Quartermaster-General's Memorandum No. 12 (Confidential) of 6th August 1888, this register is closed. Tickets of all women present have been taken back, and they are informed that attendance at examinations or at the Lock Hospital is

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—CHAUDHRI OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

voluntary."—(Signed)—GEO. PLOWDEN, Cantonment Magistrate, 28th August 1888. There is now *no* separate register or record of any sort of prostitutes.

I have received applications, say three in my five months of office, from native women to be allowed to practice as prostitutes. My order was that they had permission to live in the house they specified, but that no order could be given about the prostitution. Every native who wishes to inhabit any house in any of the bazars, whether on first coming into cantonments, or on account of change of residence, has to ask for my permission; which, when given, is communicated to the police, who without it would prevent him from occupying the house. The object is to confine people to their proper quarters. The other day a kabari (a second-hand furniture dealer) went into a house without my leave. He was reported, and I refused him permission to occupy the house, as it was not in the kabar's quarters. This rule is, in my experience, peculiar to Meerut; but here it is absolutely general to all inhabitants. In no other cantonment in which I have acted do I remember to have had an application of this sort, whether from a prostitute or otherwise. No fee whatever is charged in Meerut. The police keep up no registers; but they know the inhabitants of their beats, and so are able to report unauthorised changes.

[The Chaudhri of the bazar states that he has no list or register of occupiers of houses. If he wants information, he gets it from the House-tax Register in the Cantonment Magistrate's office.]

[The Serishtadar says that the custom here used to be to give a woman asking such permission a pass to the doctor, who examined her before permission was given. This continued about a year after he came to this office (in March 1888), and was then discontinued. The register has been destroyed under the record office rules. After that the police used to be asked if there was room in the chakla. If there was, permission was given; if not, it was refused.]

There are certain quarters set apart for prostitutes. They would not now be allowed to practice in any other part, precisely as in the case of other traders, or of the kabari mentioned above.

I produce two petitions of November 1892 from prostitutes coming from elsewhere to live in cantonments. They ask for leave to live in the chakla. On both the order is—"Permission given. Police to be informed." No other order. Then one of May 1892, in which the woman asks permission to move from one house to another. Order: "If the second house is in the chakla, permission is granted." The police reported that it was. These are taken at random from the files of 1892. They are all ordinary petitions, on paper bearing an anna stamp, and written by a petition-writer. A form of application (hand-written) is attached to all such petitions, in which the order is filled in, and which is returned to the applicant, so that he may show it to the police as his authority.

If I found a woman practising as a prostitute outside the chaklas, I should move her into them; and this quite independent of whether British soldiers went to her or not.

In the Sadr Bazar our chaklas are defined portions of certain streets. Not one single woman known to be a prostitute now lives within regimental limits. In the Lal Kurti Bazar, the women live scattered, and have probably come into it from regimental limits. They were turned out of regimental limits some years ago. I produce the record of the Cantonment Committee's proceedings directing this, dated 13th June 1888. [The Head Clerk states that it was at that time proposed to build quarters for the women at the general expense: but the proposal was disallowed.] The population of the Sadr Bazar proper is 13,434; of the Lal Kurti Bazar, 9,496, of which only about 3,000 live within regimental limits. The total population of cantonments is 41,744.

I know of two letters of October 1891 from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital to the Cantonment Magistrate, complaining that women from the city were practising as prostitutes in cantonment limits. One of these cases, I believe, referred to two Europeans. There is no record of them in our books. They appear to have been passed on direct to the police, and I have inquired from the District Superintendent of Police what action was taken; but I have not yet received an answer. [Further inquiry showed that the letters were Nos. 47 of 19th October 1891, and 49 of 26th October 1891, from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital. The police made inquiries, and found that they referred to two European women, both admittedly diseased, one of whom had been turned out of cantonments in June by the Cantonment Magistrate. She had then obtained permission to re-enter cantonments to conduct a law-suit in which she was interested on condition of not prostituting herself there. No further action was taken.]

I know of no other such complaints. I do not remember within the last three years ever to have received complaints of women practising without permission. It has certainly not been the custom to give permission, nor have I had applications for permission elsewhere than here.

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR HEWETT, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—CHAUDHRI OF SADR BAZAR—SERISHTADAR—INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

There is no chakla here set apart for British troops. As far as I know, natives and Englishmen go indifferently to the same women. The natives probably go after hours for British troops.

[The Chaudhri says that the women are absolutely forbidden to receive natives, who must go to the city (3 miles off) if they want a prostitute. There is no formal order to that effect, and nobody prevents them; but it is understood that they must not.

[The Chaudhri and the Inspector of Police agree that there are no recognised prostitutes living within regimental limits. There is one Sadr chakla; and there are prostitutes living, more or less together, in the portions of the Lal Kurti Bazar outside regimental limits. They say that the Lancers' women live in the Sadr, and the Royal Artillery women live in the Lal Kurti Bazar. The West Kent women settled first in the Sadr; now some of them have gone into the Lal Kurti Bazar. They came out of the regimental limits when the general orders were passed turning them out, since when they have not lived there Some six months after the order the Cavalry women did return to regimental limits, but were immediately turned out. The chakla, that is in the form of an enclosure, is in the Sadr Bazar. It belonged to Kalandar Ali and Piari Lal. Kalandar Ali got it from Ilahi Baksh, who built it himself. Hira, a prostitute of the city, has built another chakla in the Sadr on land, furnished her for the purpose in 1888 by the Cantonment Magistrate, it having been formerly occupied by a Government latrine.]

[The Inspector of Police says that the Sadr chakla is known as the Gora chakla; but, as a fact, natives go with the women. He knows this of his personal knowledge.]

All land in cantonments is Government property. Houses are the property of the builders, subject to resumption on payment of compensation for buildings erected with proper sanction. No ground rent is charged. No building occupied by prostitutes belongs to Government; nor is any income, except house-tax, derived from any such building. It is paid by the owner and not by the tenants. I have no sort of concern with the provision of buildings for this purpose.

As far as I know, there is no head of the women, either mahaldar, mahaldarni, or chaudhri. [The Chaudhri and Inspector say the same.] We pay *nothing* to any of them; nor do we recognise any of them as representatives in the same way in which we recognise chaudhris as representing their trades. We pay Rs. 15 to the *dhai* of the Lock Hospital. Her pay appears in our cantonment accounts which are audited by the Accountant-General. No payments to a mahaldarni could be paid unless she was borne on our establishment scale sanctioned by Government.

Except the policemen within whose ordinary beats the chaklas may fall, there is no guard or watchman of any sort on any chakla. Neither I nor my subordinates supervise or inspect or control the chaklas in any way differently from what we do general cantonment premises.

As far as I know, there is no sort of attempt to confine any set of women to the use of British troops. I say certainly not; though probably natives keep away of their own accord while British soldiers are about. I have often seen native soldiers in what is known as the Gora chakla. I have never even heard of any attempt to prevent them, though I have known this formerly in other cantonments.

The regimental bazars here have been allowed to grow so big that they are really little Sadr Bazars. The Commanding Officer of the 5th Lancers declined to be responsible for his bazar, and I manage it with the rest of the Lal Kurti Bazar.

I have no military police under me, and there is no such force for the cantonments as a whole. Each regiment has its own, under the orders of its Commanding Officer. They may, perhaps, visit chaklas to look for their own men under regimental orders.

Since 1888, I have never had *anything* to do with keeping up the supply of prostitutes for the use of troops. Nor have I ever been applied to for money for the purpose. [The Head Clerk (for 25 years in the office, and for 20 years Head Clerk) says he has never known of money being advanced for this purpese; nor is there any sort of record of such advance.] If money was advanced for such a purpose, it *could* not pass audit unless it was entered under a false heading. I have never known money advanced for anything of the sort either before or after 1888. I can speak from 1882 with personal knowledge.

A good many shopkeepers do follow the regiments from cantonment to cantonment —traders and dealers of sorts, who have been accustomed to supply the regiment. They constitute what is called the "bazar" on the march.

I have no concern whatever with the scale of charges levied by the women. I have had no complaints; but if I did I should take no notice of them.

I have never had any reason to think that the police treat prostitutes worse than they do other classes of society.

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893—LIEUTENANT WATERMAN, QUARTERMASTER OF THE 5TH LANCERS.

The present Cantonment General Hospital is the old Lock Hospital, and is still known as such. A chaukidar on Rs. 5 is borne on the establishment of the hospital. We have no cantonment chaukidars as such.

I have had women reported supposed to be diseased. I call for the women, and tell them they can either go to hospital or leave cantonments. Generally they go to hospital —not always; some leave cantonments. I have often had small-pox reported to me by the police, and have directed the persons affected to go to hospital. Generally they go. The other day a man left cantonments rather than go. There has never been need for a doctor's report. I have never had men reported by the Medical Officer to me for venereal diseases, though I have for small-pox. I have never had a European woman or a respectable woman reported by the Medical Officer. It is practically always a prostitute. The Medical Officer does not state the ground of his supposition. I have had women reported to me by a Medical Officer as being absent from examination since 1888, but not since 1890. I had them up and told them to attend, which they did. I have never had to expel anybody from cantonments under the rules for any disease.

I produce the file of the case in which, by order dated 15th January 1892, one Massamat Allah Rakhi was fined Rs. 5 for having reappeared in cantonments after having been formally expelled on the report of the Medical Officer that she had left hospital while still diseased.

Note.—This, with reference to answers 1192-94.

I cannot say whether any regiment which came here last cold weather to the concentration brought women with them. They were here before me.

Lieutenant Waterman, Quartermaster of the 5th Lancers for 5 years and 3 months; ever since they have been in India. Have been at Meerut 3 years and 7 months, and before that at Mhow, which was our first station.

The regimental bazar is under me as regards discipline. The paid regimental followers live in the grass mandi. The bazar includes all sorts of people. None of them came up with the regiment, because we came up by rail from Mhow. We brought no followers with us, and took over the houses and followers of the regiment whose place we took. No prostitutes at all live in our bazar. There were a few in the bazar when we first came up here. I don't know whether they belonged to the 8th Hussars; but we never took them over, and they were turned out a few months after our arrival, I think, by the Cantonment Magistrate, and since then there have been no women living in our bazar. I don't know where our men go for their women. I suppose to the Sadr Bazar; but I do not know. I do not know where the Provost Sergeant would go to look for our men after hours. That is the Adjutant's business. I have no idea if there is any special set of women to whom our men go as a rule. I have never heard of any place called the Lancers' chakla. I have nothing to do with any arrangements outside our bazar.

No women accompanied us from Mhow: that I can state positively. We had no regimental bazar at Mhow; there was one bazar for the whole cantonment. I know of nothing that is done to keep the men from disease. I was in India from 1870 to 1874, and then we had a regular regimental staff of women, who lived in our bazar, were looked after by the Quartermaster, and were periodically examined. As far as I know, there are absolutely no precautions now taken to keep our men from disease. I hear answers 238 to 242 read. I know of no such place as the Lancers' chakla. The regiment as a whole has never been to the hills, though a detachment, say of 100, goes up every year. No women accompany them so far as I know. I can't say if any go with the men who go by road. I have nothing to do with their carriage; that is arranged for by the officer in command of the detachment going up to the hills. The troops going to Chakrata go by rail to Saharanpur and then march, and their followers go by rail; and the troops going to Landaur march the whole way. But we sent no followers with them. All the followers we send go by rail. I have heard answer 614. I never heard a word of such a thing, and I do not believe it to be true. The only march we made, as a regiment, by road, was to Aligarh in November 1891, and back again in December 1891. It was nine marches each way. I was with the regiment, and was responsible for carriage arrangements, and for looking after the followers and the bazar. I say positively that no women went with us to Aligarh. I *must* have known of it if they had. There were no women near our camp at Aligarh, and they would not have been allowed to stay there. Our Colonel then was Colonel Harvey. He is at home. The Commanding Officer now is Colonel Johnstone Douglas, who was not with the regiment at Aligarh.

I have never heard a complaint by any woman against any man of ours of ill-treatment or non-payment. Natives bring their complaints to me first; and these would have come to me if there had been any. I know of no women connected in any way with the regiment. About 80 of our men marched up from Mhow by road. I do not believe they had any women with them. I should certainly have heard of it. The old Lancers' chakla in our bazar had women in it when we came. But they were shortly after turned out of the bazar. The regiment got here in October 1889.

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893—LIEUTENANT MANSFIELD, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ROYAL WEST KENT REGIMENT—SADR BAZAR CHAKLA.

Lieutenant Mansfield, Quartermaster of the Royal West Kent Regiment for 7½ years. We have been in India since January 1892. Came here by rail all the way. We landed at Karachi on 19th January, and came up in three batches, on three consecutive days. Either the first or last batch arrived on 29th January. We went under canvas. I had come on ahead, and took over the tents and camp equipage from the Border Regiment. We left this on the 8th March, and marched to Chakrata. We came back in December 1892, and stayed under canvas till 20th March 1893, when we took over the Manchester Regiment's barracks. We are still there. While we were in tents there were about 12 or 14 women who lived in tents in a line with our bazar, and about 20 or 30 yards from it, but behind our rear-guard. We had not taken them over from the Border Regiment. I heard nothing about them when I came and stayed for a week, taking over charge. As the bazar grew they came and settled there. The tents were not ours. We had not enough for our own followers. There was no other regiment near; and no doubt our men went to them. We had no sort of disturbance there; nor had we a guard of any sort, except the ordinary bazar Kotwal and his one chaprassi. The women's tents were outside our lines, and they probably would not look after them at all; though if there had been any disturbance, doubtless they would have gone to stop it. But if there had been any disturbance the women would have been turned away at once. The regimental police would patrol the bazar as part of their beat, and may or may not have patrolled the tents also as being close by, though outside the lines. But it was not their business to go there, and they had no orders, special or otherwise, to do so. When the regiment marched for Chakrata on 8th March 1892 the women were still on the ground which it had left; and I had some difficulty in clearing them off (as was my duty), as they could not get carts to move their tents. I do not know whether they followed the regiment; but though I did not go with the regiment myself, I know as a fact that some women *did* follow the regiment to Chakrata. I make the arrangements for carriage. I found no carriage for women; but I found carriage for the bazar. The Kotwal told me he wanted, say, 28 carts for the bazar; he collected the hire and paid it to me, and I indented for the carts and made them over to him. I ask no questions as to who and what goes in them, as we do not pay for them. The bazar consists of all the regimental followers and servants, cooks, pop-makers, barbers, &c. They generally travel at night, but quite at their own pleasure, and we give no guard of any sort with or over them. A guard accompanies the carts with stores and ammunition. I think bazar carts would be allowed to follow them, but certainly not to mix with them. Some women followed the regiment on the return march from Chakrata. I do not know whether they are here now. I lost sight of them at Rurki. I saw a small camp there near the elephant lines, and was told they were women, and ordered them to be sent away at once. This was by the Commanding Officer's orders. I think the Cantonment Magistrate had made some complaint about their presence. I did not see them again.

I never saw or heard of these women going in cabs for inspection every Monday in February 1892; but they could easily have done it without my knowing anything about it. I never heard of any arrangements by which these women were allowed to live close to our camp on condition of being inspected. If such an arrangement had been made, I think I must have known it.

I look after the small piece of the British Infantry bazar which is within my limits and in which our followers live. I can swear that no prostitutes live in that portion of the bazar, or have lived there since we have been in barracks. I have checked every single family. I do not think there is any particular part of the bazar or any particular set of women to whom our men go. If there were I should have heard of it, and I never have.

We have regimental police. Their duties are entirely within regimental lines. If a lot of our men were absent at night they might be sent to look for them; but we hardly ever have any men absent. A picket goes out at night to patrol the bazar. I do not know exactly where they go, but they patrol the neighbourhood in case of disturbances. We take no precaution whatever to provide sound women for the men, or to reduce the danger of disease.

I have never had a complaint by a woman against a man of ours for ill-treatment or non-payment, nor heard of one. Such complaints would come to me.

Our married women went up to Chakrata under an escort in 28 carts.

I am *certain* that there was no bigger tent near the prostitutes' tents (which were all very small shuldaris, with little more than room for a bedstead) in February 1892; and I do not think they would have been allowed in any of the tents in the bazar, some of which were big. But as a fact we were then badly off, for we had not then got our proper followers from the Suffolk Regiment, and were doing the best we could with what we could get. We had not even copies of the Indian Regulations.

The Commission visited **the Sadr Bazar Chakla.** There are two enclosed chaklas here. The first has 8 rooms. The land on which it stands was confiscated after the

MEERUT, 9TH JUNE 1893.—BRITISH INFANTRY (LAL KURTI) BAZAR—CAVALRY CHAKLA—ROYAL ARTILLEY CHAKLA.
MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.

mutiny, and bought by Ilahi Bakhsh, who built the chakla. From him it has passed to its present owners. Kalandar Ali has been in possession as mortgagee for the last 14 years. When he got it, two or three prostitutes and other people lived in it. Some eight years ago, about 1887 or 1888, the regimental chaklas were closed, and some of the women came to live here. After about a year the regimental chaklas were re-opened and the women went back. That was when the Lock Hospital was closed, and the cantonment authorities told the women they might live where they liked. Since then it has occasionally been occupied by prostitutes. It is now under repairs and empty. It is of the ordinary enclosure type.

The second chakla belongs to one Hira. It is close to the first, and has 21 rooms with two large gateways. It was built as a private speculation when the closing of the regimental chaklas created a demand for accommodation. The small chakla (described above) is known as the Lancers' chakla, as the women of the Lancers went to live there when the Cavalry chakla was closed. The women remember the two ladies who came out here. They first visited the small chakla, and then talked to the women in this one. The Lancers' women were then living in the small chakla. They only left it lately when the rooms fell in. They say inspection was stopped only a few weeks ago.

[The Cantonment Magistrate says that a fortnight ago he issued a notice that there would be no more inspections on a fixed day, but that the women might go any day they liked or not at all, and that the doctor would always be there in the morning.]

Prostitutes live all about the quarter in which these two enclosed chaklas are situated. There is only one series of numbers on the houses, which is that of the census and house-tax registers, and includes all houses alike. When the women used to have English tickets, the registered numbers used to be affixed to their houses; but not since the tickets were abandoned.

The Commission then visited the **British Infantry (Lal Kurti) Bazar.** There the women live more scattered than in the Sadr Bazar, but still only in a certain portion, and that outside of regimental limits. There is here no enclosure in which they live.

The Commission then visited the **Cavalry Chakla.** It is a small quarter, not an enclosure. It is in the Cavalry bazar, and was built by the father of the present owner, Gulzar, when the cantonments were first started. It was a chakla as long ago as Gulzar, who is 30 years old, can remember. Some five years ago there was a change of Colonels, and the new Colonel paid the rent, which before that had been paid by the women. He did this for fifteen months. Then the 5th Lancers came and the Colonel would not pay; so the women began to pay again. Then a year after that, some three years ago, they were turned out by the Cantonment Committee, since when there have been no prostitutes in the chakla.

The Commission then visited the **Royal Artillery Chakla.** The owner was not present. It was closed as a chakla more than two years ago; was empty for six months; and since then has been let to various people—not prostitutes. It is an enclosure. Bakhshi, who has been Chaudhri of the bazar for three and a quarter years, says that the women were turned out some two and a half years ago. Till then there was a mahaldarni who took two annas in each rupee on the girls' earnings, but got nothing from Government. The women themselves paid rent.

MEERUT, THE 10TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited the **Cantonment General Hospital.** At present this hospital consists of two branches. A site has been granted, and plans and estimates sanctioned for the main hospital; but it has not yet been built. The branch for infectious diseases consists of a vacant space with huts ready for erection on the occurrence of small-pox or cholera.

The contagious branch is the old Lock Hospital, situated in a large open compound. It is divided into two departments; that for out-patients, where all diseases are treated; and that for in-patients, where women only are received, and the cases are mostly (but not exclusively) venereal. There is accommodation for 27 inmates in one large and one small room.

The dhai is the old Cavalry mahaldarni. She used to get Rs. 10 from the regiment, and two annas in the rupee on the women's earnings; but some three years ago the Cavalry chakla was closed, and she was dismissed. Last July she was taken on here as dhai on Rs. 15 per month. She is often still called "mahaldarni." The chakla was closed when the doctor ordered that examination of the women was to be abolished, and that the women could go and live where they liked. The dhai says that the women wished that examination should continue, as it kept them clean and sound.

We saw here the form attached to applications for permission to reside in cantonments, of which the Cantonment Magistrate spoke yesterday. Its columns are (1) Date of application; (2) Name of applicant; (3) Name of bazar for which permission is to be

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

given ; (4) Matters for which permission is asked ; (5) From what date to what date ; (6) Order and date ; (7) Remarks. In this particular case, of a woman who had just come, (4) was "to live in a certain house and bazar, and to practice prostitution," (5) was empty, (6) was "The house is in the chakla. Permission granted. No order about prostitution."

There were three in-patients. One said she had been a prostitute for 12 years, and had always gone for inspection, both here and in the hills, and that she had come to
1200 Meerut three times with a regiment. Everybody, she said, had to go to inspection. She had come to hospital of her own accord. There was no order for inspection, but she liked it, as it was convenient. She lived in the British Infantry bazar. Another said she came to inspection of her own accord, as it was a good thing.

The women are examined in the office room. There is a chaukidar on the establishment, but with no badge. There are no entries of regiments or bazars against the women's names in the hand-book. The admission book had gone to Simla.

Dr. Cleghorn examined **the hospital books,** and recorded the following note :—

The books and correspondence in the Cantonment Magistrate's office regarding the Lock Hospital and prostitutes were examined with the following results :—

1210 There was a book containing the register of prostitutes, the last entry in which was dated 27th August 1888 ; and following the name of the last prostitute entered was a note stating that, "in accordance with Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 12 (Confidential), Army Head-quarters, Simla, dated 6th August 1888, this register is closed. Tickets of all women present have been taken back, and they were informed that attendance at examination or at lock hospital was voluntary."—(Signed) GEORGE PLOWDEN, Cantonment Magistrate, dated 28th August 1888. Opposite the name of each prostitute in the register is entered "Ticket returned," with date of return.

The Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital reports to the Cantonment Magistrate in a letter, dated 30th August 1888, that, owing to the recent alterations
1220 in the rules for the Lock Hospital, the sixteen patients then under treatment in the hospital were asked if they preferred to remain in hospital for further treatment, and that they all declined to do so. They were then informed that they could leave the hospital and return to the bazar and, if they wished, they could attend hospital voluntarily for treatment.

The Cantonment Committee, at a meeting held on 12th September 1888, passed a resolution to the effect that the Lock Hospital should be at once closed and the establishment dismissed, but that the chaukidar should be retained to look after the place. They recorded at the same meeting that the hospital could be re-opened with a small establishment in the event of any woman presenting herself for treatment. A copy of the above was sent to the Medical Officer, Lock Hospital, for compliance.

1230 On 15th September 1888, the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital reported to the Deputy Surgeon-General, Meerut Division, to the Medical Officer in charge of the Station Hospital, and to the Cantonment Magistrate, that the Lock Hospital had been closed, and that the establishment had been discharged.

From an annual report of the Lock Hospital, Meerut, for the year 1889, written by the Apothecary in charge of the hospital, it appears that the hospital was re-opened on the 25th June 1889, and the report goes on to say that :—"In July 1889, with the sanc-
" tion of the Officers Commanding Corps, the old regimental chaklas were reopened, and
" that a limited number of women were invited to reside in them on the understanding
" that they would attend the Lock Hospital weekly for inspection, and, if found
" diseased, to remain in hospital for treatment. These were the only women who were
1240 " registered ; but I cannot state that this registration was efficient, as very often a woman
" would have her name removed from the register, and simply absent herself without
" excuse. The women who came under this scheme were distributed as follows in the
" three regimental bazars, *viz.* :—Cavalry 10, Infantry 10, Artillery 14."

In another place he states that "for the last month of the year during which the
" hospital was opened, the average monthly number of the women on the register was 29.
" For November there was a falling off in the number on the register owing to the closing
" of the Infantry chakla on the departure of the 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers for
" Burma." It is distinctly stated in the register that no fees were levied from the women
1250 for registration or other reason, and that no women were reported for non-attendance at examination, although such attendance was not regular.

Thirty-seven cases of venereal disease were treated in the hospital for the six months under report, the majority of the cases being of a virulent type. Three of the patients came to hospital of their own accord ; *i.e.*, they were not included in those examined ; but they left the hospital in the course of treatment before they were cured.

There were no admissions for menstruation. The writer reports that "weekly
" examination did not materially modify disease, as there were no restrictions placed on the

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

"soldiers, and, from what I can learn, they did not visit these regimental chaklas. The "bazars in this cantonment, particularly the infantry and sadr, contain a large number of "prostitutes; the three women who presented themselves voluntarily came from the latter; "and when they left hospital to renew their practices they were in a bad state."

The above shows in a practical way the feeling of the prostitutes as regards treatment in hospital; and the following extract from a letter from the General Officer Commanding Meerut Division to the Quarter Master General, Army Head-Quarters, dated 1st June 1889, shows in an equally practical manner what they think of the examination:—"As a "matter of fact, from the date on which the Lock Hospitals were closed till now, not a "single woman has presented herself for examination or treatment."

During 1892 numerous memos. were sent from the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital to the Cantonment Magistrate reporting women supposed to be diseased, and requesting that they be sent to hospital for examination and treatment. They are endorsed by the Cantonment Magistrate to the effect that the women be sent by the police to the hospital; and, if they refuse to go, they are to be told that they must leave cantonments within 24 hours.

No reports appear to have been made by the Medical Officer that certain women did not appear for examination. One woman was reported to have left hospital uncurred, and the Cantonment Magistrate is requested that, as she is still suffering from disease, she should be removed from cantonments. The orders passed on the case were that the police were to remove her at once if she had not already left, and that if she returns again without permission she is to be arrested. It was found on enquiry that she was living under the protection of a butcher in Lal Kua, and no further action was taken.

Surgeon-Major O'Connor in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital since March 1892, except September and October 1892. Dr. Mills was in charge in February 1892; he is in England. Attended by **Ishtiaq Husen, Hospital Assistant,** who has been attached since June 1892, and by **Azim-ul-din, Hospital Assistant,** who was in charge in February 1892.

The building is the old Lock Hospital. I do not know what it is commonly called. It has two departments for in and out-patients. The out-patient department is for all classes of cases and patients. More men come than women. The in-patient department is for women only: we have no place for men. As a matter of fact, no women but prostitutes come as in-patients, though we have a ward we could put them in separately. We once had two children there. The women in-patients are always venereal cases. We had one woman for three months last year, who was not a prostitute, and was in with rheumatism (not syphilitic). Other civil patients from cantonments would go to the City Civil Dispensary. I refer to my books. Last year we had a child and a woman with fever, two cases of remittent fever, two of rheumatism, two of spleen, as in-door patients. These women were probably respectable. The other cases were venereal, and were probably all prostitutes, except one respectable married woman from the city. We had a European woman in for venereal disease, a prostitute; and another Eurasian under similar circumstances. We admit cases of secondary syphilis of all sorts.

I have never heard here of any attempt to keep specific women for British troops, or to distinguish between women for them and women for natives.

The hospital is kept up entirely from the Cantonment Funds. We allow subsistence allowance. We give two annas per diem, of which one anna is given to the cook-shop close by, which supplies them with ordinary food, and the other anna to the woman to supplement her diet. She often gets her food from her own house. Some of them come in with Rs. 50 worth of jewels on them. But they take the two annas all the same. If a child comes with the woman, she gets one anna extra as an allowance for its food.

I can report and examine women I suppose to be diseased. If I find a lot of men in hospital with disease, I suspect there must be diseased women. It is no use asking the men which woman diseased them. Sometimes they do not know, and, if they do, they will not tell. So we do not ask the men. As a fact, I see all the women every week, and have no need to ask the men. I have made formal reports of women supposed to be diseased under the rules. Sometimes the other women will tell me that such and such a woman is diseased. Again, if a woman does not come up for one or two examinations, I suppose her to be diseased, and report accordingly; and very often I find that she is. I generally either tell the other women to warn her or send the chaukidar of the hospital to tell her to come. It is not often that they absent themselves in the first instance, and very seldom when they are sent for. If they do, I report them. I don't remember ever to have reported them in the first instance without warning. As a fact, I never have any trouble whatever with the women. They come when I send for them. I may sometimes come to know that respectable women are suffering from venereal disease. And, under the rules, I have legal power to compel such women to come and be examined. But I take the object of the rules to be to prevent the *spread* of disease, and work them with that object only; *e.g.*, last year

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

I was told that a certain woman was practising as a prostitute and was diseased. I reported her to the Cantonment Magistrate, who sent her to me. Her husband came with her; I was convinced that she was leading a decent life, and I let her go without examination.

In small-pox cases, when reported to me, I send the Hospital Assistant to see that the person affected is removed to our infectious huts. If he will not go, I report him to the Cantonment Magistrate, who gives him the option of going to hospital or of leaving cantonments. In cholera cases we have the huts ready for them, but allow them to stay in their houses if they prefer to, as that is the order in the Bengal Army Regulations. I should treat typhus and scarlet fever the same as small-pox; but I do not look upon cholera as either infectious or contagious. There is no other contagious and non-infectious disease except venereal, which is dangerous to the public health. When we do interfere in infectious diseases, we treat men and women identically.

Men, if suffering from venereal disease, and belonging to regiments, go to the military hospitals. As for other men, I take no means to prevent the spread of venereal disease through their agency; and I do not know how I should set about it if I wished to, for I have no means of knowing which men are diseased; nor have I any accommodation for them. Last year I had among my male out-patients 11 venereal cases; but I have no male ward. In some cases when prostitutes have the disease in a very mild form I treat them as out-patients, and do not force them to come into hospital.

I have once had to report a woman to the Cantonment Magistrate for leaving hospital before cure. I think once only. A woman is perfectly free to leave, so far as restraint goes. I sometimes tell a woman she had better stay a day or two longer, but no restraint of any sort is exercised. There is absolutely no restraint. As a matter of fact, they go out to their houses two or three times a week for a couple of hours to look after their house and property. I do not let them all go at once; but there is not a day that some of them do not go. They ask leave each morning and I give it. They understand that they are not to leave hospital till cured. As a matter of fact, the same thing is done in all other hospitals as regards asking leave. No certificate is given when a woman is cured.

When I first came to the hospital, I had to discharge the matrons and chaukidars for getting bribes on the pretence that they could get the women discharged as cured. I have had no complaints since. I have known money offered to the Hospital Assistant with the same object. He reported it to me himself. I visit the hospital always three, and sometimes four times a week, and it is impossible that a woman should be kept in after cure. It is our object to get her off Cantonment Funds as soon as we can.

I *never* admit or retain a woman in hospital for menses. As a fact, when they come for examination, and one says she has menses, I let her go home unexamined. I do not even make the dhai see if it is true, unless I find from my register that she has given the same excuse two or three weeks running. While a patient has the menses, I do not examine her. Thus if she was not cured before they began, I should not examine her, and therefore not discharge her as cured, till they were over.

Till three weeks ago, all the prostitutes of cantonment, about sixty in number, came to me for examination every week. Generally on Monday, sometimes Tuesday. If it was to be put off till Tuesday, I sent and let them know. Each week I fix my hour for examination the day before, and the chaukidar goes and tells the women what hour it will be. There is no other possible messenger except the sweeper or bhisti. The examination is at the hospital in the morning. I know of no distinction between women for British troops and others. I do not know why the women have not come for three weeks. Probably some order was issued, but I have been away for the last twelve days or so. The British Infantry women came last week. I mean by them, the women living in the British Infantry bazar. There are always more women coming for examination in the cold weather than in the hot, but I do not know if they come in with the regiments coming for concentration. The women do not come to me as belonging to any regiment. I know nothing about that. They used to be arranged in the examination sheets under the various regiments, but not for a year past. They were so entered by the Hospital Assistant. All it meant was, that the women lived in a certain bazar; so that a woman living in the Lal Kurti Bazar would be shown under "British Infantry," as a sort of address. The women used to assemble outside the compound; but now they are brought in and not allowed to collect outside.

The examination is made by the dhai, who does not ordinarily use the speculum. The Hospital Assistant stands outside the room with the reed mat down, and I do not even allow the women to pass the door while a woman is under examination. They are only admitted singly. I sit by, so that I can see what is being done, but do not myself examine the women unless either I or the dhai perceive signs of disease. They never display the slightest hesitation. They walk in, pull up their own clothes, lie down, and expose themselves as a matter of course.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR O'CONNOR, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—ISHTIAQ HUSEN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—AZIM-UL-DIN, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

The record of this examination is kept on separate sheets of paper. They have gone to Simla. The result is not communicated to anybody. I give no certificate. I make no entries in any other books. The sole record is these sheets, which are for my own information only. If the woman is diseased, I enter the proper treatment at once. She gets two or three hours' leave to go to her house for clothes and so forth, and then comes back to hospital. They always do come back. I never heard of a woman not coming back.

The only list I have is the list of women who present themselves for examination. If I heard of a prostitute who did not come, I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate. As a fact, the other women tell of her at once, and also say that she is diseased; and I report her as supposed to be diseased. I expect every prostitute to come for examination, but I have no list of them of any sort, except the list of the women who do come. New women turn up almost every week, without my having sent for them, or ever having heard of their existence before. As a fact, if a woman absents herself persistently, I almost always find that she is diseased.

As for a woman being expelled from cantonment if she did not come to be examined; if she did not come for two or three times, I thould send and tell her to come. If she still did not come, and I found she had not got a good excuse, as fever, marriage, &c., I should report her to the Cantonment Magistrate as supposed to be diseased, and he would give her the choice of going to hospital or of leaving cantonment. I do not think we have ever examined more than 70 or 75 women. [The Hospital Assistant says as high as 85 or 90]. I never remember to have seen one younger than about 17. I remember a girl called Mariam in hospital. [The Hospital Assistant says that she was an in-patient when Mr. Bell came in December, and was about 14 years old.] I remember the girl perfectly as the youngest looking girl we ever had there, but I am certain she was not under 17 years old. This system of examination has been going on since August 1890 till three weeks ago; that is to say, since the opening of the Infectious and Contagious Hospital under the rules of 1890. I do not know what preceded it. The women came as usual the Monday before I left, which was on Saturday, the 27th May. I believe that *none* came on the next Monday. The Monday after that, twenty or thirty came. Next Monday I doubt whether they will come. [It was subsequently ascertained that not a single one came.]

Nobody brings the women up for examination. I have never heard of a mahaldarni before to-day. It is absolutely untrue that the police bring them. The chaukidar, who wears no badge, tells the first woman he comes across each week what day and hour the examination will be, and the news goes round. It is not true that a woman leaving hospital of her own accord would be brought back by the police. No such thing has ever been attempted. I have never had a case of a woman leaving the hospital uncured, except three or four, who immediately left cantonments and went to the city. One of the women left uncured the other day. She said she was going to live in the city, but wanted two days to pack up, as she was well off, and had a lot of property. I said she might stay in her house in cantonments for two days, and she left hospital. I never inquired whether she did leave cantonments; but, if she had not, the other women would certainly have told me, or some of the hospital establishment.

I see a great number of these women. Comparing them with native women of the lower classes, I consider them well-to-do, and some exceedingly wealthy. Some six at the very outside I should call poor. We can supply them with clothes in hospital, if necessary, from the hospital fund; but I do not remember ever to have found it necessary. They all smoke in hospital. They always bring their own bedding, and often their own bedsteads, though we have both belonging to the hospital.

I have never known a woman come to me to be examined, on the ground that she wanted to settle as a prostitute, and could not do so without examination; nor have any women ever been so sent to me. In no case whatever have I ever given a certificate, or made any report whatever of the result of my examination of any woman. I have never been asked to examiue a woman with a view to her being allowed to leave cantonments. In *one* case I did examine a woman, and certify that she was sound. She had been turned out of cantonments before my time and wanted to return, and had to be examined under the rules of 1890. She said she had been turned out for disease. She came herself and asked me to examine her, and I gave her a certificate of health.

I never heard of myself or any other medical officer having any concern whatever with the proportion of prostitutes to the number of British troops, or with making up that proportion.

The cases I report to the Cantonment Magistrate or send for the woman in are cases of venereal disease. If other contagious diseases were reported to me I should act similarly; but, as a fact, they are not reported. My view of the whole matter is that I am treating venereal diseases in exactly the same manner as I do treat and should treat any other contagious disease. If I found small-pox prevalent in a family, I should examine

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893.—MAQBUL JAN, CHAUDHRI OF LAL KURTI BAZAR—BAKHSHI, CHAUDHRI OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY BAZAR—PANDIT SHEOMESHWAR, CHAUDHRI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAR—HIRA'S CHAKLA IN SADR BAZAR—THE WOMEN OF THE CHAKLAS.

the family regularly, and treat it as I do the community of prostitutes, and either get them turned out of cantonment as dangerous to public health, or send those affected to hospital. I know from hospital returns that venereal disease is rife in cantonments, I believe that most of it comes from the prostitutes, and I take precautions accordingly.

By Dr. Cleghorn.—I manage the hospital under the immediate control of the Cantonment Magistrate, as representing the Cantonment Committee. I have never received any orders from him to stop examinations of prostitutes. I simply carried on the duties as they were carried on by my predecessor. I receive circular orders from the Quarter-
1460 master-General in India through the Principal Medical Officer. I received such a circular last year, dated July 1892, which reached me in August. One paragraph of that circular stated that no special examination of venereal cases was to be made, other than would be made in the case of other contagious diseases. One receipt of this order I asked the Cantonment Magistrate whether this meant that I was to stop my weekly inspections; and I was told to continue them as before. I have never received any instructions since to the contrary, till some three weeks ago, when Colonel Reid (Commanding the Station) said he thought they had better be stopped. I do not think the examinations gave the women ground for thinking that they (the women) were in any way recognized by Government. In fact it was often explained to them that they did not. The sole
1470 object was to prevent the spread of disease; and this was fully understood by them.

By Moulvi Samiullah.—*Q.*—Do you know that the Governor General has ever given an order to stop examinations of prostitutes?

A.—I know of no such order. There is an order that no special examination was to be permitted other than what took place in the case of every other contagious disease.

Maqbul Jan—Chaudhri of Lal Kurti Bazar, for only eleven months, of which nine have been spent away from Meerut. I have no authority in *any* part of the bazar, not even in that part which is within regimental limits. Our regiment has declined to accept responsibility for any part of the bazar. The women all live outside regimental limits; none have lived within them since I have been there. There is a chakla in the
1480 other portion, *i.e.*, a quarter in which the women live. But I know of no enclosure whichever was a British Infantry chakla.

Bakhshi, Chaudhri of the Royal Artillery Bazar for a little over three years. The regimental chakla has been closed a little over two years, since I have been here. I got the order and closed it. The women, fourteen of them, left, and went to the Sadr and Lal Kurti bazars. Since then no prostitutes have lived in our bazar. The women of the chakla had a mahaldarni, called Gujrátan. She is now in the Lal Kurti Bazar, and has two women whom she prostitutes. She takes the whole of their earnings; and gives them board, lodging, and clothes. Most of the women in the bazar are kept this way by procuresses, who take their earnings, and support them. She used to get two
1490 annas in each rupee when she was the Artillery mahaldarni; but she got nothing from the Battery. She used to look after the women generally, take them to examination, and come back and report if any of them had been detained in hospital. The batteries don't move to the hills; only a few invalids go. When I came to these parts, the chakla was open, and the women living there. The rent was then paid by the women to the owner of the chakla, Re. 1 per each house.

Pandit Sheomeshwar, Chaudhri of the Cavalry Bazar since 1884. At that time the chakla was open under the old rules. It was first closed about three or four years after the 8th Hussars came in 1884. It may have been closed some eight or nine months. Again it was opened, and remained open for two years or so. The 5th Lancers came in October 1889. It was again closed some three or four months after that. That
1500 will have been the beginning of 1890. Since then it has never been occupied by any prostitutes. They, however, lived in the bazar outside the chakla. There were eight or nine women in 1890, who went and lived in the Sadr chakla, but I do not know in which part. When the 8th Hussars came first, Janki was the mahaldarni. When the chakla was again opened, the same Janki was appointed. She used to get Rs. 2, and each woman Re. 1 on condition of keeping soap and towels for the last year of the 8th Hussars' stay. Before that she got nothing. When the 5th Lancers came the Colonel would have nothing to do with them and paid nothing. When it was again opened nothing was paid. No rent has been paid by the Cavalry for the chakla since I have been here. It is private property. The mahaldarini used to take two annas in the rupee from the women. She used to take
1510 care of the women, and take them to the weekly examination, and take any of them who got diseased to hospital at once. Janki petitioned for the place, and the Quartermaster gave it her. This was in 1884.

The Commission visited **Hira's Chakla in the Sadr Bazar,** where **71** women from all parts had been collected.

MEERUT, 10TH JUNE 1893—HIRA'S CHAKLA IN SADR BAZAR—THE WOMEN OF THE CHAKLAS.

The four Cavalry women have been living in the Sadr for the last two or three years, since their chakla was closed. It had been closed for a year before, when the tickets were taken back. Then Colonel Plowden settled us in Kallandar Ali's chakla. Then the Colonel of the Cavalry sent for us to his chakla again. When again turned out, we returned to Kallandar Ali's chakla, which we left last rains, because it is falling in.

Ten Artillery women now live in the British Infantry bazar. When the tickets were taken back, the Artillery chakla was closed, and remained so for a year. Then the Artillery Adjutant sent for us back. Then Colonel West brought a battery and turned me out and took on Gujratan. (Mina, old Mahaldarni, is speaking.) I took away my women, and Gujratan brought hers. They are now all gone from Meerut but one. The chakla was open for nine months, and it was closed three years ago.

Eighteen British Infantry women. There never was any enclosure for us to live in the bazar, and sometimes we would come and live here (in Hira's chakla). There has been no regular mahaldarni for British Infantry for the last twelve or thirteen years. There is no distinction now between the women of the different regiments. For twenty or twenty-two years they can say there has never been any mahaldarni in the Sadr.

Thirty-nine women of the Sadr Bazar. When the tickets were taken back, inspection was stopped for three years. Two years ago the inspection was renewed by order. Two weeks (now nearly three) ago we were asked whether we came of our own will, and we said "no;" so we were told we need not come any longer. The Lal Kurti women went, because the Hospital Assistant told them they had better go that week until Dr. O'Connor came back; and if he would let us leave it off, well and good.

The examinations generally took place on Monday, or, if the doctor was busy, on Tuesday early. The chaukidar of the hospital used to come and tell us what day. If a woman did not turn up, the Hospital Assistant used to come to see whether she had fever, and tell her to go. If she then did not go, the police used to take her to hospital. At least, they did not take her, but they told her she would be punished if she did not go. One woman was had up, called Munni, one or two months ago. She did not go to inspections twice, and was sent to prison in consequence. She also used to get a carriage, and go all about the cantonment practising prostitution at night. We cannot say what she was punished for, or whether she was first ordered out of cantonments; but she got eight days. This is the only instance we know of. [Subsequent inquiry showed that this woman, Munni, was fined Rs. 8, or eight days' simple imprisonment in default, by Order No. 136 of the Register of Summary Cases, dated 27th February 1893, for indecent exposure of her person in the public street. She was seen by a Major having connection with a soldier close to the Mall.]

We get no tickets. If one of us is ill, she stays at hospital, and is entered as an in-patient. If one of us gets menses, she is not examined, but is told to come back as soon as they are over, and then be examined. We are not sent to, or kept in, hospital because of menses. But if the doctor thinks us diseased, we are kept. If we want to leave hospital before cure, we are allowed to go, but are told that in that case we must leave cantonments.

If new women come, the doctor knows, because we tell of them; and the Hospital Assistant makes enquires also. We always tell of the new ones; if we did not, and they found out, they would say "why did not you report her?" But as a fact the women generally come of themselves.

There have been no more numbers since the tickets were taken back. We pay rent the rate of Re. 1 to Rs. 3, according to the house. If we want to change our residence, we petition the Cantonment Magistrate; but there is no difficulty about it whatever.

We are paid on the same scale as elsewhere. This has been beyond the memory of man; ever since the British Rule has existed. Some of the men pay us more. If men will not pay, we sometimes send in a complaint to the Magistrate, sometimes to the Colonel; but more often we send no complaint. [There was only one woman present who said she had been so treated within a year; her case occurred within the last 18 days; but she made no complaint. They say the Magistrate will not listen now that the tickets are gone.] We used to pay the maharldani one-eighth. Now we pay nothing, since the chaklas have been broken up. Natives go to the city for prostitutes. They will not come to us because of the inspection. Also because they are afraid of the soldiers, who quarrel with them; and of the regimental guards who come round every night to look for their men, and abuse any natives they find with us. When the inspection was stopped, natives used to come to us. In the Sadr Bazar we are free to entertain natives or English. It is only in the Regimental bazars that the English object. Natives still come to us freely in the Sadr notwithstanding the inspection. They also come to the Lal Kurti women. We all receive both now that we are out of the Regimental chaklas.

The soldiers do occasionally beat us when drunk; but when sober they are very good to us. One woman here was struck and hurt not long ago. The Lancer women say that the Lancers' men are no worse than the rest, and do not wish to have them in

common. They never told the ladies so. If the ladies say so, it is untrue. [Upon which the others raise a chorus of indignation, and say every one had four annas from the ladies, who were kind to them, and told them it was disgraceful to them to be inspected.] There were no complaints against the police; but a strong feeling against the hospital staff. They say, "We dare not say how much money they take from us. They would put "medicine into us to give us ulcers. One of the women gave the Hospital Assistant Re. 1, "and he handed her up to the doctor; and on the strength of that he has collected "hundreds of rupees, because he knows now that we will not be believed. [Many "women are pointed out who have paid.] We all have leucorrhœa from the age of "12 years, and he calls it gonorrhœa. Till we give him a fee we cannot be discharged "as cured. He does not let us get cured. He applies bad medicine to us. That is our "ONE trouble."

Among the women there was one of 15 years, but no others particularly young. All fairly well off and contented. Some downright valuable jewels on them. Asked them their caste, but all began to say "Shekh," and laugh! So the attempt failed. None of us owe any mahaldarni anything, but most of us owe the banya something; some owe more, some owe less.

Only one woman here came to Meerut with troops. All the others who did so are in the hills. This one came four years ago in carts found by the Quartermaster and Kotwal, for which she paid; and they brought their own tents.

Mina, Artillery mahaldárni for ten years, has not got any pay, but takes one-eighth from the women. She was turned out by Colonel West in favour of Gujrátan (*see* above). She has certificates; but only one later than 1884, dated Gurgáon, 22nd January 1891, from an Assistant Apothecary—"Painstaking, and careful in carrying out the inspection "of prostitutes." She says, "I looked after the women, took them to hospital, and kept "them clean. I took no entrance fees from a new woman. There was no difference in "the duties after the tickets were taken back. I never got any advance to get new "women. I could always get as many as I wanted, as they liked me."

We do not like going to inspection, because the hospital staff trouble us. Otherwise we have no objection at all. But we do not like having things put into us. [This from all the women, and apparently genuine. The doctor afterwards explained that they constantly ask not to be examined with the speculum, as they believe that it injures them. He, as a rule, dispenses with its use in consequence.]

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited **the Cantonment General Hospital**.—It consists of three departments, the General Hospital, the infectious branch, and the contagious branch. The first is a large building with a separate building for women. The second is situated some two miles from the main hospital, and was not inspected; but it has a small branch which will he mentioned presently.

The contagious branch is situated some 200 yards from the main branch, in the corner of a large garden. It is an enclosure in the ordinary form, with a wall and gate; and contains a large open barrack, with room for 24 beds, and with quarters for the Hospital Assistant and servants' out-houses. The windows of the barrack open upon the public road, and have old wooden bars on them. On the gate is a signboard with the inscription "Cantonment General Hospital, Female Ward," and in vernacular "The General Women's Cantonment Hospital." Outside the enclosure, but within the garden, is an isolated building of one room which is used for inspections. There is a chaukidar on the hospital, who had in his house a badge, marked "Cantonment Hospital, Lucknow." There was a chaprassi on the main branch with the same badge.

There were four in-patients with venereal disease. One of them is kept by a woman who takes all her earnings and gives her food and clothes. She lives in the Sadr chakla.

The dhai has been attached to the hospital for ten years. Before that she was the British Infantry mahaldarni. It is to be noted that the Cantonment Magistrate called her dhai and mahaldarni indiscriminately, and says that in old days the mahaldarnis used to be entered on the establishment rolls as dhais.

Outside the garden wall, but opening into it is a small enclosure with a ward in its midst, which forms a branch of the infectious department. There was a cholera patient (male) in it when the Commission visited it. It is surrounded by a 7-foot wall, with a strong barred gate to the doorway. It used to be the only infectious ward, and is still maintained, though a separate infectious hospital has been built, in order to receive patients from this part of cantonments. The chaukidar is attached to this, as much as to the

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893—THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL.—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS.

LUCKNOW, 13TH JUNE 1893.—THE SADR CHAKLA.

venereal branch. **The Books** are kept at the main hospital, and have been examined by **Dr. Cleghorn,** who records the following note :—

The Cantonment General Hospital consists of three divisions, *viz.* :— 1640

(*a*) General Hospital for followers of the civil population, with a separate building, surrounded by a wall, for female patients;

(*b*) a detached building, surrounded by a wall, situated about 200 yards from the main block, for the treatment of females suffering from venereal diseases (this was the old Lock Hospital);

(*c*) a separate building for the treatment of cholera and small-pox cases. It is situated in the compound of the building for venereal cases, but separated from it by a high wall.

At the time of our visit there were 29 male in-patients in the main block, three in the ward for females, four in the venereal one, and one in the cholera and small-pox ward. 1650

During 1891, 170 in-patients were treated, and 923 out-patients, or a total of 1,097 ; of venereal cases, 107 were treated ; but it is impossible to discover from the returns how many were males, and how many females, as there is no distinction of the sexes. Of surgical operations, 23 were performed.

During the year 1892, 743 in-patients were treated in all the divisions, and 6,749 out-patients. Total treated, 7,492. It is impossible to tell, from a mere inspection of the books, how many of these patients were distributed in the different divisions ; but perhaps the information will subsequently be obtained from the Medical Officer. Among the total out-patients treated, 196 were for primary syphilis ; 100 for secondary syphilis ; and 260 for gonorrhœa ; or a total of 556 venereal cases. There were performed 295 surgical operations, so that the working of the hospital has been a success. 1660

In the report for 1892, which accompanied the returns from which the above figures are taken, Surgeon-Major Hamilton, the Medical Officer in charge, states :—That the "lock ward has also been fairly successful in its working. The Medical Officer attends "on one afternoon of the week, and inspects any prostitutes who care to come. A very "fair number have availed themselves of this opportunity, and most of them found suffering from disease have been only too willing to come into hospital. A small number "have declined treatment in hospital, and a certain number have insisted on leaving "hospital before a cure was completed."

The admission and discharge book of in-patients commenced from 1st January 1891. 1670 The admissions for that year were, as stated above, 170 ; of whom 28 were treated for ordinary diseases. Among the others were 86 cases of leucorrhœa. There were no admissions for menstruation, either in 1891 or 1892. In the latter year there were only eight admissions for leucorrhœa. The cause of the extraordinary difference in the admission for this complaint in the two years will require explanation from the Medical Officer.

The correspondence submitted commences with Letter No. 1, dated 28th February 1891. The only reference to prostitutes are three memos. regarding a woman who was in hospital under treatment for syphilis, but who also suffered from leprosy. The Medical Officer recommends to the Cantonment Magistrate that she should be detained in hospital for such time as might be deemed necessary. Two letters, dated 8th December 1891 and 1680 14th December 1891, respectively, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, requested that the Kandahari bazar should be placed out of bounds, as the soldiers contract venereal disease by cohabiting with the prostitutes who reside there, but are not examined. In one of the memos. he states that the *registered* women are so carefully examined that no disease can be contracted from them. In the correspondence for 1892, there is no letter regarding prostitutes.

In the establishment bills for 1891 there is a dhai on Rs. 10 per mensem, who is shown as on duty in the Sadr bazar chakla. After 1891 there are only bills for Medical Officer's pay. On 15th December 1891 the Medical Officer recommends, in a memo. to the Cantonment Magistrate, that the dhai above referred to should be dismissed, and a compounder entertained in her place. 1690

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893.

The Commission visited **Sadr chakla**. It is a large brick enclosure, containing 55 rooms. It consists of two court-yards. The outer one has three entrances ; one, the original one, at one end, too wide for a door ; the second in the middle, without a door, made before 1888 ; and the third at the other end, also without a door, made because some of the women complained that those nearest the entrance of the court-yard got most of the custom. A passage leads into a second court-yard, built on askew with the first one, with a small back door. The very high wall on the side of the railway, alluded to in the evi-

LUCKNOW, 12TH JUNE 1893.—DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON HOSPITAL BOOKS—THIRTY-THREE WOMEN.

dence, consists of the back of the quarters, except for some 9 feet, where it is continued at the same height to join them on to other quarters. The first court-yard is bounded towards the railway by a wall only some 3½ feet high, and much too low for decency, as here the line is raised. The quarters abutting on the high wall have small grated windows high up in the wall. The quarters were built by the present owner two or three years ago, and the windows were inserted by order of the Cantonment Magistrate for the sake of ventilation. The rooms are numbered very badly in very poor paint, from 1 to 57, in perpetuation of old numbers, dating from before the sale in 1888. The rooms in the first court-yard are numbered in odd numbers, 1 to 37, on one side, and in even numbers, 2 to 36, on the other. On the side, where the plan in the evidence shows 33 rooms (Answer 201), there are only 19 rooms; but there are 40 arches in the verandah. The side towards the street is also a high wall, with no openings in it but the three entrances already alluded to.

This chakla was built in 1877, and sold by Government to the present owner by deed of sale (produced), dated 10th December 1888. The women pay Rs. 2 in the first yard, and Re. 1–8 in the second, as rent, per month. A Munshi in the employ of the owner (a Hindu, called Salig Ram) collects the rent. He keeps no chaukidar on the premises. There are now 41 women living there.

There is a small open bazar close by, which was used as the Sadr chakla before the present one was built in 1877. The present one was built by the Cantonment authorities of material obtained from an old palace.

There is close by a row of five houses open to the street, which has been occupied by the old Cavalry mahaldarni ever since the Regimental chakla was closed, when she brought her women here. It is known, in consequence, as the Lancers' chakla. She is called Miro, and has four women living there, of whose earnings she takes a quarter or one-eighth, as they care to pay her (so she says). The women do not consort with Cavalry soldiers more than with any other.

There are several sets of rooms in the immediate neighbourhood occupied by women—one by Ram Kalli, the old Artillery mahaldarni; or rather by her two women, of whose earnings she takes a quarter. She and another old mahaldarni live in the bazar hard by.

A third mahaldarni lives close by, and takes one-eighth of her women's earnings. When asked why she does not take a quarter, she grows indignant, and says, "We are not all alike; I am an old servant, and only take one-eighth." Her name is Amiran, and she is the old Sadr mahaldarni.

There are a few scattered houses close by. None of all these, except the main chakla, have the rooms numbered.

The women say they do not receive natives, because the old custom is strong, and they think the authorities would not like it; and because white men are less often diseased than natives.

Thirty-three women present at the Sadr chakla: collected from the neighbourhood.

There is no division by regiments among them. Some of the Cavalry Regimental women still live with the old mahaldarni of the Cavalry, Miro, outside the chakla. When the chaklas were broken up, the Cavalry women came, as already mentioned, to what is now known as the Lancer chakla; the Artillery women went similarly to the opposite house, with their mahaldarni, Ram Kalli; and some of the Infantry women went away; while others came to this chakla. None of the women have ever returned to the Regimental bazars.

The women say (notwithstanding all cross-examination and questions, and the Cantonment Magistrate begging them to speak the truth and hide nothing, and Mr. Ibbetson explaining that the Cantonment Magistrate asserts that there have been periodical examinations) that there has been *no* examination whatever of women since the tickets were taken back, except when the women felt ill and presented themselves at the hospital for advice. There is no day fixed. We go when we want to go.

We remember the two ladies coming some 15 months ago, and talking with us in the chakla. We *never* told them that we had to go, or did go, to examination. A woman called Mahamdi, who had just come into the chakla, but who did not stay, and went to Sitapur at once, told us that she had told the ladies that we all had to go to examination. She did not tell them before us, or we should have contradicted her. She knew nothing about it, as she had never lived in our bazar. We have to go if reported by British soldiers as having diseased them. [The women carefully use and emphasize the word *khairati* (or charitable) in speaking of the hospital.] The soldiers come with a Regimental policeman, and identify the women, and take her to hospital. We now neither have nor receive tickets of any sort, or certificates of soundness. New women coming here report themselves to the Kotwal, but do not go to the Doctor; nor do they give any application of any sort. There have been very few new women for several years. [One who was present, and came here this year, says as above.] When we go to hospital we are free to leave at pleasure: in fact, many have left before cure; but in that case they have been turned out of cantonments.

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—THIRTY-THREE WOMEN AT THE SADAR CHAKLA —MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

We are never sent or go to hospital for menses only; but if we get them when we are in hospital, we stay there till they are over. While they are on we are not examined in hospital, even by the dhai.

We have no numbers or tickets of any sort, not since the tickets were taken back and examinations given up. The houses in this chakla are numbered; they were numbered in old days, when the place belonged to Government; but we are not numbered.

There is no chaukidar or police on the chakla. It is in the beat of a bazar chaukidar. If the soldiers should ill-treat us we send to the Military Police barrack, which is close by. We are free to leave the chakla and the cantonments as we like. We go without permission, as we come without it. The scale of charges is [as mentioned before]. If the soldiers do not pay we cannot do much; but the Military Police sometimes make them pay. The men sometimes pay, and then take the money away again. The men do sometimes beat us when drunk, but very seldom. The guard takes them away.

We do not receive natives. If they come to us we turn them out. The guards and soldiers also turn them out when they see them. The only natives admitted here are our cooks and servants. There is no mahaldarni of this chakla since the chaklas were closed. She used to be Amiran, and she now lives in the bazar. The natives look upon us as disgraced, and having lost caste by consorting with British soldiers; so that we could not go and practise with them—not, at least, if it was known. They call us mahtaranis (female sweeper). We are all in debt more or less to the banya, but not to anyone else. We have no complaints against the police or the hospital staff.

[No one of them admits being a hereditary prostitute. The youngest girl present is 14 or 15 years old; her mother was a prostitute before her. No other young one among the women. These women are the most well-to-do lot we have seen yet. All seem to be well off, and some *very* well to do. There is no woman here who has come to Lucknow with any regiment. Most of them are old residents; some of them from long before 1888.]

We have never known any women transferred from one mahaldarni to another for debt. [Miro, the mahaldarni of the Lancers' chakla, says that if a girl who is in debt wants to change her mahaldarni, and can get the new one to advance the debt, it is sometimes done. She positively denies paying Rs. 7 and taking a girl from another mahaldarni before the ladies. She says, "One of my girls, Bhagwan Devi, who owed me Rs. 12, "asked me to transfer her, but I let her go without paying. It was about that that we "were discussing when the ladies were here. I never paid any money or received any "girl in their presence; nor did I ever tell them anything of the sort. The ladies never "came to my chakla, nor did I ever talk to them. I may have given them tea, but, if so, "I do not remember it. I remember their coming."]

Major Campbell, Cantonment Magistrate, since 1886, in Lucknow, except for 21 months, from June 1889 to March 1891. As executive officer of the Officer Commanding, and of the Cantonment Committee, I have large powers. No building can be erected or altered without sanction of the Cantonment authorities. I regulate the residence of all residents in the Sadr bazar. I exercise the power of expelling persons from cantonments, without cause given; but, as a fact, the cause would always be alleged. No rules have been framed under clause 20, section 26, of the Cantonment Act. I regulate residence under Military Regulations, paragraphs 2049–56, Army Regulations, India, Volume II., Part II. Nor have rules been framed under clause 23. We expel people under a customary power, which has always been exercised, on the ground that, if not wanted there by the military authorities, they are trespassers there. I consider the old regulations in force under the Act till suspended by new ones. But I cannot quote old rules conferring these powers. Since no one can reside inside cantonments without permission, he clearly can be moved or expelled from them. At any rate, I receive orders to that effect, and carry them out.

I maintain vernacular registers of all house property in the Sadr bazar. Registers are also maintained for regimental bazars, and are in the hands of the bazar Kotwals. I believe they should be maintained in my office, but they are not.

I produce the registers; the columns are headed—

i, Serial No.; ii, kind of house; iii, name of owner, with address; iv, whether he occupies the house himself; v, name of occupier on rent; vi, remarks.

This was prepared in 1885, since when no new register has been prepared, nor have the entries in column v been altered. Column v does not give the occupation of the occupier. We have no house-tax here; but we have a latrine-tax, which is paid by everybody. I produce the register. It is a register showing all the cantonment cesses, with demands and payments; and the entries are made according to date of payment. It is practically a cash book of these cesses. One column does show the name of the occupier, sometimes with, sometimes without specifying the occupation. We have no other register in which the names of the prostitutes are entered, nor any separate record of them whatsoever.

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

I will now give a history of the action regarding prostitution in this Cantonment since 1888. In the beginning of 1888 the old regulations for compulsory registration and examination of prostitutes were in force. In July 1888 I received a demi-official order (produced) from General Sir Charles Gough, through the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, to the effect that women ejected from the regimental bazars should reside in the Sadr bazar, *vide* paragraph 2 of the exposition of the Lock Hospital rules, and that the houses they occupied should not be the property of the Cantonment fund. At the same time the women were being expelled from regimental bazars by the regimental authorities. They came to me and asked for leave to settle in certain houses in the Sadr. I made it the rule that they must only reside in the immediate neighbourhood of the old chakla. I inspected the houses and gave permission. The regimental chaklas thus closed were presently sold. Here is my order selling the Cavalry chakla on 27th September 1888, the Infantry chakla on 28th September 1888, the Artillery chakla on 4th August 1888, reported on 27th September 1888; all to private individuals. The Sadr bazar chakla was sold by deed dated 10th December 1888; also to a private individual.

In May 1888 registered prostitutes had been prohibited from living in British regimental bazars, and from accompanying regiments on the march or to standing camps. On 20th August 1888 the Quartermaster General's Circular No. 12, of 6th August 1888 (produced), reached me from the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, with orders to carry out paragraph 2. Paragraph 2 reads thus :—"Pending the issue of revised rules "on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, "nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women be held. "The Cantonment Lock Hospital, in fact, is to be worked as a purely voluntary institu- "tion." I sent this on to the Medical Officer in charge of the Lock Hospital for information, and issued orders to close the registers and recall the tickets; and these orders were carried out. Since then there has been no registration, and no tickets. As far as I recollect, the women continued to attend examinations at the Lock Hospital as previously, but no penalty could any longer be inflicted, as the Lock Hospital rules had been abolished. I believe the women used to go to examination just as before, and the hospital was still called the Lock Hospital. No further instructions were received, and this state of affairs continued till I went home in 1889. On my return, in March 1891, I found that during my absence Government General Order, No. 617, of 4th July 1890, had been published. Also letter No. 5276–B, Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals, from the Quartermaster General in India, dated 5th December 1890 (produced). This letter contained instructions for the establishment and maintenance of Cantonment hospitals. It conveyed a scale of establishment, including a matron on Rs. 12 per mensem, another on Rs. 10 per mensem, a chaukidar on Rs. 5, a chaprassi on Rs. 5, and a male and female sweeper on Rs. 4 each. I should have said that sanction had been received in July 1889 to the dismissal of three regimental dhais at Rs. 6 each, with effect from 15th July 1888. They were the women in charge of the Artillery, British Infantry, and British Cavalry chaklas. These women are always called dhais on all establishment lists. We used to have four of these women. One was continued as dhai to the Sadr Bazar chakla till 1890, when she was appointed to be second matron to the Lock Hospital, as above. I cannot say what change this made in her duties. The Medical Officer will know. The other three were dismissed in 1888, on the closing of the chaklas.

When I returned from leave I found examinations going on, under the Voluntary Lock Hospital system. In March 1892 General Perkins showed me a confidential demi-official letter to his address, from the Quartermaster General in India, giving cover to a letter from the Military Department, stating that if in any Cantonment in India a list of prostitutes was kept up, or their attendance at examinations was secured on pain of exclusion from cantonments, that it would be a breach of the orders of Government, which orders were to be carried out in the spirit as well as the letter. This I give from memory, but I am confident that that is the gist of the instructions. I communicated the substance of this to Dr. Ranking, then in charge of the Cantonment Hospital. That was the first information we received of what was to be understood by the term "Voluntary Lock Hospital system." I then had notice given to the women that they were free to attend examination or not, as they pleased; and the attendance, I believe, gradually decreased till it almost ceased. In the summer of 1892 the Medical Officers complained that venereal disease was rife; and I fixed a day and hour, and about 12 soldiers were sent from the hospital to the Sadr bazar, who pointed out some 10 women who had diseased them. I then and there ordered these women to leave Cantonments; they came to me and begged off. I said: "Well, you know you can go to hospital if you choose." Upon which they all went to hospital, and most of them were found to be diseased.

Dr. H. Hamilton was then in charge of the hospital. I understood from him that, while he was in charge, women used to attend rather largely at the voluntary examinations. Between the notice of March 1892 and this date I have issued no other notices, and taken no other action in the matter save that noted above. In May 1893 I received orders from Army Head-Quarters that in future no special examination of prostitutes was

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

to be permitted other than what would take place in the case of other contagious diseases. These orders I communicated to the Medical Officers. From the closing of the chaklas in 1888 till now, under the voluntary system, I have been in the habit of asking every woman who applied for permission to reside in the Sadr Bazar as a prostitute whether she agreed to be examined by the Doctor. I never knew any woman refuse. They used to go straight off to the Doctor to be examined. I did not explain whether I meant periodical examination or examination preliminary to permission. The Doctor sent back a report sometimes that the woman was diseased; in which case I refused her leave to reside in Cantonments. Of late I have not always insisted on this examination. In some cases the women themselves state in their petitions that they are ready to be examined. I take it that "voluntary" excludes compulsion; but does not, like "spontaneous," exclude suggestion. And I was anxious to do all I could lawfully do to prevent diseased women from living where soldiers had access to them.

All the chaklas were sold in 1888. The Sadr chakla has been used as a chakla ever since. But I have every reason to believe, and do believe as a fact, that, since the women were ejected from Regimental bazars, about July 1888, no public prostitutes have resided in any part of the Regimental bazars during the time that I have been in the station.

In March 1892 I gave the notice alluded to above, that women were free to attend examination or not, as they chose. I suppose I must then have been under the impression that they did not at that time feel themselves free in the matter. My system has been to encourage examination as much as I could, but to use no pressure or compulsion.

The applications for permission to reside in Cantonments are given by everybody wishing to do so; not by prostitutes only. In the case of other than prostitutes, I direct the police to inquire and report upon the character of the applicant; or give permission pending such report. These applications are received almost daily. I have repeatedly refused permission on the police reporting unfavourably. The applications are on the Oudh Jucicial form for miscellaneous petitions, which costs three pies, and bears a one-anna stamp. The petition writer would be paid as well. Not even an officer of Government, whether civil or military, if in civil employ, can occupy a bungalow in Cantonments without first obtaining permission from me in a form which I produce. (See Appendix for this form.) I constantly receive applications for permission to move from one house to another. I give sanction unless there is some apparent objection; in which case the police report. I should not allow a butcher to open a shop without a report. The other day I refused a baker leave to open an oven, and a wood and charcoal seller to open a shop, out of the proper quarters, as I keep them altogether for fear of fire. So I should refuse to prostitutes leave to live at a distance from the chakla, on the ground that it would interfere with the convenience of the respectable inhabitants of the bazar. Under the old rules a prostitute, on presenting an application for registration, was taken to the hospital and brought back by the police. But since 1888 she goes herself, and brings back the report herself. In no case is she made over to the police for this purpose (Answers 863-67).

I don't remember since 1888, any woman being reported to me for practising as a prostitute without permission to settle. I have certainly never taken action in such a case. But if she lived away from the chakla, I should make her move. I did so to a European woman not long ago, who settled in the bazar without leave. I told her she could not be allowed to live in the house she then occupied; and she left Cantonments. I do not allow prostitutes to live elsewhere than in the neighbourhood of the chakla; but I do not insist on their living in the chakla itself. As a fact, as you yourselves saw this morning, there are women living outside the chakla, while houses inside it are empty. The fact that we were ordered to turn the women out of Regimental bazars shows clearly that we have control over their place of residence.

All this applies only to the Sadr Bazar; I am not in charge of Regimental Bazars. But if it came to my notice that a prostitute was living in a Regimental bazar, I should bring it to the notice of the Regimental authorities; and, if necessary, report the matter, as being contrary to orders which I have to enforce. All that I have said refers to *all* prostitutes, whether consorting with natives or with British soldiers. I know of no distinction between these two classes in my work.

Since 1888, women wishing to leave Cantonments need not apply for permission to do so. But, in fact, they commonly do; though they also leave without permission, and no action is taken. The usual course on such a petition is to give permission, on condition that all Cantonment dues have been paid. I have never yet refused permission, even under the old rules; though, under them, if application was made the day before inspection, I generally postponed permission till after inspection. The fact of a woman having left Cantonments with or without leave is no bar to her return.

[There is a petition on the file in which a woman, Munna, prays for leave to settle, saying that she had left Cantonments without permission. She was permitted to return without hesitation, after examination by the Doctor, by order of 18th February 1892.]

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

More than a year ago, I recollect two ladies coming to me at office, and stating they were missionaries, and wished to take away a prostitute whom they brought with them, as they wished to rescue her. The girl is called Massamat Itwari; and is, I am told, now living with a sweeper in the Bazar. I remember the girl and her name perfectly. I told the ladies that there was no objection to their taking her away. They said that they had been informed that my written permission was necessary. I said it was not so; it had once been so, but those rules had been done away with, and the woman was free to go away when she liked. I do not remember who they said had informed them. They asked me whether I would mind giving them a written permit. I said I had no objection; so I gave them a paper to the effect that the girl might leave Cantonments. They gave me to understand that the girl had told them there was something hanging over her, which would prevent her from leaving Cantonments. I inquired, and found that during my absence in England she had been punished for selling liquor to a soldier. I called for the file (now produced), and found that she had been imprisoned; and also, that her personal recognizance to appear on a certain day in the sum of Rs. 50 had been confiscated. I then explained to the ladies that the recognizance had been paid up, and was no bar to the girl's going. They asked me if I would undertake that nobody would interfere with her if they took her away. I said that I could not guarantee that; and that, if she came into Cantonments, she might not improbably be accosted by some soldiers who knew her. I therefore thought it advisable, if she left Cantonments, that she should not return. I then turned to the woman herself, and told her she could leave the Cantonment, but must not return to it. She said something about wishing to see her mother and sister, who were both living in the chakla. I told her that they could easily go to her and visit her. I thought that the ladies did not know much about the matter, and would not realise the complications that might arise if the girl returned to Cantonments. My object was to assist in rescuing her. In speaking to the girl I may have put it more as an order than as advice, and have said "You must not come back." The only record referred to in the matter was the record of the criminal case. There was no other record for her name to be taken off, as her name was on no other record; nor was any other record referred to. [Massamat Itwari produced. Says she has been living for two months with the mother and sister of Banarsi, a converted sweeper, now a Christian, who is going to marry her. This is in the Sadr Bazar, and not in the chakla. She says she has been a Christian for five years. She has been in the bazar for the past six years, during which time she has not left Lucknow. Record examined. Case No. 252, decided 15th August 1890, by Captain Plowden. Charges—supplying liquor to a European soldier under section 313, Act XIII., 1889. Sentence—one month's rigorous imprisonment. Personal recognizance to appear in the amount of Rs. 50 estreated; attachment to issue; in default of recovery, six months' simple imprisonment in civil jail. Was released from the criminal jail on 15th September 1890, and from the civil jail on 15th March 1891.

There used to be four chaklas, the property of Government. Only one of them is now occupied by prostitutes; and all of them have been sold. I have now no concern whatever with the provision of accommodation for prostitutes. The houses in the chakla were numbered in old days, in accordance with standing orders (circular memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, paragraph 5), so that a soldier might be able to identify the woman by the number of her house. These numbers do not correspond with the numbers in any register of which I have any knowledge.

The chaklas used to be in charge of women called dhais, who were borne on the Lock Hospital establishment, and paid from Cantonment funds (see circular memorandum No. 69, of 26th November 1883, paragraphs 2 and 3). I have already stated what happened to these women down to 1890. The matron, receiving Rs. 12 per month is still employed in the hospital. The place of the one receiving Rs. 10 per month has been taken by a compounder. This change was proposed in a letter (produced), No 836, of 23rd December 1891, from the General Officer Commanding the District to the Quartermaster General in India. Sanction was accorded in January 1892, and the change was made with effect from 1st February 1892. No other dhai or mahaldarni was discharged about that time. After this change there was only one in Government pay, and she is so still as matron of the Lock Hospital. The dismissed woman applied for leave to live in what is termed the Lancers' chakla, close to the Sadr chakla, with five women she had, and I gave it to her in ordinary course. I never held out to her any hope whatever of future employment; indeed, I did not for a moment contemplate the possibility of the chakla being re-opened; nor did I ever suggest to her to take her women and live by their means. The dhais are under the Medical Officer, and they are chosen by him, though, as they are on the Cantonment establishment, I have to pay them. There has been no dhai borne on our books since 1890; only matrons.

Many of our occupations are segregated. There are separate quarters for the wood sellers, the leathers-workers, the cloth merchants (not so strictly segregated as the others), the butchers, the sweepers, and so forth. If a man applied to be allowed to live out of his quarter, I should first inquire whether the people among whom he proposed to live had any reasonable objection. I have several times refused leave on

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—MR. HART, QUARTERMASTER, 16TH LANCERS—MAJOR HAMILTON, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ROYAL IRISH.

this ground. My object in confining the women to one neighbourhood is to preserve the respectable inhabitants of the rest of the bazar from their presence. There are Panches or Chaudhris to represent some of the different trades. We go for our carriage to the city which is close by. I give my orders to the Kotwal and cannot say to whom he passes them on. I know very little about these arrangements.

There are about 50 Cantonment Police, and about 10 or 12 Cantonment chaukidars, both being part of the Provincial police force. The chaukidars are told off to keep order 2030
in certain portions of the Sadr Bazar, which are permanently allotted to them. The police have beats, but change about from one to another. There is no policeman or chaukidar in charge of or placed over the chakla; though the chakla is in a chaukidar's quarter, and in a policeman's beat. I think the Military Police visit it in their rounds. I think if a chaukidar saw two English ladies going into a chakla, he would very probably follow them; and would do very rightly to attend them for their protection; but it is not his special charge.

None of my chaukidars or police are put over the Lock Hospital. I do not recollect that I have any non-police chaukidars on any buildings in Cantonments; but there are chaukidars so employed all over the Cantonments. It is not the case that any guard of 2040
any sort is posted inside the chakla. Neither do I, nor my subordinates, exercise any special supervision over the chakla, nor make any special inspection of the chakla, save such as is exercised over or made of all Cantonment premises. (*Continued on 15th June.*)

Mr. Hart, Quartermaster, 16th Lancers, since November 1892, and Quartermaster Sergeant before that since the Regiment came to India. Has been in the Regiment since 1878.

The Regiment came to India in October 1890, and came straight here by rail. I was in India formerly in 1876, with the 14th Hussars. I am in charge of the Regimental bazar. Some of the followers have separate lines (grass-cutters and grooms); the others live in the bazar. The bazar contains under 200 families, and I am constantly going 2050
through it. I am quite sure that no prostitutes live in the bazar. There is a place which used to be a Regimental chakla. I can say positively, of my personal knowledge, that since we have been at Lucknow there have been no prostitutes in the bazar or in the chakla. I know of no place now known as the Lancers' chakla.

As far as I know, we take no steps whatever to confine the women at the Sadr chakla to the use of British soldiers. We have Regimental Military Police; and there are also Garrison Military Police, who are under the Station Staff Officer. One of our men is in temporary charge of them. The duties of our Regimental Police do not extend as far as the Sadr chakla. That is the business of the Garrison Police. We take no steps to prevent our men going to women who consort with natives; nor to prevent women, with whom our men go, from consorting with natives. The city is out of bounds for our men. 2060

I pay the Regimental followers. There is no money paid to any person for any duties connected with prostitutes; if there was, I must know of it, as I keep the accounts.

I know nothing of any scale of charges paid by the men to the women. Petty complaints come to us from the Regimental bazar. I think that complaints from the Sadr Bazar would go to the Adjutant. I have never heard of any complaint, either to myself or to others, against our men, for non-payment, or for any ill-treatment of the women.

The Regiment went to Aligarh in the winter of 1891 in November; and returned at the end of January 1892. That is the only march we have made in India. I was left behind in charge of barracks: I arranged for transport on that occasion. The Kotwal 2070
told me how many carts were wanted for the bazar, and I got them, and the people paid for them themselves. I am not quite sure whether he got them himself, or whether I got them for him. If he asked me for carts, I should make him account for them all, stating what they were for. I got no transport for women on that occasion. I do not know of my own personal knowledge; but I made enquiries, and I do not believe that any women went with the Regiment to Aligarh.

I do not know of any steps taken to identify a woman when a man has been diseased. There is very little disease in the Regiment. I have never known women march with the Regiment, even in old days; for, as a fact I have *never* marched with any Regiment by road.

Major Hamilton, Quartermaster of the Royal Irish, for over 24 years.

We came out to India in 1885 in January. We went for the winter to Ambala by 2080
rail, and then for the hot weather to Sabathu, by road; and so every year till 1887, when we marched to Naushahra. In 1889 we marched on to Peshawar, which we left in November 1890, and marched all the way here, arriving in March 1891.

The Regimental bazar is in my charge. It is a very small one: not more than 250 souls, including followers, live there. I am there often. I am certain there is no recognized prostitute living there. I *must* know if there was. I do not know where the old

LUCKNOW, THE 13TH JUNE 1893—MAJOR HAMILTON, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ROYAL IRISH—MR. HORNSBY, QUARTERMASTER OF EAST LANCASHIRE REGIMENT—THE OLD INFANTRY CHAKLA—THE OLD ARTILLERY CHAKLA—THE OLD CAVALRY CHAKLA.

chakla is. We take no steps to keep Natives away from the women with whom our men consort. Our Regimental Police have *no* duties outside our lines. The Garrison Police search for our absentees. We take no complaints except from the Regimental bazar. I
2090 have heard of no complaints against our men since the old system was done away with.

About a dozen women accompanied us on our march from Peshawar to Ambala. The same women did not come all the way. The Kotwal changed them on two or three occasions on the road. The women always paid their own cart hire; but on several occasions I got the carriage from the bazar, as the people could not. On those occasions I knew that a certain number of carts were for women; as the Kotwal always furnished, with his indent, a detail of what the carriage was wanted for. They provided their own tents. They generally pitched about 200 yards from our bazar, outside our lines. They generally started about 11 P.M. at night, as does almost all the bazar; and went on in front of the Regiment. There was no guard of any sort put over them, or accompauying
2100 them, even in the Peshawar District. We have guards on our light baggage carts; but they follow the regiment. I can safely say that, in my battalion, the women did not accompany any carts travelling under guard for safety. There was a head woman over the women, called a mahaldarni. I can say positively that she got nothing from the Regiment. Her business was to keep the thing going, and to provide women. We had nothing to do with that. She was under the orders of the Kotwal, who was the man the Officer Commanding sent for if anything was wrong. I believe she levied dues on the women's earnings. The Kotwal changed her when the women were changed. The Kotwal's official pay is Rs. 11 per month; and he often gets something extra from Regimental funds. The mahaldarni and her women were discharged and turned out of my bazar the
2110 very day we reached Lucknow. I know nothing of them since. Up to 1887, when we went up-country, this had always been a recognised thing. Coming down (after 1888), it was not quite so recognised; but we did it for the safety of the men, and to keep them under observation. If we had had no women, they would have been all over the place, and we do not know what offences might not have been committed. The women were regularly inspected by an Apothecary on both occasions: and there was really no difference, except that we had fewer women after 1888. We never had paid the mahaldarni, even before 1888. When the camp was pitched, it was the duty of the Regimental Police Sergeant to keep order in the women's tents. There would be no sentry over them; but his men would patrol, and frequently visit their tents.

There are a good many servants with their families, banyas, cookshop men, barbers,
2120 dhobis, cooks, &c., who travel with the Regiment from one station to another. I think about 200 people would follow us, inclusive of paid followers. These are only sweepers and bhisties. Say 100 exclusive of them. We gave the Kotwal the order, and he arranged for the women.

Mr. Hornsby, Quartermaster of East Lancashire Regiment, for past fifteen months, before which was away from it for nine years. The Regiment was at Lucknow when he rejoined it.

There are about 150 houses in our Regimental bazar. They are not all full. There are no prostitutes in our bazar. I am sure of it. Our bazar is so near the Sadr, that we never had a chakla. Any complaint from the Sadr Bazar would go through the Garrison
2130 police. I have heard of no such complaints against our men, by women, for ill-treatment or for non-payment.

The Commission visited the old Regimental chaklas.

The old Infantry chakla is a double row of eleven mud quarters for eleven women. About five years ago Mallu, cook, bought it at auction; since when it has been occupied by cooks only. Since then there have been no women living in the bazar. For a short time, about 1885, the building was used for other purposes, and the women were moved into similar quarters close by.

The old Artillery chakla was bought by Ram Lal, five years ago. No women since then have lived either in it or in the bazar. It consists of two rows of mud
2140 quarters, eight in all. The wall which used to be at each end has been pulled down, so as to open it out to the bazar. The women used to pay eight annas for rent, and the present tenants pay ten annas.

The old Cavalry chakla contains twelve mud quarters, open at the back and walled in towards the street, as it always was. No women have lived in it, or in the bazar, since its purchase by Baij Nath some five years ago. The tenants pay five annas and six annas as rent.

LUCKNOW, 14TH JUNE 1893—SURGEON-MAJOR RANKING, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL—MAULA BAKSH, HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

LUCKNOW, 14TH JUNE 1893.

Surgeon-Major Ranking, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital from 25th February 1891 to 6th May 1892, when he was succeeded by Dr. Hamilton. Attended by **Maula Baksh, Hospital Assistant**, attached to General Hospital since July 1891.

The venereal branch is commonly called by the people the Lock Hospital. The buildings include what was the old Lock Hospital. When I took over charge of the hospital, I found that the great majority of the cases that came were venereal cases. There was then no other branch or department of the General Hospital. In order to extend the utility of the hospital, I let it be known in the bazars that I was willing to see all patients who might come. In a very short time numbers of general cases began to come, both as in-door and out-door patients; so much so, that I asked the Cantonment Committee for funds to put up a grass hut, in order to provide increased accommodation for in-patients. That state of things continued for some eight months. Towards the end of 1891, I learnt that the intention of Government was to provide hospitals somewhat on my lines. About November 1891 I learnt by a demi-official letter, that a barrack was to be converted into such a hospital. The idea was to found a general hospital, the treatment of women generally being carried on, as elsewhere, as part of the general scheme. The barrack was obtained, and the main branch of the General Hospital opened as it now stands, on the 1st January 1892. The hut for which I applied was to receive male in-door patients; as I had no separate ward, and could not put men into the female wards of the old building. The hospital was open to all cases; but it takes a long time for a change of this sort to reach the mass of the people. But contagious diseases, being dangerous to public health, had the first claim to admission; the in-door accommodation was limited; and thus the proportion of general cases was much smaller among indoor, than among out-door cases. I had several respectable women and girls in the hospital, separated from the venereal cases by mat-screens. The grass hut was built, and occupied by male in-door patients. It had room for fifteen beds. Was in the garden close to the present inspecting room. I used to see 30 or 40 patients every morning. There was also the cholera and small-pox hospital, some 2 miles off on the Bareilly Road. The hut now adjoining the Lock Hospital compound was projected, but not built. I think I did not have a single case of infectious disease while I was here; but my impression is that the Bareilly Road Hospital was a Military one, and that there was then no provision for infectious cases among the civil population in Cantonments. I treated cases of secondary syphilis in the hospital, together with cases of primary syphilis. Thus, from my arrival in February 1891 up till the opening of the new barracks in November 1892, the so-called Lock Hospital was a general hospital, open to all cases whatever.

I know nothing of any distinction between women for the use of British troops and those for Natives' use. All women were admitted who came; and I cannot say which of the two classes did come, because I know nothing of their separate existence. The hospital is maintained from Cantonment funds. We used to diet the patients, giving no subsistence allowance; but they were allowed to supplement the diet from outside.

As for examination of prostitutes, when I took over charge I found that the women were only being examined once a week. There was a list of names of women—83 I think—who used to attend once a week—on Monday, I think. I cannot say whether that included all the prostitutes in the bazar. I thought this was insufficient, and started a bi-weekly examination—on Tuesdays and Fridays, I think. Any woman who was found to be diseased was admitted into hospital; as also if suffering from any other disease, not contagious, requiring in-door treatment. Any woman who came and presented herself for examination was examined, and her name added to the list. There was certainly no compulsion as to examination or detention in hospital; but I did all I possibly could, by way of precept and persuasion, to persuade women not to neglect submitting themselves for examination; pointing out to them that in this way only could they protect themselves against incurable disease. They were fully aware of the advantages of skilled medical examination, and of the danger to themselves arising from its neglect. Moreover, I advised them to use all possible precautions in the way of personal cleanliness, recommending especially the use of alum lotions; and I am certain that they followed my instructions in their own homes. I gained their confidence, and they did what I recommended. Some time during the first week in March 1892, owing to instructions received on inspection of the hospital by the head of the department, the use of a separate list of the names of women presenting themselves for examination was discontinued. After that no record of any sort was kept of the women presenting themselves for examination; nor of the results of that examination, unless they were admitted into hospital, when they naturally came on the general register of admissions. With that exception, the system I have described continued unaltered till I left the station.

Before this change, my record consisted of monthly sheets (manuscript) containing serial number and name and date headings, under which the result of examination was noted if the woman was menstruating or disease was detected. In other cases the column

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was left blank. I initialled each date column at the bottom. All the women were brought on to one list, and there was no classification based on, or entry of, the names of bazars or regiments. The serial numbers were purely haphazard; they agreed with no other series of numbers; and, as a fact, varied from month to month, as one woman left and the others moved up the list. The record was purely for my own information, and the new sheet for each month was pasted over the last. The record has been destroyed. I received no lists of prostitutes from any of the Cantonment or Regimental authorities. I have no recollection of communicating the results of any examination of the women to any such authority.

When a new prostitute came to the place, she brought a petition with an endorsement from the Cantonment Magistrate, asking for a report on her condition. On this I examined her. If she was free from disease, I certified accordingly, and returned the certificate by the hand of the woman. If diseased, I admitted her into hospital, and certified similarly when I discharged her as cured. She used to come of herself; the police never brought her. At the same time I added her name to my list. I remember perfectly a case in which I reported, without examination, on such an application, that the girl was too young to practise as a prostitute. She never returned for examination. I received no report of a woman's leaving Cantonments, nor did I ever examine a woman with a view to her leaving. When I found a woman absent from examination, and the other women told me she had left, I cut her name out of the list.

I look at Government General Order No. 617 of 4th July 1890. I have never reported a woman as supposed to be diseased, and asked that she should be sent to me for examination. In *this* station I have never had a report made to me that a soldier had indicated a certain woman as having diseased him. I never reported a woman for leaving hospital before cure. In fact, there never was any occasion to do so, as the women were only too glad to stay until cured. I have never had a woman reported to me as spreading disease, though not a recognised prostitute. In short, I have never taken any action whatever under these orders, since no occasion has ever arisen for such action.

I have never had to take action as regards other diseases; for there was no case of infectious or contagious (non-venereal) disease among the civil population during my time.

When a woman did not turn up for examination, I used to write her name on a slip of paper and send it to the Cantonment Magistrate, though I never made any official report. I do not think the Cantonment Magistrate took any action on it. It very rarely happened that a woman did absent herself. I do not suppose it happened more than three times during the eighteen months I was here. The women are quite willing to be examined, if properly treated. I used to ask the other women to tell the absentee to come next time; which she did. I have never taken any action by way of reporting a woman for absence from examination, or in order to have her sent to me; as a fact, the necessity never arose. I never found that women who were diseased absented themselves in order to avoid being sent to hospital—very much the reverse.

The women were perfectly free to leave hospital, if they chose, before cure. I should try all I could to dissuade them from doing so, just as I should a person suffering from any other disease. Beyond that there was no restraint. I never even threatened to report a woman and have her turned out of Cantonments; as the necessity never arose.

If, on examination, I found a woman with her menses on, I took her into hospital; I should rather say, she was allowed to remain in hospital; in view of the undesirability of sexual intercourse during that period. Some of the women will consort with men during those periods. Sexual intercourse is undesirable, because it may lead to serious disease in the woman. My object was to protect the woman, not the man, whose risk is slight, if any. The women so admitted were not entered on the in-patient registers, as there was no disease, and as they were not dieted by the hospital.

The fact that 86 cases of leucorrhœa were admitted in 1891, and only 8 in 1892, is probably due to difference in diagnosis. As a fact, I do consider symptoms to constitute leucorrhœa which many doctors would not. These were not menses cases, as those were not entered at all. I put no pressure on the women to stay in hospital, and have no reason to think they were unwilling to do so. It was part of the general scheme for their health. I don't ever remember a woman objecting to remain on that account.

Ever since I first held charge of a hospital of this kind (some 17 years ago), I have always felt that it is one of the most important charges a man can hold; and that the health of the troops depends so largely upon the way in which the work is done, that the Medical Officer is bound to take every means to assure the attainment of his object. To this end it is most important that he should gain the confidence of the women, and let them see that he is really protecting their health as much as that of the soldiers. I have always endeavoured to treat these women with as much consideration as I should my own private patients. I am clear that the mere fact of being prostitutes by no means implies

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the loss of modesty; at any rate, among these women. Any approach to roughness of treatment, or want of consideration of their feelings, militates against the success of the medical officer. When they find that he treats them properly, they gain confidence in him, and are as ready to follow his advice as any other class of patients. The personal element is everything.

They look upon examination on the ground of health, by a medical man, as any other 2280
woman would do; and their not objecting to it implies no loss of the sense of modesty. The examination was made by me, in the presence of the Hospital Assistant and the dhai, the last inserting the speculum. No other person was admitted. The speculum was *always* used. I never heard any of them object to its use on the ground that it injured them. The examinations were held in the small separate inspecting room, outside the Lock Hospital.

Throughout the whole business I have no knowledge, either official or private, of any distinction between women kept for the use of, or commonly used by British soldiers, and others.

I simply worked on the list made over to me by my predecessor, altered by (i) cutting out names of those I heard had left cantonments, (ii) adding names of those sent to me by the Cantonment Magistrate. I had no other register or record of prostitutes whatever. 2290

It is true in one sense (Answer No. 1636) that the hospital was worked on Civil lines from the beginning of 1892, because the new basis was then for the first time officially recognized; but I had privately been working on the same lines ever since I came, so far as the accommodation at my disposal allowed.

I find the Hospital Assistant states that the lists of attendance for examination were discontinued in April 1892, and I have no doubt he is right. That was just before I went. I cannot remember how many examinations I held after the discontinuance; but I have no recollection of any falling off in attendance after that.

The women used to come up alone, not always very punctually; so that I took to calling them up out of the order of the list, so as to make them all come in time: but no mahaldarni, or anybody of the kind, brought them, as far as I know. We had two dhais 2300
borne on the establishment of the Lock Hospital; and no other women except a female sweeper. I had no other women of the sort under my orders. The two dhais were Amirjan on Rs. 12, and Amiran on Rs. 10, per mensem. Amirjan was merely a hospital matron, and had no duties outside the hospital. She is still with us in that capacity, and has never been dismissed. Amiran was under my orders. I find from the Hospital Assistant that she lived with the women in the chakla. I do not exactly know what her duties were. [The Hospital Assistant says they were to attend to cases down there, such as diarrhœa and the like!] She may have occasionally come with the women to examination, but I am quite certain she did not come always. I know they used not to come all in one body, as if brought by anybody. In December 1891, I recommended that a com- 2310
pounder should be appointed in her place, reporting that "under the present system of Cantonment Hospitals, the services of the dhai are, in my opinion, not at all necessary." This was sanctioned and carried out. I hardly remember the woman; I did not give her orders, or have any concern with her. I held out no hopes whatever of re-employment to her. [Hospital Assistant says she has not been employed since.]

There is a chaukidar on the Lock Hospital: a hospital chaukidar. There is none on the main hospital. His duties were to keep people out of the hospital who had no business there; and to look after the property and keep order. There was only one man. It is ridiculous to suppose he had any concern with the ingress or egress of patients. I have 2320
known a drunken Englishman try to get into the hospital.

I had no concern whatever with the chaklas. I did not even know where they were.

I have never heard any sort of complaint by the women against either the police or the hospital staff, for extortion or oppression of any sort.

I can say positively that in no single case have I had a woman come, or be sent to me in Lucknow, for examination with a view to leaving Cantonments. I can remember no such case since 1888. It certainly was not the rule anywhere where I have been.

I have never had any concern of any sort with the proportion of women to British troops in cantonments.

The main difference I see between the system, as I worked it before and after 1888, 2330
is that in the latter case no penalty attached to absence from examination, except perhaps indirectly, in the shape of exclusion from cantonments; whereas in the former years, the woman could be fined and imprisoned for absence.

I remember that in March 1892 (I think in the second week) the Cantonment Magistrate came to my house and had a conversation with me, the gist of which was that the examination of women must be given up entirely. I suppose we discontinued it then; for I am sure after such a conversation I should not have carried it on. I remember now

perfectly what happened. We had to send word to the bazaar actually forbidding the women to come, and telling them that examinations would no longer be held. I had no official instructions. I am sure I discontinued the examination after that, The discontinuance of the examination and of the separate lists took place about the same time.

I was seeing all the women twice a week, and I should say no one of them could speak a word of English. Certainly I never heard a word from them.

I have never had more than 83 women present for examination—*certainly* never 100. I have seen a record of the result of examination of women (similar to what I kept up here) kept up at Sitapur and Mian Mir. I had no orders to maintain it; but examination is impossible without some record.

My impression of the women as a class is that they are a contented, well-to-do class, well nourished, and well clad in winter. They used always to bring their own bedding into hospital, and send for their little luxuries at their own expense.

Soldiers' wives, if English, go to the Station Hospital, and if natives, are attended by the regimental doctor and have no need to go to hospital. [Hospital Assistant states that none are received in the present main hospital.] It is simply impossible that they should go to the Cantonment Hospital.

[The Hospital Assistant, examined by Maulvi Samiullah, states :—I remember the ladies coming here. I think it was before the main branch was opened. I do not remember any gentleman coming and talking to me about the hospital.]

Private Macnally, Garrison Provost Sergeant for two years, from May 1891 to May 1893 :—

I had eighteen men and a Corporal under me. I was under the Station Staff Officer Our duties were to look after soldiers everywhere, in cantonments and outside regimental limits. The city is out of bounds; and if our men went there, we went after them, or to look for them. We patrol in cantonments and the civil lines and bazaars. We visited the chakla in the sadr every night. There is a post of ours, with six men and a Corporal, close to it. We used to go at 10 P.M. to clear it of men without a pass, and at 12 P M. to turn out *all* British soldiers. Natives are not allowed in the chakla. If we found any male natives there by day or night, we turned them out; and if they offered any opposition, we reported them to the Cantonment Police. There is no order to that effect; but it is not right for natives to go where British soldiers go for their women. The written order is simply to clear the bazaar; but this is an understood thing. We did not often find natives there; they knew the orders, and were afraid to go. Up to 10 P.M. we never interfered with natives who had any sort of business there—only with loafers. After 10 P.M. all male natives had to go. I often had complaints of the men beating the women and otherwise ill-treating them, and destroying their clothes, and for non-payment. Very often the women would deny their story when brought by me before the Officer Commanding. I do not believe half what they say; but I and my men know that they do get ill-treated. After pay-day there is a good deal of it. At other times there is not. The men go out then and get drunk in the day time, when we are not there.

I often had complaints of non-payment. The man would generally admit it; in which case I either made him pay, or put him in the guard room. The rule of the women is to charge [scale as before]. I used to make them pay up to that scale—not more. But men do often pay more.

We visited houses of prostitutes outside the chakla, to turn our men out at night. I never remember finding a native in any one of them; though I used often to see them sitting outside, when the women would make up a story that they were their relations. I gave my men orders that they were to keep natives out of the chakla; but I gave no such orders about the outlying houses; so I do not think my men ever turned out natives from them. We consider these houses to be under the Cantonment Police, except as far as our own men are concerned; whereas the chakla is more immediately under us. I only remember one European prostitute in the bazaar. The women of the chakla often go to the city bazaars and drink there. Whether they prostitute themselves there I cannot say; but my belief is that they do so constantly.

Captain Donnelly, acting as Adjutant of Artillery at Lucknow from November 1891 to the end of December 1892 :—

I have to perform the duties which a Quartermaster would perform in a regiment. Before 1891 I was not in Lucknow, and have only been in India 2¼ years. The

LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893—CAPTAIN DONNELLY, ACTING AS ADJUTANT OF ARTILLERY—AHMAD HOSEN, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE CAVALRY BAZAAR——MIRO, OLD MAHALDARNI OF THE CAVALRY BAZAAR—BISHARAT HUSEN, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE ARTILLERY BAZAAR.

Artillery bazaar is under my control, and contains about 250 people only. I can say positively that no prostitute has ever lived there since I have had charge. I know the old Artillery chakla. No women lived there. I know of no women who are known as being, or who are, in fact, in any way set apart for our men; nor of any arrangements 2400
to prevent natives going to women frequented by British troops. We have a regimental police, whose duties are entirely confined to regimental limits. But they go to look for any men absent at night, and then would go to the Sadr bazaar. They only go there when men are absent. Sometimes that does not happen for months. They have no orders, except to find the men and bring them back.

The accounts of the regimental bazaar, which include the pay of all who are not actual soldiers, pass through my hands. No woman is paid anything for looking after any prostitutes. If she was it would be paid through me. Complaints against our men come to me; but only from the regimental bazaar. Those from the Sadr bazaar would go to the Officer Commanding through the Cantonment Magistrate, but I should be informed of them. I have known of no such complaints against our men for ill-treating 2410
or not paying women. I have never marched with a battery in India.

Ahmad Husen, Chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Cavalry bazaar for the past 13 years:—Came with the 10th Hussars. At that time there was a chakla and a mahaldarni. The chakla was closed on the 1st August 1888, the women being given a fortnight to move. I have a record of all these matters. Miro, a Panjabin, was then mahaldarni. She went to the Sadr bazaar with her women—ten or eleven of them. At that time she got pay (I believe Rs. 6) on the Lock Hospital establishment. She got nothing from the regiment. She used to take one quarter from the women whom she fed and clothed, and one-eighth from the others. Her predecessor was Lakhi, who died. Miro was mahaldarni for two years. She was appointed by the Colonel of the 17th 2420
Lancers. Since 1888 there have been no prostitutes or mahaldarni in the bazaar. Her duties were to look after the women generally, and take them to the Lock Hospital for inspection, and report if there were any quarrels or ill-conduct in the chakla, whether by the men or the women. When more women were wanted, she used to get them. I do not think she got any advance for it.

Miro, old mahaldarni of the Cavalry bazaar:—I have been mahaldarni for many years—formerly in the infantry. When the regiment with which I was came here, I was thrown out of employ, as there was no British Infantry chakla, and my women went and lived in the Sadr bazaar. I got the appointment in the Cavalry ten years ago. I was appointed by a doctor whose name I forget. Then a year later, the chakla was closed 2430
for four months on account of an affray there. When it was re-opened, I was re-appointed by Dr. Kaye [then Staff Surgeon in charge of the Lock Hospital, *teste* the Cantonment Magistrate] and stayed there till the chaklas were closed five years ago. On this, four of my women married, and one died, and four or five came with me to my new chakla, and two or three went to the Sadr chakla. I am still known as the Lancers' mahaldarni; but the chakla is not known as the Lancers' chakla. We have lived there ever since. I now keep five women in my chakla, and three in the Sadr chakla. They pay me one-fourth of their earnings, and I find lodgings and servants and furniture. The three in the Sadr were my women in the Cavalry bazaar; but they no longer pay me anything. I used to get Rs. 6 in my regiment, and used to keep the women, and used to take fees from the women at no fixed rate. Since the chakla was broken up, I have 2440
received nothing from Government. I have had no place in the hospital since then. I have certificates, but have not brought them. When I was mahaldarni, I had to examine the women daily, and look after them, and keep them clean, and report them when ill, and take them to the inspection, and then to the Quartermaster for him to look at the doctor's report.

My women have never gone to examination since the chakla was closed. [This, notwithstanding much cross-examination.] I used to get new women, when wanted, from the bazaar. They paid nothing to me—in fact, I often had to take over their debts if they were in debt. I paid them from my own pocket. I am well off. I never got advances from the regiment. When a new woman comes, she gives a petition to the 2450
Cantonment Magistrate, who sends her to the doctor, and on his report allows her to settle. When I was in the Cavalry, before 1888, the police used to go with her to the doctor; but now I, or whoever the mahaldarni may be, go with her, and no police.

Bisharat Husen, chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Artillery bazaar for two years only; before that, was not in Lucknow:—Since I have been in the bazaar there have been no women living either in the chakla or the bazaar.

LUCKNOW, THE 14TH JUNE 1893.—KHUDAH BAKSH, MAHALDAR OF THE ARTILLERY CHAKLA.—SHEKH MANNU, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE LEFT INFANTRY BAZAAR—DURGA PARSHAD, CHAUDHRI (KOTWAL) OF THE SADR BAZAAR—AMIRAN, MAHALDARNI OF THE SADR CHAKLA.

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

Khudah Bakhsh, mahaldar of the Artillery chakla for ten years:—My wife, Ram Kalli, was mahaldarni for a few months before the chakla was closed. She was appointed by the Major. I was mahaldar of the Artillery here for ten years. I was
2460 appointed by the Colonel. I got nothing from the regiment, but took one-fourth from the women. About two years before the chakla was closed, my wife, Ram Kalli, was appointed, as I could not get about. She got Rs. 6 from the hospital. She had to report women who were ill, and take them to hospital, and used to take them to inspection and look after them. When the chakla was closed, some five or six years ago, we came and took a house opposite the Sadr chakla, where we have lived ever since. I used to have eight women, and they came with us. Now we have four. I feed and clothe two, who pay me one-fourth. The other two feed and clothe themselves, and pay no fixed rate.

I have certificates, but have not brought them. I used to get new women in the bazaar, but they paid me nothing. It is not the custom to do so. We never have had
2470 to pay debts for them either. No natives ever go with my women [very decidedly.] The order is that they should not—the order of some officer. I do not know whom.

Shekh Mannu, chaudhri (Kotwal) of the left Infantry bazaar for past two years; before that not in Lucknow:—[Here there are two Infantry bazaars. The right Infantry never had a chakla, as the bazaar is close to the sadr]. No women have lived in my bazaar or in the old chakla since I came to the place. I came to Lucknow with the Royal Irish. Our women were changed twice on the way from Peshawar; once at Pindi, and I forget the other place. They used to march directly after gun fire (9.30 P.M.) Our regimental police used to patrol near their tents from about 4 P.M., to prevent rows; but nobody of any sort accompanied them on the march. They paid for
2480 their own carts, got through the Quartermaster. They came entirely of their own free will. There was no sort of pressure on them. The mahaldarni of the old chakla in my bazaar died some three years ago. She was called Begum.

Durga Parshad, Chaudhri (Kotwal) of the Sadr bazaar for 17 years. Before that ten years as Sheriff of the District Court:—Amirjan used to be the mahaldarni at the sadr some eight or nine years ago, for two or three years. Then she was turned off before the chakla was sold, and Amiran got her place. She was appointed by the Doctor and Cantonment Magistrate. Amirjan afterwards was made matron to the Lock Hospital, some six years ago. Up to the time the chakla was sold, she used to come to the sadr chakla once a day to see that all was right. She did not come after the chakla
2490 was sold. But Amiran stayed on till she was turned off, some two years and a few months ago, since when there has been no dhai there. I think she was turned off because inspection was stopped. She used to take the women to inspection, and report disturbances to the police, and look after the women. Natives are not allowed to go to the women of the sadr chakla. I do not know whose order it is; but that has always been the order. The women have not gone in a body to be inspected for more than two years. Now only those that are ill go. Natives may go secretly with the women; but they are not supposed to do so. *Swell* natives would not go to them, because they have been with British troops; other natives would not mind.

Amiran, mahaldarni of the Sadr chakla:—

2500 I used to get Rs. 10 from the hospital and live close to the sadr chakla, and look after the women. Inspection has been stopped for *years* past. I lost the appointment a little more than two years ago. I do not know why I was turned off, and nobody took my place. I had the place some four years.

I had never been mahaldarni before. I now live by keeping two women. They give me from two-sixteenths to three-sixteenths of their earnings, and I find house and furniture and servants.

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.

Major Campbell, Cantonment Magistrate,—(*continued from page XXXIII*):—

I know nothing whatever of any segregation of women for the use of British soldiers, or of any attempt to confine any set of women to them. Under the old rules, it was
2510 distinctly understood that the registered prostitutes were reserved for the use of British soldiers. Since 1888, I know nothing of any attempt to so reserve them. I have received no orders, nor taken any action with that view. I heard the Provost Sergeant's evidence yesterday. I did not know till then that such action was taken. I know British soldiers consort with native women outside the Cantonment bazars. I have had criminal cases arising from it; and the Garrison Police patrol to clear men out

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE.

of these places. My belief is that natives do visit these women. Before 1888 we received orders not to interfere with the women having their "fancy men." I believe many of them are kept by such men—natives, of course. In no portion of my official action do I take *any* cognizance of any distinction between women reserved for, or used by, British soldiers and others. I know of no such distinction. As a fact, many natives will not consort with women who receive British soldiers. The phrase "gora kamana" (to earn one's living from British soldiers) is used as a term of reproach to express this. I believe the native soldiers keep their women at a village outside cantonments. Neither my police nor my chaukidars patrol or visit the chakla more than any other cantonment premises, and they have no special orders regarding it. I would not turn, and never have turned, a woman out of the chakla for consorting with natives. I have never had such cases reported. Nor would I, if I found a woman living outside the chakla proper and receiving British soldiers, try to move her into the chakla. I have never had such cases reported. When the ten or twelve men I mentioned the day before yesterday came to identify the women who had diseased them, several of the women were living outside the chakla.

I have already said that I should not allow a butcher to open a shop outside the proper quarters. We have no copper-smiths here. But I would not allow any man to prosecute an occupation which could in any way annoy the neighbours, outside the quarters allotted to that occupation.

I have no sort of concern with the supply of women, or their proportion to the number of troops, British or Native. I have never been asked to help in keeping up the supply. I have never been applied to for money for such purposes. I have no funds from which such money could be advanced. I draw money only by cheques signed by the Officer Commanding. The idea is perfectly unheard of.

My authority extends over regimental bazaars; but I do not as a fact interfere in their management. I should interfere if I found that general orders were transgressed. If I had found, for instance, that, after their expulsion from regimental bazaars by order from head-quarters, women had been allowed to return to the regimental bazaars, I should have felt it my duty to report it to the Officer Commanding.

I know that a considerable number of people resident in the regimental bazaars (not being paid followers) follow the regiment from Cantonment to Cantonment—banyas, cooks, barbers, &c., &c. Under the Regulations, a man building a house in a regimental bazaar ceases to have any right in his house as soon as the regiment leaves the station (Article 2094, Vol. II., Part II., Army Regulations, India).

The first I ever heard of any scale of charges in the chaklas, was when I read the evidence given before the Departmental Committee. I have no sort of concern with, or knowledge of it. I have known British soldiers reported to their Commanding Officer for ill-treating women; but never remember to have had such a report myself. I have not had any reports for non-payment since I went home in 1889. I may have had before, but cannot recollect clearly. I had a complaint by a man that a woman had taken Re. 1, and had not given him change. I regulate charges made for yekkas and carts, but not any others.

I have never had reason to believe that the police exercise any sort of oppression over prostitutes as such. No doubt, under the old system, they had opportunities which do not now exist.

I have no Cantonment chaukidar or guard of any sort on the Lock Hospital. Not many months ago a European in-patient complained of being robbed there, and I was asked to put one on. As far as I can remember, I could not spare one. The fruit of the garden in which the hospital stands is sold for over Rs. 200 a year.

The rent of chaklas is assessable to income-tax like all other income. To exempt it would be to offer bounty upon prostitution.

I get returns from each hospital showing the admission of men suffering from venereal disease, whether British or Native troops. The return has a column headed "Where contracted." Sometimes there is a note to the effect that the woman can be identified; sometimes that she cannot; sometimes there is no mention of the point. Ordinarily no sort of action is taken on these returns. I knew that the women were as a fact being regularly inspected, and nothing more was needed. But on two occasions, and I think two only, after attendance at inspection had fallen off—after March 1892 in fact—of which occasions I have already mentioned one, disease seemed unusually rife, and the men were sent in charge of a non-commissioned officer to the chakla, to identify the women who had diseased them in my presence. I then and there offered these women the option of leaving Cantonments, or of going to hospital for examination and treatment if necessary. I acted under notification No. 617. The formality of a written report from the medical officer was omitted, but the spirit of the rule was followed. I recollect no other

LUCKNOW, THE 15TH JUNE 1893.—MAJOR CAMPBELL, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—RUSTUMJI, INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

KARACHI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

occasion but these two. The latter was about three months ago. There were only two men on that occasion. On the former occasion nine or ten women went to hospital, of whom no fewer than seven were found to be diseased. These are the only two occasions on which I have ever taken action under notification No. 617. I am certain that no woman has ever been reported to me by any medical officer as supposed to be diseased, with a view to action under notification No. 617. I have had a leprous woman reported to me for refusing to stay in hospital. She eventually left Cantonments. But I have never had a woman affected with venereal disease, reported on similar grounds, nor have I ever taken any action on such grounds. As for women reported for non-attendance at examination, they used to be common before 1888, and I cannot say that there has been none since. My impression is that there have been some cases under the voluntary system, though there has been none recently. I cannot say whether the reports will have been in writing or not. I have been so often asked whether I could not help in the matter, and have had to explain that I could not, that it is difficult to remember what were mere conversations and what formal reports. If I have had such reports, I have certainly *never* taken any action upon them in order to present the woman for examination. I have always understood since 1888 that examination was purely voluntary.

With the exception of the leprous woman above referred to, I remember no reports of persons affected by other infectious or contagious diseases. Such cases are taken straight to hospital without any intervention. The fact is then reported to me by the police; and these reports have been very frequent. We have cholera or small-pox every year. I am certain that there have never been in my time as many as 100 prostitutes living in Cantonments.

By Maulvi Samiullah: I have never had a complaint by a soldier that he had been diseased in the city. I have no power there. But in the hospital return it is often stated that the disease was contracted outside Cantonments; though not nearly so often as within Cantonments. There is no second chakla within Cantonments. I believe the better class of natives will not go with the women whom British soldiers frequent. I know of no special place where natives go for women.

Rustumji, Inspector of Police in Lucknow Cantonment, since January 1875: There are about 60 women now living in the sadr bazaar. During the cold weather concentration we have more—perhaps 70. I do not think more than that. When all the chaklas were open, we may sometimes have had as many as 100, but certainly never since. My police force is 43 constables and 12 police chaukidars. The latter are a part of the Provincial police force. There is no constable or chaukidar in charge of, or posted over the chakla. The chaukidar on his beats visits the chakla occasionally; and at night my police patrol would visit it also.

There is now no prohibition against natives being in the chakla, and we do not interfere with them being there. I believe the lower class native does go with the chakla women, such as cabmen, officers' servants, &c.; but the better class will not go with British soldiers' women.

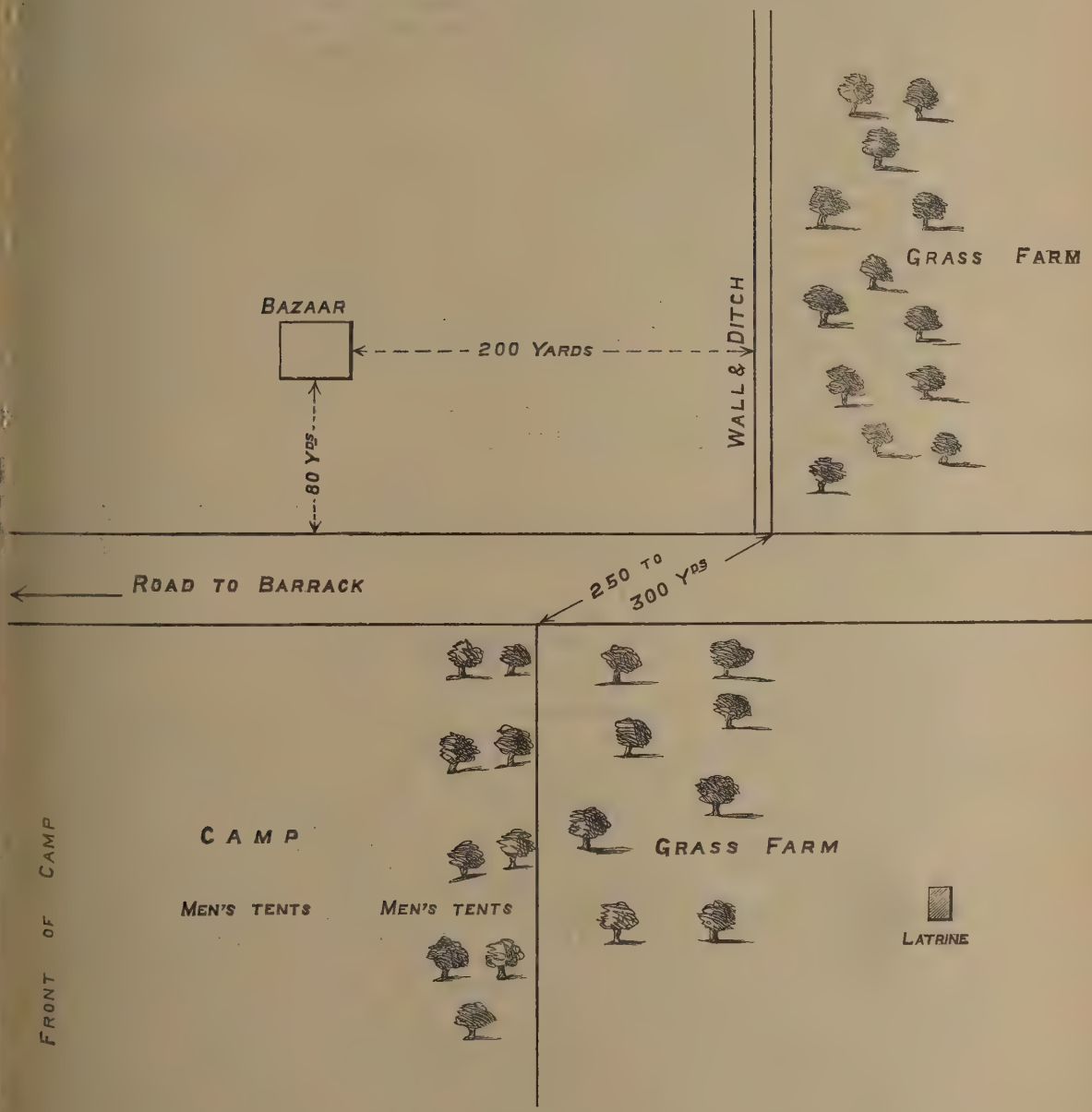
KARACHI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.

Mr. Forbes, Quartermaster of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders since August 1884. The regiment is now at Dagshai; but in the cold weather seven of the companies go down to Ambala. We landed in India on 15th December 1891, and went by rail to Ambala, which we reached on 1st January 1892. We went straight into camp. I came on three days ahead, to make arrangements. The tents had been supplied direct from the Firozepore Arsenal. We got our paid followers from the Commissariat Department. I believe they had been left by another regiment, but am not sure. As for the bazaar, that grew up. Banyas and shopkeepers who wished to supply our men, came to the Commanding Officer and got a pass signed by me, allowing them to come within our lines to sell things, and then pitched their tents outside our lines, about one hundred yards from our camp, on the other side of a road. They brought and pitched their own tents. The paid followers also pitched their tents (which are supplied by us) in the same bazaar. There will have been some eighteen tents altogether—say six for the paid followers, and twelve or so for the shopkeepers. We were very particular about giving permission to natives to pitch there, on sanitary grounds. It was not merely that we did not let them sell in our lines, but we did not let them live in our bazaar without a pass. When the regiment came, some men came to the Commanding Officer and proposed to bring women to live in the bazaar, but he said it was against the regulations, and he would not allow it. I know of *no* women who had pitched tents in the neighbourhood of our encampment. If there were any, they were there without the permission or orders of anybody in the regiment. Our camp was out in the open, about a mile from the Gordon Highlanders, with only one or two houses, and no other encampment near. [Answers 348 to 353 read to witness:] I cannot say there *were* no women's tents near our encampment; but I never noticed any. I had to visit the bazaar daily; but never went beyond it. They were not there to my knowledge; but they might easily have been there without my knowledge as I never made it my duty to go outside our bazaar. They certainly could not have been

KASAULI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

within one hundred, or even two hundred, yards of the camp, as we should not have allowed tents to be pitched so close. They might perhaps have been in a small grove there was at the back of the bazaar.

In short, I have no knowledge whatever of any women having been pitched near our encampment; I am certain there were none within some two hundred yards of it; but there may have been some further off without my knowledge. [Answer 355 read to witness:] I remember no screens of matting. I give a very rough sketch of the position.



The grass farm on the bazaar side of the road was surrounded by a ditch and mud wall some 2½ to 3 feet high. No women's tents could have been near the road without my seeing them; but they might have been further back, among the trees. They could not

KASAULI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. FORBES, QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS—MR. CARLEW, QUARTERMASTER OF THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

have been among the trees on the camp side of the road, as our latrines were behind the trees, and I was daily round there, and must have seen them. Our Military Police patrolled the road to prevent our men crossing it, except when they wanted to buy something from the bazaar, or to visit the Gordon's camp. They also patrolled by the latrines, and along the side of the camp furthest from the road. Sentries proper (as distinct from the Military Police) were posted only over the front and rear guards. The Military Police patrolled up to about 11 P.M. There was no guard of any sort specially over the bazaar. The Kotwal would keep order there; and, if a disturbance had arisen, the patrol on the road would have interfered, and I dare say it was his duty to patrol the bazaar occasionally; but I cannot say for certain, as the police are not under me. If we had been in barracks, police would, I imagine, have been detailed to look after the bazaar; at least we used to detail them in old days. No special patrol could have been kept over the bazaar without my seeing it. [Answer 544 read to the witness:] I am quite certain that it is absolutely impossible that there should have been any European soldier stationed in any place where the women were. Even in the Regimental bazaars we do not station guards. No tent could possibly have been got for the purpose of being pitched there without my knowledge, unless it had been a private one, which would not be used by a guard or sentry.

If a native in our bazaar had to complain of one of our men, *e.g.*, for non-payment, he would go to the Kotwal, who would bring him to me, and I should, if necessary, report to the Commanding Officer. As a fact, I had no such complaint. I never heard of any complaint by a woman against our men. If there had been such a complaint, I should not have entertained it, as we had no business whatever with the women. Police patrols are changed every two hours or so; but I do not know exactly what the arrangements are. All the paid followers were paid by me; and everybody who was not a soldier, and was paid by the regiment, would be paid by me. I paid the Kotwal for instance. No woman of any sort received any pay through me. If a woman in charge of prostitutes had been paid by the regiment, she *must* have been paid through me. She would probably have been paid from the bazaar fund, consisting of small payments for permission to sell in the lines; and that is under my control. I know nothing about any scale or rates according to which the women are paid. I have heard of no complaints by women against our men for ill-treatment.

I did not march with the regiment to Dagshai that year. I went on in front to take over the barracks. As far as I know, none of our bazaar followed us to Dagshai, at any rate I provided no carriage for it. I certainly provided no carriage for women, nor heard of any being provided. I know nothing about any arrangements for the examination of women. There is no Regimental bazar at Dagshai. There is a sadr bazaar which is not under me.

By Maulvi Samiullah.—There was no building of any sort within our bazaar, nor any place formerly known, or then known, as a chakla.

Mr. Carlew, Quartermaster of the Gordon Highlanders since August 1884: The regiment landed at Karachi from Ceylon on 17th January 1892, and came straight up to Ambala by rail, which it reached between the 24th and 26th of that month. Our tents had been supplied direct from the Arsenal. We took over the followers of the 6th, which had relieved us at Ceylon. The followers were waiting for us at Ambala. I came on ahead to take over the camp, which was not pitched when I got there. The followers came a day or two after the regiment had got into their tents. They camped on the other side of the road, together with a few banyas, and formed our bazaar. We took over the regimental Kotwal, and the other followers; and about a fortnight or three weeks after we came in, he brought, by the direction of the Commanding Officer, eight women. The Commanding Officer at first choose a site for them within the boundary of a grove of trees. But the Forest Department (I think) objected because of the young trees; and then they were brought outside the ditch, and an enclosure of matting was put up, within which their tents were pitched. This was some five hundred yards from the rear guard of our camp. There was a sentry over the rear guard. The Regimental Police used also to be on duty there, at the women's enclosure, from about noon to tattoo (about 9.30 P.M.), when there is roll-call and the men turn in. There would be one of the police posted there to keep order. He would be relieved every two or three hours. There was no tent pitched for him there, as he was not there at night. The nearest tent to him was at the rear guard. There was a mahaldarni to look after the women. She used to get fees from the women (six pies out of every four annas); but she got *nothing* from the regiment. If she had, I must have known, as the only fund she could have been paid from was the bazaar fund, of which I keep the accounts. Her business was to look after the women generally, and to go with them to examination. They went to medical examination once a week in a body, under the charge of our bazaar peon (on Tuesdays I think) about 10 A.M. The peon was on Rs. 5 a month, and wore a belt and badge, with no other uniform, and was under the bazaar Kotwal to look after the bazaar. There was a book in which the result of the examinations was recorded—a common bazaar manuscript book, in which the word "fit" was entered with the doctor's initials. I do not remember that there was a listof names; but of course there must have been one.

KASAULI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—MR. CARLEW, QUARTERMASTER OF THE GORDON HIGHLANDERS—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

I saw the book twice only. I think it was when the Kotwal reported that some of the women had been found diseased. They had stayed in hospital. Ordinarily the book was not shown to me, nor, I believe to any other officer. It stayed with the mahaldarni, whose property it was. The number of women varied somewhat. We at one time had as many as twelve living there; so my Kotwal tells me. Fresh women were brought by the mahaldarni, and that I had no concern with. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the mahaldarni was never told or instigated to bring more women. I believe privates used to pay four annas. The charge was in no way authoritative. There were one or two complaints about non-payment. None of them came to me. I believe they were settled by the Kotwal. I knew of none going to the Commanding Officer. We allowed no male natives inside the women's enclosure. No list of the women of any sort whatever was kept up in the regiment. The mahaldarni doubtless had one. The women were absolutely free to come and go as they liked. I never knew of any complaint of ill-treatment by the women against our men.

The regiment marched to Sabathu on the 15th March 1892. I followed the regiment and passed it; and saw from the train, as I passed, women following it; and I asked the Kotwal at Sabathu by whose orders they had come. He said by nobody's orders; but that they used to follow the regiments in former years, and had done so now. The women in 1892 went up to Sabathu and settled in the Sadr Bazar, there being no houses for them in the regimental bazar. A few weeks after we reached Sabathu, somebody brought the regulations on the subject to the Colonel's notice; and he immediately instructed the Kotwal that we were to take no further cognizance, and have no further concern with them, and to discontinue at once sending them for examination. They continued to live in the Sadr Bazar, which is not under me in any way. When the regiment marched to Sabathu, I found no carriage of any sort for either bazar or women. They made their own arrangements in both cases. The tents were their property. I did not march with the regiment; but I know what the arrangements were, from the men who acted for me, and my Quartermaster-Sergeant, and the Kotwal. The women used to start about 10 P.M. at night. I think the bazar started at the same time. There was no sort of guard or sentry of any sort with the women. That I am quite positive about. The heavy baggage marched right through. The light baggage marched with the tents at daybreak. There were guards on the heavy baggage and on the tents. I do not *think* there could have been any heavy baggage carts marching at night which the women could have accompanied.

The Colonel ordered the Kotwal to bring up the women in the first instance. I believe there was an understanding that they should be examined, though I heard no orders to that effect. I believe they were told that if they came into camp they had to be examined; at any rate they went regularly to examination. The regiment had just come from Ceylon, and was ignorant of the Indian rules. Directly we found out what they were we severed all connection with the women.

By Maulvi Samiullah.—If one of the women had refused to go to examination, we should not have punished her, or compelled her in any way. We should simply have turned her out of camp. They were free to leave our camp whenever they chose. I cannot say how many women there were at various dates between January and March.

Surgeon-Major H. Hamilton, in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Lucknow, from the beginning of May 1892 to the end of January 1893: To the lock ward of the hospital only prostitutes were admitted during my time, some of them suffering from other than contagious diseases. They were not admitted to the general branch, because that would have kept respectable women out. Cases of secondary syphilis were received. They were dieted, and not given an allowance.

When I took over charge from Dr. Ranking examination of women had been entirely discontinued: some months before, I think I understood at the time. Probably about the end of June, the Cantonment Magistrate spoke to me about the serious increase of disease among the troops, and asked me whether the examinations could not be started again. I told him I would do whatever I rightly could; so I fixed an afternoon in the week, and let it be known (through the Hospital Assistant) that I would always be at hospital on that afternoon to examine women who chose to present themselves. A considerable number used to come up every week; the number varying greatly from one week to another, and fluctuating from about forty to seventy. I took no measures of any sort whatever to induce the women to come; nor do I know of any such measures being taken by any other person. To the best of my belief, the women came to me spontaneously. I let them clearly understand that there was no compulsion in the matter. This continued till I left Lucknow. I am almost certain that the number of women thus presenting themselves for examination *increased* somewhat during my time there. Certainly there was no falling off in the average attendance. At first something like half the women who attended were diseased. I admitted I think twenty-seven to hospital at one time. But even then, there were a large number who were in no need of medical aid, and came apparently as a precautionary measure. I knew of or

KASAULI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

recognized no distinction between women for the use of British troops and others, except that I understood that natives were not allowed to visit the chakla. As a fact I did take into hospital some of the city prostitutes who were diseased; but I did not encourage them very much, as I should have had my Cantonment Hospital full of them. I do not think that any of them attended my examinations.

At examination, I and the Hospital Assistant and the matron were present. The speculum was almost always used, and was introduced by the matron. I never heard of any objection by the women to its employment. My belief is that the women have not
2790 the *slightest* objection to being examined on the score of modesty. As the women were examined, the Hospital Assistant took notes of their names in pencil on a sheet of paper. I do not remember if any entry was made against those who were clean and sound; but the disease was shown against those who were ill, and "menses" against menstruating women. The list was made week by week, and was not preserved, so far as I know, after the results had been noted in the case of diseased women in the admission register. The results were not communicated to any body, nor were any certificates given. When a woman had menses, she was admitted to hospital. I do not remember how she was shown in the return, or whether she was entered at all. I found that the existing routine was to admit such women to hospital and carried it on. I did not examine a woman who had
2800 menses, so that I could not say whether she was diseased or not. I think the risk a man ran by connection with a woman during this period would be of the slightest; as would be that of the woman, so far as I know. The number varied largely from week to week, and I took no action whatever to compel or induce those absenting themselves to appear.

I have never reported a woman to the cantonment authorities as "supposed to be diseased," or for not presenting herself for examination. I have reported women for leaving hospital before cure—some ten or twelve, or more. They said they wanted to go, so I let them go, and reported them. None of them returned to hospital, and I believe they left cantonments. I sent formal written reports to the Cantonment Magistrate. I am not sure there was always a record kept. They were all prostitutes. There were
2810 very few cholera or small-pox cases while I was there, and they all came to hospital without any difficulty. One cholera patient absconded in a dangerous state; but he left cantonments at once, so I did nothing. There are no other cases of infectious or contagious diseases. I received no periodical return of patients suffering from venereal disease from the Station Hospital.

My patients were absolutely free to leave hospital at pleasure. There is a chaukidar on the hospital: he was attached to the whole Cantonment Hospital, and not to the lock branch only. The patients would not be free to leave the hospital without the leave of myself or the Hospital Assistant; but that leave would be given as a matter of course. Some such rule is absolutely necessary to maintain any discipline. It is exactly the same in the general branch of the hospital.

2820 I gave no certificate of cure to discharged patients. I never gave any sort of certificate of soundness, with the following exception. The first day that the woman came to me for examination, I began to give the flimsy out-patient tickets used at the general branch, filling in "nil" into the space for disease. But it occurred to me that the women might use them as certificates of soundness; I do not think I gave them to all present that day; and I certainly never gave any after that. I have never made a report on the health of any woman to an official, save—

(i) When I reported women for leaving hospital.

(ii) In continuing the procedure that I found already existing regarding new applications for leave to reside, already described by Dr. Ranking.

2830 I have no knowledge of British soldiers having been taken down to the chakla to identify women who had diseased them. But I know of a case of a European woman who was reported by a soldier to have diseased him, and who was sent to hospital. I have never had a case of a woman admitted to hospital for menses only, and wishing to leave before they were over.

An old mahaldarni used to come up with the women who came for examination. She received no pay from Government. I believe she lived in the Sadr chakla.

I did not inspect the chakla (there was only one, I believe, in the Sadr Bazar) or exercise any sort of supervision over it.

When a woman who wished to settle in cantonments came to me from the Canton-
2840 ment Magistrate for examination, I kept no note of her name, unless she was admitted into hospital as diseased.

I have never had any complaints against my hospital staff of bullying the women, or of practising oppression or extortion. I have never had any reason to believe that they ever did so.

KASAULI, THE 19TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR H. HAMILTON, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, LUCKNOW.

KASAULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—COLONEL TURNBULL, COMMANDING ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY AT AMBALA—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

I have never known a case of any woman coming or being sent to me for examination as a preliminary to her leaving cantonments or the chakla.

I have never had any sort of concern whatever with the proportion of women to troops, or with keeping up the supply. I have never been consulted on the point.

The women in hospital always brought their own bedding with them. They were free to provide themselves with any small luxuries from outside, such as tobacco or 2850
opium. My impression is that they were comfortably off—much above the average native woman. Of course, like all their class, they were extravagant.

I know as a fact that many of the neighbouring bazars, outside cantonment limits, were full of prostitutes. I have seen them there constantly: and the soldiers used to resort to them. The chakla women were perfectly free to go and live there if they chose.

20TH JUNE 1893.—KASAULI.

Colonel Turnbull, Commanding Royal Horse Artillery at Ambala since the end of October 1892: Shortly after I took over the command, I found that there were eight or ten prostitutes in the Royal Horse Artillery chakla. As far as I know, nothing was paid to anybody in connection with them; but I understood that they had to be periodically inspected by a medical officer. I told the Adjutant that I would have 2860
no prostitutes in my bazar, and that they must be taken off the register and turned off. By register, I mean the register which is maintained of all the inhabitants of the bazar, including every body, whether prostitutes or otherwise. A few days later I asked the Adjutant if my orders had been carried out. He said that two or three had left, but the others declined to go. He said I had no power to turn them out. I made inquiries, and, as far as I could make out, I had no such power; as now-a-days everything is done by the Cantonment Magistrate. I then said that if they did live on in the bazar, they must be treated exactly as ordinary residents; that no supervision was to be exercised; and that they were not to be sent for inspection. I inquired several times after that, and was assured that they no longer went to be examined. I believe that they have since been turned out of the bazar by the Cantonment Magistrate. I know of no special 2870
supervision that had been exercised over them, except that they went to examination. Payments could not have been made without my knowledge, during the two or three weeks before I issued my orders. I have been fifteen years in India, and served in all parts; and have never yet heard of any sort of payments being made from public or regimental funds in connection with prostitutes. I do not know how the women had come to be allowed to live in the bazar.

Surgeon-Major Wardrop in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Ambala, since its formation in February 1892. Before that in charge of the Cantonment Hospital from the beginning of November 1891.

In February 1892, we consolidated the Departmental Followers' Hospital, the 2880
Charitable Hospital, the Cantonment Hospital, and the Infectious (Cholera and Small-pox) Hospital. Before the amalgamation, the Cantonment Hospital was the Voluntary Venereal Hospital for women. At that time it was for women only; in fact, for prostitutes only: mainly for venereal and cognate diseases; but any prostitute would be admitted with any disease. A respectable woman suffering from venereal disease would have been put into the Charitable Hospital. After the amalgamation, there was practically no change in the nature of the venereal branch, now called No. II. Section; except that now, if a prostitute is very seriously ill or an operation is required, I transfer her to the female ward of the general branch. I believe the building was the old Lock Hospital. I have always admitted cases of secondary syphilis, whether associated with primary or not. I have never had respectable women in Section No. II. I think most 2890
of the patients were from the gora chakla, as the greater number were admitted under the rules of July 1890. I should have taken exactly the same action under these rules in the case of women from either chakla; but my information was derived chiefly through the medical officers in charge of British troops, who frequented the gora chakla in particular. If a woman came from the kala chakla she was received in exactly the same manner as those who came from the gora chakla; in fact, when I asked where they came from, and they said "from the Sadr Bazar," I asked no further questions. As a fact, I had a certain number of patients who came of their own accord from neighbouring villages for medical treatment. There is absolutely no foundation for the idea that the hospital was confined to the use of women who were frequented by British troops. 2900

KASAULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

The hospital is maintained from cantonment funds. In the venereal branch we allowed two annas and six pies a day to each patient. In the other branches we dieted them. When the amalgamation was first carried out, I began dieting in the venereal branch also; but there was so much opposition that I had to give it up. The complaints were such as did not require special diet, and the women were accustomed to their little luxuries.

When I took over charge, women used to come up every Tuesday for voluntary examination. They were women who still spoke of themselves as attached to regiments —Artillery women, Cavalry women, and so forth. There were none, with rare exceptions, from the Sadr Bazar. I believe these women were living in the regimental bazars. I do not think there were any women living in the Infantry bazar: though I *think* that Infantry women came for examination, but am not quite sure. I think the mahaldarni, or some sort of head woman, used to bring each group of women up.

I had a book that I kept for my own use, in which the women were entered as they came, and in which I entered the results of my examinations. I sent no extracts from this to any body; nor did I communicate the results of the examination to any body whatever, save in so far as entry in the small books to be mentioned presently may be considered to have done so. I found the book when I came: and if a women appeared, I marked "fit," or the nature of her disease; and if she did not appear, I drew a line. I did not strike off any names. When a new woman presented herself, I added her name; but in that case only. I had no other list of prostitutes. I never had any intimation from any source that such and such a woman was to be added to the list; and till the woman actually presented herself, I knew nothing about her. If I had ever had to change my day, I should have told my Hospital Assistant, or my matron, to let the women know: but if this ever did occur, it certainly was very rarely. If a woman was found to be diseased I told her so, and asked her if she would come into hospital. I think once or twice she refused. I then explained that I should have to report her for expulsion from cantonments. On one or two occasions they said they would rather leave cantonments. I then reported them to the Magistrate. Supposing a woman did not appear for examination, I took no step whatever, however frequently she absented herself. Many of them turned up once or twice, and then never again; but I reported to no one. With reference to the fact, noted by Dr. Cleghorn in his note on the Ambala letterbook, that in a letter of 24th November 1891 the medical officer reported to the Cantonment Magistrate the fact that the women of the 2nd Queen's bazar had not presented themselves for examination for two weeks, I can only say that I had only just taken over charge; that I suppose the letter was written in accordance with former routine; and that no such report was ever made again.

Some of the mahaldarnis who came with the women brought books I think; not all. When there were books, I entered the results of the examination in them also; in fact, the mahaldarnis made a point of my doing so. The books were common bazar books, like the one produced [see evidence of Umar Bakhsh, Ambala, 8th June], only generally much dirtier. I do not know what was done with the books afterwards. In the registers I keep for my own information, I arranged the women by regimental groups; doing so simply in accordance with the entries in the books I took over, and in accordance with the statements of new women. Women used to come from the two Highland Regiments (in camp), but none from the Derbyshire. I never had any intimation from, or communication with, any of the Commanding Officers on the subject of the examination of women.

I had no heading for the Sadr Bazar. Women so seldom came from there that it was not worth while. When they did come, it was not at regular inspection time, but any morning: as they knew I was always at hospital at a fixed hour. They generally came because some one woman had taunted another with being diseased, and the latter had come to be examined and disprove the taunt. Five or six would come together to learn the result. I did not know why the Sadr women did not come regularly for examination. I found a system under which only regimental women came regularly; and I made no enquiries about it.

This system went on as I have described it till the issue of Quartermaster-General's No. 20 of 11th July 1892, which reached me early in August. From that date the examinations were discontinued. To this day if a women comes and asks me to examine her I do so; but I then told the women who had come regularly to examination that I would not see them any more; and they never came again as a body. Once or twice since one group has come up. I remember the Artillery women in particular, and I think no other. If I found an outbreak of disease in a regiment, and could not fix upon any particular woman, I would tell the matron (who would probably send the sweeper or bhishti) to let the women of that regiment know that the soldiers were accusing them of being diseased, and that they had better come and see me: upon which they would all

KASULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

come up, and I would ask them if they would like to be examined. They invariably said "yes:" upon which I examined them, on that occasion only. This may have happened four times since August 1892, As a rule, I found them all free of disease.

At examination, the Hospital Assistant and the two matrons, and myself would be present. The speculum was always used, either by the head matron or by myself. The women were admitted one by one. I am quite clear that the women had no objection whatever on the score of modesty. Their whole demeanour showed this. I am perfectly 2970
convinced of this. On one occasion several women from the sadar bazar, nearly a dozen, had been identified by soldiers as having diseased them, and reported by me to the Cantonment Magistrate. They came up, accompanied by a large body of women from the sadar bazar, who all asked to be examined. There must have been at least 30 or 40; as it took me an hour and a half to examine them. After I had finished the examination, I went down stairs, and found them all waiting for me. They complained that there were a great many women living about the place, casual prostitutes, who were diseased; many of them foreigners. These women diseased the soldiers, and caused them, the proper Ambala prostitutes, to be blamed for it. They asked me if I could get permission to examine, not only them, but *all* prostitutes in Cantonments, once a week, as in old 2980
days. I told them I could not do it. This was after August 1892. Some three or four months later, precisely the same thing happened again. I am not sure why the women came on that occasion, but a considerable body came; and fearing that I had not understood them the first time, brought a woman who spoke English with them to explain. They have the strongest possible objection to being identified by a soldier as having diseased him; as they say it is not fair, since other women who are much worse diseased go scot-free.

As for working the rules of 1890, sometimes I got direct information from the men themselves, as I was in charge of the Royal Artillery Hospital; at others from the medical officers in charge of the troops, who gave the information on the sick report. I did not take action in every case, as I thought it was not wise to worry the women. I would 2990
wait till two or three reports pointed to one woman, or group of women, or until there was an outbreak of disease. When I did take action, I ordinarily reported to the Cantonment Magistrate. On one or two occasions, when I knew the women, I told my Hospital Assistant to tell them they had better come to me. Ordinarily, I reported the woman, either by name, if reported, or as living in such and such a house, as supposed to be diseased. The man would describe the house, and I would get the police to give me the number. I do not ever remember a man giving the number of a house. As a rule, the women then came for examination. They came of themselves, and were not brought by the police. In two or three cases, when the women were badly diseased, they left Cantonments rather than come to me. As a rule, I found that my information was correct, and that the woman was diseased. I never had any report of the same sort from 3000
native troops. I do not know why. I had weekly returns of venereal disease from British troops but not from native troops. If I had had such a report, I should have acted exactly as above described. I have never had a report against a respectable woman. I had once a report against a soldier's wife, that she was spreading venereal disease. I told her Colonel, and took no other action. I have had several reports against European and Eurasian women. I treated them in exactly the same way; but they invariably elect to leave Cantonments. There were three Japanese women, of whom I reported one. They all three came for examination. I found the one reported had leucorrhœa; and I told her that if she would promise not to practice until she was well I would take no further action. A day or two after I found she had given a soldier gonorrhœa; so I got 3010
the Inspector of Police to tell her that if she would not come to hospital, she would have to leave Cantonments; and they all three left the station. I have never taken action under the rules against men; because, until a man is under medical treatment, I have no means of knowing that he is diseased. A soldier who is affected, is bound to report himself sick; and if he does not, and is found out, he is punished regimentally.

I have in the general branch of my hospital, several hundred male cases of venereal disease—mostly out-patients, as I do not take them in unless they are very bad. Many of them are people from villages outside Cantonments. As for the rest, I have neither room for them, nor could I afford to feed them as in-patients. But, as a fact, it is not nearly so important to keep a man affected with venereal disease in hospital as it is a 3020
woman; as the latter is infinitely more likely to spread disease than the former, whose affection would ordinarily prevent him from indulging in sexual intercourse.

In the case of cholera or small-pox, the persons affected are removed at once to the infectious section; generally by the police, who find it out and let me know. I have had reports of small-pox made, in which case I had the person removed to hospital at once, and reported to the Magistrate afterwards. My action is more harsh and peremptory than in the case of venereal disease, because the matter is more urgent. There are very recent orders which in some degree limit our power of removing cholera patients from their houses; but I know of no other order limiting it or forbidding it. I have never known

KASULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

a case of either typhus or scarlet fever in the bazar. I have known a case of diphtheria; but the child could be effectively isolated in her own house, and I treated her there.

I have never reported a woman as supposed to be diseased, on the ground of not attending periodical examinations.

I have had once or twice to report a woman for leaving hospital before cure. They were women who found that treatment would probably be protracted; and sooner than stay in hospital they would leave cantonments. Patients are always free to go out two and three times a week; and I generally arranged that they should do so at a time when soldiers were on duty, so that they could do no harm. Their friends might come and see them every day. If a woman wanted to leave the hospital before cure, I warned her that she would have to leave cantonments. If she persisted, I reported her intention to the Cantonment Magistrate; and when I learned that the intimation had reached the police, I discharged her. I believe a chaprassi or somebody was sent to see that she really did leave cantonments. That would all be done within the day. If a woman had declined to wait, I should not have restrained her; but, as a fact, no one ever did so. I have never had to similarly report cases of other diseases, such as small-pox: as they have always consented to stay in hospital till the danger of infection was over. If they had not, I should probably have put a watch over them, and kept them there until I had communicated with the Magistrate; as the danger would have been so great as to justify almost any measures, since they might have infected the whole of cantonments. In the case of venereal disease, no sort of restraint is attempted. I give no sort of certificate of health when a woman is discharged cured.

I have *never* received a woman into hospital on account of menses. If a woman came up for examination with her menses on, I simply did not examine her, and let her go. If a woman had menses while in hospital, she would not be examined, and therefore would not be discharged as cured, till they were over. I used always to stop all medical treatment during the continuance of the menses, which were accordingly noted in the Hospital Assistant's book for his guidance. [Answer No. 696 read to witness.] The statement is absolutely incorrect; but easily explainable. Native prostitutes often think that we take them into hospital when not really diseased; especially in the case of leucorrhœa, which they look upon as the remains of the menses, however bad it may be. I never do pay any attention to slight leucorrhœa; but bad cases I take into hospital.

I had nothing whatever to do with the mahaldarnis. I believe there was one in some cases, and not in others; that is all I know about them. The duties of my two matrons were entirely confined to the hospital, not only in the venereal section, but in the general section also. In infectious cases I entertain a special temporary staff. No payment is made to any woman whose duties lie in whole or in part beyond the hospital.

I have a chaukidar on the infectious, and another on the general section: but none on the venereal section, as it is next door to the police station, and there is little to steal. I know of no special orders to the police to look after it. [Answer No. 1315 read to the witness]. When I came to Ambala, there was a policeman posted on the hospital gate. There had been an attempt on the part of soldiers to break in, which had led to his being posted there. He was taken off several months ago by a new District Superintendent of Police, who said that he was unnecessary, as the police station was next door. His duty was simply to keep people out who had no business there. He had no concern with the patients, who were daily passing in and out, going to look after their property and houses, and visit their friends. I never had a case of a woman absconding from hospstal.

I exercise no sort of special supervision or control over, nor make any special inspection of, the chaklas, different from what I do in other parts of the bazar. I am in charge of their sanitation, in common with that of the whole cantonments.

I have never taken any sort of measure to induce or compel a woman to come to examination, unless she had been reported to me as diseased.

I remember a French woman coming to me to be examined, prior to settling down as a prostitute. She came of her own accord. She had been acquainted with the old system, under which this was necessary. I said I would examine her, though I did not see the good of it. I gave her no sort of certificate. That is the only case I can remember. I certainly have never had women sent to me for the purpose. Nor have I ever had a woman come for examination as a preliminary to leaving cantonments.

I have never under any circumstances given a woman any certificate, in any shape, of freedom from venereal disease, whether after examination or after discharge from hospital. The women who came to me for examination had no tickets of any sort, nor any numbers that I know of.

KASAULI, THE 20TH JUNE 1893.—SURGEON-MAJOR WARDROP, IN CHARGE OF THE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, AMBALA.

KASAULI, THE 21ST JUNE 1893.—COLONEL TROTTER, COMMANDING THE ARGYLL AND SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS.

I have never had a woman brought to me for examination by the police.

I have never had any complaints against my hospital staff for attempts at extortion; nor do I think that anything of this sort occurs. The matron in particular is very popular with the women. Unless the doctor's supervision was quite nominal, it would be impossible for the Hospital Assistant or matrons to prevent or delay, by improper treatment, the discharge of a patient from hospital.

I have no concern with, and have never been consulted about, the proportion of prostitutes to British troops in cantonments.

My impression of the prostitutes is, that the older and worse-favoured ones are often miserably poor; but that the younger and better looking are very well off. Of the 3100
eighteen or twenty who came for weekly examination, *all* were well off. Taking the whole body of prostitutes with whom I had some acquaintance, probably ten per cent. would be poor; not more. The rest were well fed and well clad, and some of them possessed of very valuable jewellery. They always brought their own bedding to hospital, and they used to supplement the two annas and six pies allowed them, and feed remarkably well. This is true of the large majority. Some cases have been so poor, that we have had to supplement the allowance by giving them extra food. The women always strike me as being perfectly happy and contented. I have only known of one woman having been beaten by a soldier. I believe they generally treat them exceedingly well. I know they constantly give them presents. One woman had nine teetotal medals (real silver) given her by different men. 3110

By Maulvi Samiullah.—I know of no order forbidding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars. The point would not fall within my province. I cannot say whether Quartermaster-General's No. 20, referred to above, contained such an order.

KASAULI, 21ST JUNE 1893.

Colonel Trotter, Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

When our regiment was in camp at Ambala in March 1892, there were some prostitutes living in three or four tents just outside the grass farm, on the opposite side of the public road to our camp, and several hundred yards from the road, quite outside our limits. There were certainly more than three or four women; perhaps half a dozen in each tent. They probably came there, attracted by the soldiers. They did not come under any arrangements made by me, or by any authority given by me. I frequently had 3120
petitions from women to be allowed to settle near my camp, on which I passed no orders, except to explain verbally that I had no jurisdiction outside my camp, and that my orders were strictly against their coming within my jurisdiction. Their settling there was in *no* way authoritative or arranged for. No arrangements were made for them to come there, nor any conditions made with any women about attending examination. I said they might go where they liked, so long as they did not come within my jurisdiction. We chose no site for them. There was no guard over their encampment. The Military Police patrolled the whole vicinity of the camp, and very probably patrolled that spot also; and would doubtless have interfered if there had been a disturbance; but they had no special orders about that spot. I know nothing whatever about any periodical examination of them by a medical officer. I never saw any record, or received any report 3130
of the results of such examination. No payment of any sort was made in connection with them from any sort of fund under my control. I believe the grass farm, in among the trees, was also frequented by prostitutes. Whether they too had tents, I cannot say. I should say it was a month or more after my arrival (on 2nd January) that I first noticed the tents. I think they disappeared before we marched from Ambala. I fancy they went away because our men did not go to them. I let it be known that if I found any of my men diseased by these women, I would endeavour to have them removed from the vicinity of the camp; and that I hoped they would attend hospital if ill, and would avail themselves of all medical assistance which they could obtain. This was a message I sent to the head woman (see below). But I made no condition that they should attend 3140
periodical examination. I did not know that such examinations existed, or I should certainly have made attendance at them a condition of being allowed to reside near the camp. [Answer 544 read to witness.] This is absolutely false. There was no guard there, and no tent. They could not appeal to the guard, who did not exist; and they never appealed to me about non-payment. As for the mahaldarni, there was a woman who wrote petitions to be allowed to bring women to accompany us on the march. She had certificates showing that she had once been a matron in a Lock Hospital. She was a respectable looking woman, and I understood that she was the head of the women. I believe that she had a book in which the names of the women were entered, but I do not think I ever saw it. It certainly was never brought me to see; there was nothing of 3150

that sort. I think I did hear some mention, that they would keep a book if they were allowed to live there.

When we marched to Dagshai, I saw women at some of our camps in the vicinity of the encamping ground. On one occasion I saw their tents near our camp, but in native territory. I do not know whether they accompanied us to Dagshai, but probably they did so; as I saw the head woman there, the only one of them I know by sight. [Answer 634 read to witness.] No *sort* of assistance was given them in the matter of carriage; and certainly no guard of any sort was put over them, or accompanied them. It is very possible that the Military Police would patrol near their quarters at night, if close to our camp, to keep order. On the petition which the head woman presented to be allowed to accompany us on the march, I simply passed an order that no women would be allowed within my jurisdiction. They came with us quite independently, and by no sort of authority or permission of mine. I know nothing of any medical examination of them while on the march.

By "my jurisdiction," I mean the actual limits of my camp. On the march, outside the encamping ground was always native territory; but even in Ambala, I had no power to prevent anybody from setting up a shop, or even a brothel, so long as it was outside my camp limits.

I do not think the women came by any arrangement with our bazar Kotwal. I certainly knew of no such arrangement; and I believe that the women took the initiative themselves.

I considered that it was far better that our men should restrict themselves to women to whom medical aid was available; and my position throughout has therefore been that, although I would do nothing to authorise the presence of such women in the vicinity of my camp, yet I would do nothing to prevent it, so long as they did not infringe standing orders by camping within my camp limits.

The women had certainly not accompanied us to Ambala; as we came by rail from Karachi. I think the head woman told me that they had come from Dagshai, hearing we should be going there.

On one occasion there had been a theft at Dagshai, and I had the whole bazar searched. In the house of one of one of the prostitutes there, they found two or three thousand rupees worth of jewellery.

Note of an Inspection of the books and documents belonging to the Cantonment General Hospitals at Ambala and Meerut, which were impounded by the Government of India, and subsequently sent to the Commission for the purposes of the inquiry.

The books belonging to Ambala are three in number, and are named—

(i) "Attendance of Register of women of Voluntary Venereal Hospital";

(ii) "Journal of Cantonment Hospital"; and

(iii) "Army Hospital Book No. 10—Letter book of Voluntary Venereal Hospital."

The Attendance Register begins from 22nd July 1890. The two pages facing each other are used for the purposes of the register, aad are headed "Attendance Register of women who volunteered for examination." Immediately below this heading, is the name of the regiment to which the women whose names are entered in the particular page presumably belong, or in whose bazar they reside.

The pages are ruled in parallel columns, beginning with the names of the women and followed by the heading, "Date of examination." This last is divided into two sub-columns, one headed "State," and the other "Initials"; the one for entering condition on examination, and the other for initials of Medical Officer. These are continued till the full breadth of both pages is occupied. In the sub-column "State," the usual entries are "fit," *i.e.*, healthy; "M" for menses; and "hospital," meaning that the woman to whose name this is opposite was diseased, and should remain in hospital. It is frequently noted in the sub-column that certain women have absconded, or are sick, or have left the bazar.

The register commences with the examination of eight women, on 22nd July 1890, under the heading "R.H.A."; and women under this heading are examined regularly every week till August 2nd 1892, when five women were examined.

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

On 22nd July 1890, six women were examined under the heading "7th Dragoon Guards"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 27th October 1891, when nine women were examined, after which there are no further entries under this heading.

On 29th July 1890, five women were examined under the heading "Infantry," without any regimental designation. The examinations were continued weekly till 2nd December 1890, after which no further entries. 3210

On the 11th November 1890, thirteen women were examined under the heading "Infantry (K. O. S. B.)," *i.e.*, King's Own Scottish Borderers; and the examination was continued weekly till the 17th March 1891, when it is entered in next column, "Left Umballa."

On the 18th November 1890, seven women were examined under the heading "West Yorkshire Regiment"; and the examinations were continued weekly till the 4th March 1891, when it is noted in next column, "Left Umballa."

On the 9th December 1890, four women were examined under the heading "Infantry —The Queen's"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 3rd November 1891, after which they no longer appear in the register. 3220

On 12th January 1892, seven women were examined under the heading "18th Hussars"; and the examinations were continued weekly till 2nd August 1892, when no further entries appear. The names of women in the list under the above heading are different from those in 7th Dragoon Guards' list.

On the 26th January 1892, seven women were examined under heading "Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders," and continued weekly till 15th March 1892.

On 4th February 1892, ten women were examined under heading "Gordon Highlanders," and continued weekly till 8th March 1892.

The original women in these nine lists frequently changed, and their names were replaced by others. 3230

The women are not numbered or distinguished in any way except by names; and these lists appear to have been kept up simply for the information of the examining officer.

I would note that there is no list of women under the heading "Sadar Bazaar."

The Journal is a record of daily visits paid by the Medical Officer to the hospital, the results of weekly inspection of women, admission and discharge of women to and from hospital, and purchase of necessaries for hospital use, &c.

On 22nd December 1891, it is specially noted that a few women from the Sadar Bazaar attended for examination. The attendance of women for examination during February and March 1892 are noted, and are referred to by the witnesses in the evidence given before the Committee at home. That attendance was, on 2nd February, 21 women; 3240
10th February, 30 women; 16th February, number not given; 23rd February, 27 women; 1st March, 28 women; 8th March, 32 women; 15th March, number not given. These numbers practically correspond with those shown to have been examined by the register. There is no later record of examinations in the Journals.

The Letter-book.—The correspondence begins with letter No. 1, dated 1st February 1889. The first letter with regard to prostitutes is dated 16th July 1890, from the Medical Officer (an Apothecary) in charge of the Voluntary Venereal Hospital, to the Cantonment Magistrate, in which he reports that a Miss McGraw, living in the Sadar Bazaar, is plying her trade as a prostitute; and that, to the best of his belief, she is suffering from syphilis; and that her detention in hospital or removal from the bazaar is necessary to 3250
prevent the spread of venereal disease among the troops. On the 1st July he sends a medical certificate to the Cantonment Magistrate, to the effect that Miss McGraw is suffering from syphilis, and reiterates his previous recommendation. On 22nd July 1890, he reports to the Officer Commanding Royal Horse Artillery that he had examined four women, whose names are noted, and that one of them was diseased. On 9th August 1890, he writes to the Senior Medical Officer that he examined a woman said to have infected a Gunner, but that she was clean. He also states that the matron of the Royal Horse Artillery bazaar had informed him that the Gunner had another woman in his keeping; and she, on being examined, was found to be diseased, and was admitted into hospital.

On 10th August 1890, he suggests to the Cantonment Magistrate that all prostitutes 3260
in the Sadar Bazaar should be sent for examination; and on 14th August, in reply to a memorandum from the Cantonment Magistrate on the subject, he gives the following information:—

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

(1) Number of prostitutes in the Sadar Bazaar—

Native chakla	28
European chakla	60
(2) Number of prostitutes examined	3
(3) Number of prostitutes diseased	3
(4) Number of prostitutes sent to hospital	3

Several letters follow, addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, reporting results of
3270 examination of certain women who were reported by soldiers to have diseased them.

On 6th November 1890, he writes letters to the Quartermasters of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and West Yorkshire Regiment, requesting that their respective mahaldarnis may be directed to bring their women to hospital every Tuesday for examination.

On 4th December 1890, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute in hospital with gonorrhœa declines to remain any longer in hospital, and that she wishes to leave Cantonments.

On 12th December 1890, the Medical Officer reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute residing in the Sudar Bazaar chakla is reported to be suffering from venereal disease.

3280 On 20th January 1891, he writes a memorandum to the Cantonment Magistrate marked "urgent," that a prostitute refuses to remain in hospital, although suffering from disease. The woman evidently left the hospital at once; as the Medical Officer reports the next day to the Cantonment Magistrate that she had returned, and that his first memorandum should be cancelled.

On 18th March 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that four women, named, have left the Cantonment Hospital without leave; and that they should be made to return for proper treatment, or be removed from Cantonments.

On 29th September 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that four women, named, did not come for examination that morning.

3290 A memorandum to the Cantonment Magistrate, without date, that a Gunner had reported that a European woman in the Sadar Bazaar had given him venereal disease; and on 7th October 1891, that this woman had not attended for examination.

On 24th November 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that two women in the 2nd Queen's Bazaar had not presented themselves for examination for two weeks.

On 1st December 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that a prostitute under treatment in hospital for gonorrhœa refuses further treatment, and wishes to leave the hospital; and requests that he would arrange for her doing so.

On 21st December 1891, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate that seven women, named, living in the Sadar Bazaar are, in his opinion, diseased; and requests that they
3300 be directed to attend hospital for examination. They are evidently those referred to in the Journal (Hand-book) who appeared for examination.

Then follow* six letters, four addressed to the Cantonment Magistrate, and two to the Senior Medical Officer, requesting that certain soldiers affected with venereal should be directed to point out the women from whom they contracted the disease.

* These are the letters referred to in Answers 702 to 705.

On 10th February 1892, he informs the Cantonment Magistrate that two women in the Cantonment General Hospital, suffering from venereal disease, wish to leave Cantonments.

On 7th February 1892 (date apparently wrong), he writes to the Medical Officer,
3310 Station Hospital, asking for the name and residence of a European woman from whom a Gunner is said to have contracted venereal disease.

On 9th March 1892, he informs the Cantonment Magistrate that a patient in hospital, Section II., wishes to leave Cantonments; and asks him kindly to see that she does leave.

On 10th March 1892, he writes to the same that six women, named, who were ordered to attend inspection, did not do so; but that of five other women who attended, four were diseased.

The correspondence closes with this letter.

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

The books and documents received belonging to Meerut were—

(i) "Admission and Discharge book for in and out-patients of the Cantonment Hospital."

(ii) "Diary and Visitors' book;" and

(iii) Lists of prostitutes on loose sheets of paper.

The register of in-patients commences from 1st November 1884, and is headed "Register of public prostitutes of the Meerut Lock Hospital." The pages are divided into columns headed—

Month and date of admission—

Number of register—

Name—

Caste—

Residence—

Disease, &c.—

This continues up to 1889; when, instead of entering the registered number of the prostitute in the column under that heading, the bazaar in which the patient resides is noted, and a registered number no longer appears. The first admission in 1889 was on 18th July; and as the last admission in 1888 was on the 28th August, the hospital appears to have been closed for eleven months.

The register for 1890 is the same as that for 1889. The column for the registered number of the prostitutes continues, but is no longer used in any way. It remains blank, though the heading continues.

The register for 1891 is headed "Register of Admissions and Discharges in the Cantonment Hospital." Columns the same as before; that for registered number being continued, but blank as regards heading and entries. These books are ruled by the Hospital Assistants, and the continuation of a column no longer required shows the persistency with which they adhere to custom.

The columns in the registers for 1892 and 1893 are headed:—"Number" (which is serial), "Bazaar," "Name," "Disease," &c.

In the former year there were 172 admissions; all for venereal or diseases likely to produce inflammation in the male, except seven cases. The treatment of out-door patients commenced on 12th August 1892; and during the remainder of the year 263 patients were treated for general diseases, and 9 for venereal.

In 1893, up to 23rd May, 55 in-patients were treated, all for venereal, &c.; and 286 out-patients, 26 of whom attended for venereal disease.

There was no patient admitted for menstruation in any of the registers for in-patients.

The Diary and Visitors' book.—This is apparently not the one referred to in Answer No. 1182, but that in Answer No. 1189. It is really not a Visitors' book; but merely a record of visits paid by the Medical Officer to the hospital; the incidents which occurred during these visits, such as examination of women; the results of these; discharges and admissions; and reports made to the Cantonment Magistrate regarding women supposed to be diseased. It commences on 20th December 1890.

On the 19th October 1891, the Medical Officer notes that he wrote to the District Superintendent of Police concerning two European women going in a cab from the city to Cantonments for prostitution; and on the 22nd of the same month, he states that a policeman was put on to look after the European women mentioned above. These are probably the women referred to in Answer No. 1183.

On the 6th November 1891, he writes that a woman named Allah Rakhi left the hospital while suffering from a contagious disease, and was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate and Station Staff Officer under paragraph 4 of Military Department No. 167 (No. 617?) "Judicial;" and on the 11th January 1892, he writes that the Native Doctor was sent to the Contonment Magistrate with evidence regarding Allah Rakhi. This is the woman referred to in Answer No. 1192.

On 31st December 1891, he notes that "one woman was sent by police; no disease found." This is the case referred to in Answer No. 1195.

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT.

On 23rd January 1892, he reports to the Cantonment Magistrate a Mrs. McLeod "as being reasonably suspected of having a contagious disease."

On 9th February 1892, he notes that a European woman was admitted into hospital; and on reference to the register of the hospital, she is found to be a Mrs. Smith with secondary syphilis, who remained under treatment for 86 days.

On 22nd February 1892, he reported a Mrs. Voyle as being reasonably suspected of having a contagious disease.

On 3rd March 1892, he notes that he "recommended a medieal examination of the women who accompanied the West York to Chakrata."

On the following day, he notes that several women were absent from examination, and gave orders for them to be present next day, On 10th May 1892, he allowed one woman to leave the hospital, as she wished to go to Ludhiana.

On 14th June 1892, he stopped the leave of all patients in hospital for a period of one week, as a patient who had been granted the indulgence returned in a drunken condition.

On the 20th of the same month, he notes that last week's returns—those from Military Hospitals—show 21 admissions for venereal; and he says the disease cannot have been contracted from recognised prostitutes, as they are all healthy. On the same day, he allowed a patient to leave hospital, as she wished to go to her home.

On the 9th November 1892, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to go to her home; and another on the 20th for the same reason.

On the 12th December 1892, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to live in the city.

On the 15th December 1892, he admitted a woman into hospital from the city, who was badly diseased.

On 21st March 1893, he discharged a woman from hospital, as she wished to go to Delhi.

On 29th April 1893, a case of small-pox is reported, and removed to huts outside Cantonments.

On 15th May 1893, a woman was allowed to leave hospital, to go to Allahabad.

Lists of prostitutes.—These are on loose sheets of paper, and are the registers referred to in Answer No. 774. These lists show that prostitutes were examined weekly from 4th January 1892 till 24th April 1893. Each sheet on both sides is divided into parallel columns, with headings as follows :

Number (these are serial) ;
Name ;
Date (being that of examination).

The numbers are only serial; names low down on the list move up and get numbers according to their position on the list, as others higher up disappear. At the top of each sheet is noted the bazaar or regiment to which the women belong, or in which they reside. These are—

Royal Artillery, five women ;
5th Lancers, three women ;
Infantry, thirty-four women ;
Sadar Bazaar, sixty-five women.

The "Infantry" referred to means the "Lal Kurti" bazaar in the evidence we submit; and is situated outside the regimental bazaar. Under Answer No. 1197, the numbers in the two former bazaars are given as nine and five, respectively. The numbers examined were never more than those stated above; and on the 29th August 1892, the date of the last examination, the numbers of the two first-mentioned corps were three and two, respectively. In February 1892, the numbers examined were—

Royal Artillery, five ;
5th Lancers, two ;
Lal Kurti, thirty-two ;
Sadar Bazaar, fifty-eight.

DR. CLEGHORN'S NOTE ON THE IMPOUNDED DOCUMENTS FROM AMBALA AND MEERUT—NOTE BY CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

The Medical Officer's remarks in pencil under each date of examination are—

(1) "Healthy."

(2) "R. H." remained in hospital; *i.e.*, patient was already in hospital at time of examination. These letters appear continued from week to week, until patient is cured.

(3) "Menses."

(4) "Hospital;" *i.e.*, she is to remain in hospital; coming in from that date.

The notes in the dairy show that the "menses" cases were examined after the cessation of the menses, and that they were not detained in hospital.

On the sheets beginning with date of examination, 7th September 1892, the women from Royal Artillery and 5th Lancers no longer appear. The women only came from the Sadar Bazaar (37) and Infantry or Lal Kurti (34).

The date of the last examination is 24th April 1893, when 41 women from the Sadar Bazaar and 35 from the Lal Kurti Bazaar were examined.

Since writing the above, three letter books have been received from Cantonment General Hospital, Meerut, the last letter dated 1st December 1890; but the statements made under Answers 718 and 1183, referring to severe measures to be taken by the Cantonment Magistrate, cannot be found in these books; and there is no reference whatever to any such measures.

Note by the Cantonment Magistrate of Ambala, being facts extracted from his general register of houses and their owners and occupiers.

Queries.

(*a*) Number of prostitutes occupying regimental chaklas just before the recent order was issued to turn out the prostitutes?

(*b*) Total number of houses in chakla? Also the inhabitants of chaklas on January 1890, December 1891, March 1893?

(*c*) How many prostitutes lived in the bazaar outside the chaklas on all above dates?

Answers.

(*a*) Seven in Royal Horse Artillery bazaar chakla, 17 in British Cavalry bazaar, and 5 in British Infantry bazaar.

(*b*) Seven houses in Royal Horse Artillery bazaar chakla, 20 in British Cavalry bazaar, and 14 houses in British Infantry bazaar.

None of the houses in Royal Horse Artillery bazaar chakla were occupied in January 1890 and December 1891. In March 1893, there were six prostitutes living inside the chakla. This chakla was sold by auction in December 1890, and remained empty till 22nd May 1892, when six prostitutes hired houses in it.

In the British Cavalry bazaar chakla, there were about 50 persons (ordinary bazaar people, such as gariwallas, cooks, &c.) in January 1890, December 1891, and March 1893, living in 20 houses. The chakla in British Cavalry bazaar was cleared of prostitutes in August 1888. It remained empty up to 30th September 1888, when the houses therein were let out on hire to ordinary individuals. From 1st October 1890 up to date, the name of no prostitute appears in the Cantonment registers as inhabiting the chakla in this bazaar. The prostitutes who were turned out of this bazaar about three weeks ago did not live in this chakla, but in a house belonging to Rama Nand, which is near, but quite separate from the chakla.

In British Infantry bazaar chakla, there were living about 40 persons in 14 houses during January 1890, December 1891, March 1893. None of these were prostitutes.

(*c*) *Royal Horse Artillery Bazaar* outside the chakla—

January 1890.	December 1891.	March 1893.
7	7	None.

NOTE BY THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

Queries.	*Answers.*

British Cavalry Bazaar—

January 1890.	December 1891.	March 1893.
None.	None.	8

British Infantry Bazaar—

January 1890.	December 1891.	March 1893.
4	4	None.

(*d*) Register of prostitutes and forms of tickets in use before 1888?

(*d*) Herewith submitted.

(*e*) Up to what date were mahaldarins paid from Cantonment Funds?

(*e*) Up to the 5th March 1889. Orders received from Quartermaster-General (*vide* his No. 340-B of 21st February 1889) to reduce establishment.

The 8th June 1893.

T. H. BAIRNSFATHER, *Captain,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

Register of prostitutes in Ambala Cantonment.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Serial No.	Name.	Parentage.	Caste.	Age.	Place of residence.	Date of Registry.	Personal appearance.

This form was abolished in 1888, the last entry being dated 10th August 1888.

T. H. BAIRNSFATHER, *Captain,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

The 8th June 1893.

NOTE BY THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE OF AMBALA.

SCHEDULE B.

REFERRED TO IN RULE 14.

Ticket of registered prostitute in Cantonment of Ambala.

Name_____

Caste_____

Registered number_____

Place of residence in cantonment_____

Date of registry_____

Personal appearance_____

Year and months.	DATE OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION AND SIGNATURE OF MEDICAL OFFICER.				*REMARKS.
	Date of inspection in first half of month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	Date of inspection in second half of month.	Signature of Medical Officer.	
January - - -					This form was abolished in 1888.
February - - -					
March - - - -					
April - - - -					
May - - - -					
June - - - -					
July - - - -					
August - - -					
September - - -					
October - - -					
November - - -					
December - - -					

* In this column will be recorded all cases in which disease may be detected, dates of admission into or discharge from hospital, penalties incurred, and the cause thereof, &c., &c.

(signed) T. H. BAIRNSFATHER, *Captain*,

Cantonment Magistrate.

The 8th June 1893

FORM OF NOTICE—LUCKNOW CANTONMENTS.

Form of notice to all officers and gentlemen not in military employ who wish to occupy bungalows in the **Lucknow Cantonments.**

FROM

3530 THE CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE,

Lucknow.

To

SIR,

I have the honour to forward copy of a notice specifying the condition of your residence in the Cantonment, and to request the favour of your signing and returning by bearer the receipt hereto attached.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

Cantonment Magistrate.

Received copy of a notice specifying the conditions under which I am permitted to reside in the Cantonment.

The Officer Commanding sanctions_____

residing in the cantonment of Lucknow, subject to the Military Regulations regarding the tenancy of houses in Cantonments, and on condition of his compliance with all other
3540 rules and regulations in force in the Cantonment.

Under these regulations the premises must be maintained in a proper sanitary state, and must be promptly vacated, if required for the use of an officer posted to the station on duty connected with the troops.

A copy of this notice will be furnished by the Cantonment Magistrate to every resident at the Cantonment—other than officers of the garrison, in order that all such residents may thoroughly understand the conditions under which they are permitted to live in the Cantonments.

By order of the Officer Commanding at Lucknow.

Cantonment Magistrate.

Rough Note on Cantonment Law.

The following rough note represents the results of a very cursory examination of the matter, but is probably correct in the main. It deals with three powers only, viz.:—

(i) The regulation of trades and occupations.

(ii) The expulsion of persons from Cantonments.

(iii) The control over buildings in Cantonments.

2. Under Section 26 of the Cantonment Act of 1889, the Governor General in Council is empowered to make rules for—

(i) The construction and maintenance of buildings to the satisfaction of the Cantonment authorities (Clause 15).

(ii) The regulation of the parts of a Cantonment in which persons practising any calling may be required to reside for the purpose of such practice, and the conditions to be observed by such persons (Clause 20).

(iii) The prevention of the spread of infectious or contagious disease within a Cantonment (Clause 21).

(iv) The removal and exclusion from a Cantonment, of any person whom the Commanding Officer deems it expedient to remove or exclude, without assigning any reason.

3. The only clause of this Section under which rules have yet been published is Clause 21; and these rules give power to expel and exclude from Cantonments (under penalty of fine and imprisonment), any person who, being supposed by a Medical Officer to suffer from any infectious or contagious disorder, refuses to go to hospital, or who, having gone, leaves hospital before being discharged as cured.

4. The Cantonment Regulations now in force (save in so far as superseded by the rules just mentioned) were framed under Act XXII. of 1864; and have been continued by perpetuating Clauses in Acts III. of 1880 and XIII. of 1889.

5. The Acts of 1864 and 1880 provide for the regulation of "dangerous and offensive trades and occupations" only; and the rules give power to regulate only certain specified occupations. But residence is regulated under the authority referred to in paragraph 7 below.

6. Under the rules, permission to build or to alter buildings is required; that is to say, previous notice must be given, all sanitary rules on the subject must be observed, and the erection may be forbidden on certain grounds of public health and convenience.

7. There appears to be no general power under the Acts of 1864 and 1880, or under the rules in force under those Acts, to expel persons from Cantonments. But the power is undoubtedly exercised everywhere, though on rare occasions. And its exercise appears to be based upon paragraphs 53 to 55, Section 17 of the Bengal Army Regulations, 1880, which provide for voluntary registration of residents, and then confine them to fixed residences (Meerut). Such a register, with a column for "Whether wishing to be registered under paragraph 2066* of the Bengal Army Regulations" existed in the office of the Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut, but had not been maintained since 1886.

Moreover, paragraphs 2049—2056 of Army Regulations of India, Vol. II., Part II., give similar powers of regulation, at any rate by implication (Lucknow).

8. Rules have been drafted, though not yet published, under the enabling clauses of the Act of 1889. Under them, only specified occupations are subject to regulation; but the list is very comprehensive, and may be added to by the Commander-in-Chief with the concurrence of the Local Government. Any occupation so followed as to constitute a nuisance may be controlled at once. Power to regulate the erection and re-erection of buildings is similar in nature to that conferred by the old rules, though more comprehensive. Absolute power is given to expel any person whatever from Cantonments, without reason given.

KASAULI;
The 17th June 1893.

DENZIL IBBETSON.

* NOTE.—Apparently referring to some old edition which we have not been able to trace.

STATISTICAL RETURNS.

FORM A.—*Showing the ordinary strength of the garrisons.*

Details.	AMBALA.			MEERUT.			LUCKNOW.		
	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.	British Troops.	Native Troops.	Total.
Hot weather strength -	1,224	1,133	2,357	1,680	1,448	3,128	2,400	2,000	4,400
Cold weather strength -	3,581	1,713	5,294	2,853	1,448	4,301	2,960(*a*) 4,820(*b*)	2,500(*a*) 3,100(*b*)	5,460(*a*) 7,920(*b*)

NOTES (*a*).—Ordinary strength if troops are not concentrated for Manœuvres.

(*b*).—Ordinary strength if troops are concentrated for Manœuvres, as in 1891–92 and in 1892–93.

FORM B.—*Showing distribution of the population of Cantonments according to the Census of* 1891.

Cantonment.	Details of Bazaars.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Europeans and Eurasians.	Natives.
AMBALA.	Royal Artillery Bazaar -	1,628	1,334	2,962	—	2,962
	British Cavalry do. -	1,683	1,391	3,074	—	3,074
	Do. Infantry do. -	1,080	815	1,895	—	1,895
	Native Cavalry do. -	347	281	628	—	628
	Do. Infantry do. -	118	54	172	—	172
	Sadar Bazaar -	12,590	10,022	22,612	203	22,409
	Total population of Cantonments -	31,788	19,232	51,020	5,027	45,993
MEERUT.	Royal Artillery Bazaar -	771	637	1,408	—	1,408
	British Cavalry do. -	2,387	2,191	4,578	1	4,577
	Do. Infantry do. within regimental limits -	722	605	1,327	—	1,327
	Do. do. do. outside do. -	4,267	3,971	8,238	41	8,197
	Native Cavalry do. -	242	172	414	—	414
	Do. Infantry do. -	84	74	158	—	158
	Sadar Bazaar -	7,577	6,257	13,834	20	13,814
	Total population of Cantonments -	27,569	18,184	45,753	3,988	41,765
LUCKNOW.	Royal Artillery Bazaar -	224	173	397	—	397
	British Cavalry do. -	254	205	459	—	459
	Right British Infantry Bazaar -	203	125	328	—	328
	Left do. do. do. -	178	140	318	—	318
	Native Cavalry do. -	60	29	89	—	89
	North Native Infantry do. -	100	47	147	—	147
	South do. do. do. -	215	161	376	—	376
	Sadar Bazaar -	2,674	2,364	5,038	32	5,006
	Total population of Cantonments -	15,991	7,532	23,523	2,692	20,831

NOTE.—The population of the bazaars only are entered, not the whole population living in regimental limits. Thus the "total population" is greater than the sum of the bazaar populations.

STATISTICAL RETURNS.

FORM C.—*Showing the approximate number of public prostitutes living in different parts of Cantonments, during the hot and cold seasons (omitting women in standing Camps, if any).*

Parts of Cantonments.	AMBALA.		MEERUT.		LUCKNOW.	
	Cold weather	Hot weather.	Cold weather.	Hot weather.	Cold weather.	Hot weather.
Regimental limits of Royal Artillery	5	—	—	—	—	—
" " British Cavalry	8	—	—	—	—	—
" " " Infantry	—	—	—	—	—	—
" " Native Cavalry	—	—	—	—	—	—
" " " Infantry	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sadar Bazaar	95	78	50	40	60 to 70	60 to 70
Other parts	4	4	45*	34	—	—
Total Number in Cantonments	112	82	95	74	60 to 70	60 to 70

NOTE—In the case of the Ambala Cantonments, the cold weather figures are those for February 1892; and the hot weather figures, for May 1892.

* In the Lal Kurti Bazar.

FORM D.—*Showing action taken by Cantonment Magistrates during the year* 1892, *under clauses* 4 *and* 5, *General Orders, No.* 617 *of* 4*th July* 1890.

Nature of Action taken.		AMBALA.		MEERUT.		LUCKNOW.	
		NUMBER OF PERSONS.		NUMBER OF PERSONS.		NUMBER OF PERSONS.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Persons reported by Medical Officer as supposed to be diseased, and warned to attend hospital.		4	37	–	19	–	–
Persons reported by Medical Officer and ordered to leave Cantonments.	i. For not attending hospital.	–	–	–	18*	–	–
	ii. For leaving hospital before cure.	–	1†	–	1	1	1
Persons punished under clause 5, for remaining in or re-entering Cantonments without permission.		1	1	–	–	–	–

* NOTE.—This means that the order to attend hospital *or* leave Cantonments was communicated at one and the same time.

† NOTE.—This woman, when in hospital, requested and received permission to leave Cantonments.

FORM E.—*Showing number of persons reported by the Medical Officer, to the Cantonment Magistrate, during the year* 1892, *under clause* 4, *General Orders, No.* 617 *of* 4*th July* 1890.

Class of Disease.		AMBALA.				MEERUT.				LUCKNOW.			
		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.		AS SUPPOSED TO BE DISEASED.		FOR LEAVING HOSPITAL BEFORE CURE.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Infectious Diseases.		4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 (*a*)	–
Contagious non-infectious diseases.	Venereal	–	37	–	1	–	18	–	1	–	–	–	1 (*b*)
	Others	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

NOTE.—(*a*). The case was cholera, the man leaving hospital after two days.

(*b*). The case was that of a woman suffering from secondary syphilis.

FORM F.—*Showing the number of patients treated in Cantonment General Hospitals during the year* 1892.

Branch of Hospital.	Class of Disease.	AMBALA.								MEERUT.								LUCKNOW.							
		IN-PATIENTS.				OUT-PATIENTS.				IN-PATIENTS.				OUT-PATIENTS.				IN-PATIENTS.				OUT-PATIENTS.			
		Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Main Hospital	Infectious	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Contagious but not infectious. Venereal	35	4	1	40	319	28	10	357	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	38	5	–	43	212	122	–	334
	Contagious but not infectious. Others	4	1	–	5	136	11	6	153	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–	5	20	4	4	28
	Menses only (if any)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Other diseases	494	64	22	580	9,040	1,365	1,350	11,755	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	454	75	16	545	3,400	1,839	1,148	6,387
Infectious branch	Infectious	9	–	3	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	2	–	8	–	–	–	–
	Contagious but not infectious. Venereal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Contagious but not infectious. Others	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Menses only (if any)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Other diseases	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Contagious branch (Lock Hospital).	Infectious	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Contagious but not infectious. Venereal	–	45	–	45	–	–	–	–	–	138	–	138	10	3	–	13	–	142	–	142	–	–	–	–
	Contagious but not infectious. Others	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Menses only (if any)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Other diseases	–	39	–	39	–	–	–	–	–	33	4	37	165	61	28	254	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

Note.—The following reports by the General Officers Commanding at Amala, Meerut, and Lucknow, reached the Commission after its report had been signed. They call for no comment, and are printed for information.

AMBALLA.

From Brigadier-General G. T. Pretyman, Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 30-C—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 27th June 1893).

Reference—Quartermaster-General's telegram No. 2678-B. of 1893.

As directed in your telegram No. 2678-B., dated 9th June 1893, I have the honour to report that I have carefully perused the circulars and letters specified therein, and, after consultation with the Officers Commanding Corps and Stations concerned, beg to submit 3610
the statement called for as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations relating to the Sirhind District which are contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded with your Nos. 2716-B., and 2768-B., dated 10th and 13th June 1893, respectively.

2. I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulation contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram now under reply, were duly observed.

3. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the Officers Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their 3620
arrival in Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892.

4. I am unable to say how this oversight arose: it was probably due to the constant changing of Staff Officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject —being marked 'strictly confidential'—were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

5. Regiments and Corps, who were already in the command, or, indeed, in India, when the earlier orders of 1888 and 1890 (Quartermaster-General's circulars and demi-official letters addressed to General Officers Commanding by name) had been circulated for information, were of course aware of the new order of things necessitated by the Resolution of the House of Commons: but regiments since landed in the country required 3630
to be informed of all that had gone on previously.

6. In the case of the two Highland Battalions, it is to be regretted that their Commanding Officers were not shown the back orders.

7. It is true that Colonel Trotter, whose battalion arrived in Umballa in December 1891, had some idea of the recent legislation, and no doubt learnt from other Commanding Officers in Umballa that the old arrangements for registered prostitutes, and their compulsory examination, had been forbidden; but Colonel Gildea, who arrived in India a month later, states that he had no information on the subject, and had no reason to believe that any change had taken place since he last served in India in the old 72nd Highlanders.

8. I beg to enclose the replies these officers have made to the various allegations of 3640
the American Missionaries.

9. My attention was drawn to the subject by a demi-official letter from the Quartermaster-General, dated 21st March 1892, by which time the Highland Battalions had left Umballa for their respective hill stations.

10. I at once sent this round to the Officers Commanding at Subathu and Dagshai, as well as to all other hill stations in my command. Their attention was directed to the proper working of the Cantonment Act, and to the various orders which had emanated from head-quarters on the subject, and I have the word of the Officers Commanding the two Highland Battalions that, from the time of the receipt of the above-mentioned communication, these orders have been strictly observed, not only at their hill stations, but 3650
also during the cold weather, when their battalions were again encamped in Umballa

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea informs me that when the prostitutes who had attached themselves to his regiment were informed that they must in future shift entirely for themselves, they petitioned him repeatedly to be allowed to live under regimental protection and under arrangements such as, unfortunately, had been allowed at Umballa.

12. Colonel Trotter also informs me that women came to his battalion on its arrival at Umballa from England, and begged to be allowed to attach themselves to it.

13. No doubt Colonel Gildea, being ignorant of recent legislation and orders, acted in perfect good faith in allowing women to encamp near his bazaar, and in making it a condition that they would allow themselves to be examined periodically: and I am quite 3660
sure that, had he been aware of the orders on the subject, they would have been strictly carried out.

14. I would here remark that the very secrecy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view; and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to Officers Commanding Corps, as well as to Cantonment authorities generally.

15. As regards the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded to me with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated the 10th and 13th June 1893, I have the honour to say that I have dealt with these allegations *seriatim*; and with this object, I have attached statements containing extracts of the evidence that concerns the
3670 district under my command, with remarks thereon as follows:—

Statement (A).—Allegations relating to the 2nd Battallion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with replies in original, by the Officer Commanding that Battalion.

Statement (B).—Allegations relating to the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, with reply attached, in letter form from the Officer Commanding the Battalion.

Statement (C).—Allegations relating to the management of the Umballa Cantonment General Hospital, with my remarks.

16. These three statements deal quite fully with the whole of the allegations made.

It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A), that although a certain amount of truth exists
3680 in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it, tends to detract from its value.

17. I return the printed Minutes of Evidence, as requested.

STATEMENT (A).

2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London, April 1893.

348. Did you find one chakla at the Camp of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders?
We did.

Correct. These women were told that I would not interfere with them, provided—

3690 349. Did that consist of tents? Yes: that was the first we visited.

(*a*) they kept outside the limits over which I had any jurisdiction,
(*b*) that I did not find the men contracting venereal from them,
(*c*) that decency and order were observed,
(*d*) that they availed themselves of any medical aid attainable.

350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here?
She told us to what regiment they belonged.

3700 351-2. Did she tell you from whom she hired the tents?
I do not remember from whom. I think it was a native merchant.

I know nothing of this, nor can I say how many tents there were.

353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there?
She said that there were 11.

I cannot say; I had hoped there were more.

354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there?
She and the girls corroborated each
3710 other, that there was a guard there till midnight, and that the guard was relieved every six hours.

This is false, and it is improbable any such statement was made. The regimental police who patrolled the bazar to preserve order and prevent squabbles between men and bunniahs had orders to prevent disturbances in the women's camp. The police are frequently visited by the Provost Sergeant, and on pay nights are increased in numbers.

360. How far from the military tents were these chaklas?
They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these
3720 women, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

The Provost Sergeant thinks about 300 yards from the camp and about 200 yards from the bazaar. I cannot, personally, speak with certainty; but he should know. The public road ran between my camp and the others.

GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March 1892, and saw some of the prostitutes?

Yes: of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said that if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said, was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla.

They started to call him, but we would not let them because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them.

The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel.

634. At Umballa at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla, the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about 15th March (1892) to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend.

They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them.

They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

1351. When we visited the tents with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us and asked if we wished to see it.

It was the registration of the girls in charge of the mahaldarni of the chakla, entries of dates of their examination, &c.

I cannot say what complaints were made to the mahaldarni: the remainder of the statement is absolutely false, as also that regarding the tent.

Entirely without foundation; and it is improbable the mahaldarni made any such statement, as she would have known that any such action on her part might have led to my putting her camp out of bounds.

Natives suffering from any complaint are treated in the bazaar hospital. If of an infectious nature, and they refuse to be treated, I have them ejected from cantonments.

This is false, if intended to convey the idea that the regiment or any regimental authority provided transport. I cannot say what "care" was bestowed on them by the soldiers, but it must have been infinitesimal. Their society was so unobtrusive on the march, that I was only once or twice made aware of their existence; but I believe they followed as far as Kalka. My orders on the march and in the station were idendical, as regards their exclusion from my camp. I imagine where they must have located themselves was Native territory.

I am unaware of what books the mahaldarni may have had in her possession; she was not in the habit of submitting them to me.

Though unaware when I came to India in 1892 of the provisions of the Cantonment Act, I do not consider that there has been anything approaching to "Licensed prostitution" as regards my regiment. Consideration of decency and, if possible, the health and the welfare of the men, prompt me always to encourage them to devote their attentions to women who can, if they wish it, obtain medical aid, instead of having promiscuous intercourse with diseased villagers and city prostitutes. Even those whose acts tend to the spread of disease and the moral and physical ruin of the soldier, can hardly compare such a system, if system it can be called, to that of the repealed C. D. Act; and the *suggestio falsi* which runs through a great part of their evidence throws discredit on the rest.

DAGSHAI;
24*th June* 1893.

P. D. TROTTER, *Colonel,*
Commanding 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

STATEMENT (B).

1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders.

Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell before a Commission in London, April 1893.

We visited 3 "chaklas" at Umballa. There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazaar.

355. What did you see at the Camp of the Gordon Highlanders?

3790 There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were enclosed with native matting.

357. How many tents were there?

There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?

We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

360. At what part of cantonments were these chaklas; how far from the military tents?

3800 They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with the women.

361. While you were at the chakla at the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?

Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of
3810 the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

From Lieutenant-Colonel S. L. Gildea, Officer Commanding 1st Gordon Highlanders to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Sirhind District,—(dated Simla, the 24th June 1893).

With reference to the statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell regarding the battalion under my command, I have the honour to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Sirhind District.

In reply to paragraph 1 of statement, there was one enclosure containing prostitutes near my camp with tents inside. I do not know any thing of any other enclosure, or of
3820 a "chakla" in the Sudder Bazaar.

No. 355.—There were tents enclosed with matting, for the sake of privacy.

No. 357.—As far as I can remember the number of tents is correct; each woman had a tent to herself.

No. 358.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

No. 360.—The enclosure was about 100 yards from the rear guard of my camp.

No. 361.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

My explanation for having this enclosure near my camp is as follows:—

I arrived in Umballa from Ceylon with my battalion on 24th January 1892, and moved into a standing camp there. I was not informed that the practice of keeping
3830 women attached to regiments was done away with. So little was I aware that I was acting against any orders issued on the subject, that I placed my women's enclosure within 100 yards of my rear guard, in open ground, as forming with my regimental bazaar part of my standing camp.

GENERAL'S REPORT—AMBALA.

My first intimation that it was against the regulations to keep women for the use of soldiers in India was in a demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, received by me on 30th March 1892. I immediately on receipt of this dismissed the women attached to my battalion, and have not since in any way recognised them.

STATEMENT (C).

Extracts from the printed Minutes of Evidence given by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London in April 1893.

Questions 176—178 and 181—183.

At Umballa we saw the women in different chaklas in the same cantonment.

Correct so far as the replies in statements (A) and (B) give information.

They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment.

Incorrectly stated, as the implication is that women were officially allotted to corps, which was not the case.

There seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazaar chakla.

See Statements (A) and (B).

Questions 435—439 and 701—705.

At Umballa we saw in the correspondence book certain letters from the Surgeon in charge (of the Lock Hospital). They were copies of letters to the Cantonment Magistrate, and they were dated.

This is correct, and further appears to have been quite correct procedure on the part of the medical officer, acting according to the powers given him by the Cantonment Act of 1889 and subsequent orders.

I think that the letters referred to were all included between January and February 1892, declaring that certain soldiers had reported themselves to be diseased, and certain women had been indicated in those letters.

The English Surgeon included the names of those women, and requested the Cantonment Magistrate to send them for examination.

The mere wording of the letters appears in this case to be a minor point. The difference between a request to have the women warned that they must either submit to treatment or expulsion from cantonment, and a request to have certain women, believed to be diseased, sent for treatment, is slight; and the difference in practical effect may be said to be *nil.*

Questions 641 and 715—716.

Regular examination by medical officer, which was compulsory.

The statement that a regular compulsory examination took place is absolutely false.

A compiled table showing periodical examination of women by regiments,

e.g.,

Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

Every 4th day by mahaldarni.
„ 8th „ by Surgeon.

A regular day was appointed by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, and on that day all might be examined who wished to attend.

Gordon Highlanders.

Every Tuesday (weekly) by medical officer.

Tuesday was the day. This examination was in every way voluntary, and even this was stopped on the receipt of Quartermaster General's Circular, No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

Questions 706—711 and 714.

Paper picked up containing description of two women inhabiting certain tents, and this paper, coupled with the copies of letters from the medical officer to the Cantonment Magistrate, appears to refer to the same women as those mentioned by him in his letters.

The descriptions given point to the exact place in each tent where these women live, to assist in identifying them.

This may be perfectly true. There is nothing to show whether it is true or not; but if true, it appears unimportant from the point of view of the witnesses, though it shows that no registration existed, as otherwise a written description would have been unnecessary; and, so far as the written description goes, there is nothing contrary to orders (but the reverse) in helping to identify any person suspected of disease.

So far as this evidence goes to prove the existence of regimental women, that is dealt with in statements (A) and (B) attached.

STATEMENT (C)—*continued.*

Questions 749—751. 1346—1350.

The women of the Argyll and Sutherland chakla said that they would be turned out of cantonments unless they submitted to the examination, and fined if they left hospital before being discharged as cured,
3900 and imprisoned if the fine were not paid. The Gordon Highlanders women said the same, and said that if they were not examined they would be taken before the Cantonment Magistrate, and be compelled to be examined.

If they left hospital before being discharged they would be imprisoned.

But they stated, this had never happened because they always went to the examination.

See Statements (A) and (B), and information given above as to compulsory examination.

3910 *Questions* 775—776.

At Umballa we saw the registration list, and it was headed.

There were six regimental lists of women who came to be examined regularly.

It appears that the book used in the days of registered prostitutes had been kept going for the convenience of the medical officer in showing work done.

There were lists of prostitutes under the headings of various regiments.

This was purely for his own information as a record of diseases treated, and was never looked upon in any way as an official registration of prostitutes.

I learn on inquiry from the medical officer that prostitutes presenting themselves for voluntary examination are in the habit of grouping themselves as belonging to certain regiments.

Six lists. Each containing from 5 to 14 women, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words:
3920 "Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections."

This is easily understood, and is evidently a relic of the old system, any departure from which natives of this class would be utterly unable to understand.

Questions 1325—1350.

We saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them—of the women coming up for periodical examination.

3930 There were six lists. Each headed with the name of their regiment. There were from 5 to 14 in each list.

See replies to Questions 775—776 and 435—439 and 701—705.

The daily journal recorded the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February 1892. It recorded that 28 women were examined on that date.

We saw a copy of a letter from the Surgeon to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated 21st December 1891, naming six girls
3940 supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them for inspection.

Another letter, dated 18th January 1892, requesting that a woman who had been indicted by a soldier as being diseased, might be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

No cases treated in hospital except venereal.

This, of course, is absolutely false, the venereal section of the hospital being very small, as compared with the other sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.

3950

GENERAL'S REPORT—MEERUT.

MEERUT.

From Major-General C. E. Nairne, c.b., Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

In acknowledging receipt of your telegram No. 2677–B, 8th instant, calling on me to state positively and of my own knowledge what is, and what is not, true in the allegations contained in the printed minutes of evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons regarding the work, in Meerut, of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and whether the positive instructions issued have been disregarded, and to what extent since the orders were issued in 1888, I have the honour to report that I only took command of the Meerut District on the 30th March 1892, subsequent, that is, to the visit of 3960
the two American ladies; and that I immediately proceeded to Delhi, Roorkee, Dehra Dun, and Chakrata on inspection duty, and did not return to Meerut until August 1892.

It was not until some time in June that I became aware that there had been any special legislation on the subject. Since then I have gone into the matter carefully, and am of opinion that practically all the instructions contained in the various orders issued have been carried out.

I can say positively, that no prostitutes are permitted to live in the regimental bazars in Meerut, no regimental registers of such are kept, and no separate register of them in the Sadr bazaar; though of course a general register of all inhabitants and their occu- 3970
pation must be maintained at Meerut, as in every city in the civilised world. The women have repeatedly been told that there is no compulsory examination except as laid down in the Cantonment Act of 1889, under which any person suspected of any disease may be sent to hospital voluntarily, or if declining to go there for treatment, may be removed from cantonments altogether. I am informed that no such case of such removal has taken place; and whatever the women may have said to the ladies or to Mr. Hyslop Bell, I attribute to the known fact that any native in conversation or evidence will invariably say what he or she thinks the questioner wishes to hear. Regarding this matter it must be remembered that no Doctor, either Native or English, can take any pleasure in such a revolting occupation as the medical examination of prostitutes; while on the other hand, whenever really diseased, all women are only too grateful to be 3980
detained and cured.

At Meerut there are two recognised places for residence of prostitutes, both in the Sadr Bazaar; but it must be remembered that both the British Infantry and Cavalry Bazaars join on to the Sadr, and it is easy for a stranger to miss seeing the boundaries of the regimental bazaars, which, indeed, are not well defined except on paper. The Artillery Bazaar is just outside my own quarters, I very frequently ride through it, and I can state positively that no professional prostitutes have lived there since I have been at Meerut. The keeping up by the women themselves, and occasionally by the Native Doctors, of their separation into corps is, I presume, another instance of the extreme difficulty of breaking through old associations and names so constantly met with in this country, and which will equally account for the survival of the name "Lock" Hospital 3990
long after such had ceased to exist. Another instance of this is well illustrated by the use, even to this day, of the name "Company Bagh," for the public cantonment garden, more than 30 years after the abolition of the East India Company. It must also be remembered that the one desire of all natives, whether men or women, is to be considered as specially in the service of "the Sirkar;" and as these women have always associated themselves more with one regiment than another, they probably will continue to do so to the end of the chapter, legislation to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Regarding the actual facts, at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Bushnell, I cannot therefore speak of my one knowledge; but perusal of all
the instructions issued from time to time, and the well known strictness of my predecessor, 4000
the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enable me to state positively, that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past.

Mr. Hyslop Bell's visit occurred during my tenure of command, and I can speak of my own knowledge positively regarding evidence given by him. The answers to questions 1534, 1543, are incorrect. The cantonment hospital was open to all that came to it, every disease and both sexes. But though this is the literal fact, it is equally true that hardly any but prostitutes do come, owing to the fact that the money required for the cantonment hospital buildings as sanctioned, has never yet been allotted, and the present buildings are only those of the original Lock Hospital; it is unlikely therefore that many 4010
other than those of the prostitute class would yet avail themselves of treatment. The answer to 1550, 1552, is incorrect, as no regiment had been away in camp and had recently returned to quarters. But regarding the general question of prostitutes accompanying regiments on the line of march or in camp, I am informed that no regimental arrange-

ments are made in any instance since the prohibition came out, but that all prostitutes accompanying a regiment do so on their own private account, and I have no reason to doubt this. Commanding Officers have no power to prevent such movement, neither have I. The mere fact of removing all authority over such women from Commanding Officers, prevents them from interfering with their movements; and the well known axiom that when there is a demand, supply is sure to follow, is true of sexual intercourse between man and woman as of everything else, in a free country.

The rest of the evidence tendered to Mr. Bell, appears to me to accord with regulations except as to compulsory examination of women, concerning which I have already given my opinion: moreover Mr. Bell's answers to questions 1595, 1596, and 1597, points to the Act having been complied with.

Regarding the instructions issued from time to time, I can say of my own knowledge that all have been complied with since I have been at Meerut, except as regards prostitutes accompanying a regiment on the line of march, regarding which, the wording of last paragraph of demi-official letter from Sir James Browne, Quartermaster-General, No. 4907–B, dated 8th November 1890, to Sir John Hudson, appears to me to be so peremptory as to be impossible to carry out without infringing the law of the land regarding the liberty of the subject. I must explain that no copy of this letter existed in my office, and I only received it on 17th instant after application to Simla.

No sanction, or approval, or assistance, is given by regiments when in camp or on the march, to prostitutes accompanying them; and they do not reside in the camp bazars, but they have not been forcibly prevented. For instance in Chakrata there is one British Regiment and no doubt, whether the Officer Commanding likes it or not, the women, whose only object in living there is to ply their trade with that regiment, will manage to move somewhere in their vicinity whenever the regiment moves down to the plains; and if my knowledge of the law of the land is correct, the Commanding Officer cannot prevent them.

Reverting to Mr. Hyslop Bell's evidence and that of the two American ladies, that the cantonment hospital is only used for venereal cases, I would beg to add to Mr. Bell's answer to question 1697, that the English gentleman referred to was an officer who is now staying with me. He tells me that it was his dogcart wheel that ran over a man's foot; he had only recently gone to Meerut and did not know where to take the man to the nearest hospital, but was directed to the cantonment hospital by a by-stander, so it is obvious that the people do know that the hospital is for all cases and diseases.

I regret the delay in answering your telegram; but as above stated many of the demi-official notes were not in existence in my office, I had to refer to Simla for them, and then to send the correspondence to Meerut for the letter from Officer Commanding the station attached.

It will be in the knowledge of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief that Colonel Plowden, who had been Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut for many years, only left on 31st December last.

He is now in England and can be examined as to the extraordinary allegations in the answer to questions 484–485, should those answers be considered credible.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. J. F. REID, Officer Commanding at Meerut, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut and Landour,—(No. 153-C, dated Meerut the 23rd June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 20-C-R, of 20th instant, with its enclosures, all of which are herewith returned.

I have the honour to report as follows:—

I.—I took over command at Meerut on the 15th April last.

II.—Minutes of evidence question 177. I have no knowledge of what took place in camp, but there are no regimental chaklas in Meerut. When the women were ejected from the regimental bazaars, on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, they migrated to the Sadar Bazaar, there to live together, and form a sort of colony, which was known by the name of the regiment wherefrom the women came, although such colony had nothing further to do with such regiment.

III.—There is no order forbidding native soldiers from visiting the two chaklas in Meerut that is, the women who live in two different parts of the Meerut Sadar bazaar. Nor is there any order of any sort on the subject.

IV.—All cantonment hospital books and papers bearing on the subject of the foregoing, have been sent to the Secretary of the Cantonment Rules Commission.

V.—The matter of the observance of the rules seems to me to turn on the question of compulsion. In Meerut, the women are under no compulsion to attend the cantonment hospital for inspection, and they have often been told so. Those I have asked said they went there voluntarily, and remained there voluntarily. But closer inquiry shows that many have attended in order to avoid the suspicion of disease which would bring them under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890. In so far, then, the women seem to think themselves compelled to go. 4080

Endorsement by the General Officer Commanding Meerut District,—(No. 25-C-R, dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

FORWARDED to Quartermaster-General in India, in accordance with your Telegram No. 2677-B, dated 8th June 1893.

LUCKNOW.

From Major-General R. C. Low, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. C.-L.—361, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 13th June 1893).

With reference to your No. 2672-B., and your No. 2725-B., I have the honour to make the following report. 4090

The subject is here dealt with under the following heads:—

A.—The existing Cantonment Hospital and its arrangements.

B.—The action taken by the local authorities to carry out the orders received.

C.—The allegations made against the authorities.

2. As regards heading A, I attach a plan showing the hospital buildings, which* consist of—

(*a*) The General Hospital for both males and females.

(*b*) The venereal ward for females only.

(*c*) The infectious disease ward for cases other than venereal. 4100

(*d*) There is another building not shown in the map, being on the confines of cantonments and two miles from the hospital. This is a cholera and small-pox ward.

Patients are removed to this ward (*d*) from the ward (*c*), when an epidemic of cholera or small-pox occurs, the ward (*c*) being used for isolated cases, which are of frequent occurrence.

3. There is a point of importance with reference to the female venereal ward (*b*); namely, that it was formerly, and for many years, the lock hospital, and it is still generally called so by the native inhabitants of cantonments.

4. It is necessary to show how these four blocks of buildings have been gradually merged into a Cantonment General Hospital, as the process had the effect of isolating the building (*b*). 4110

A General Hospital for treatment of all classes of cases had been in operation here for some years in a haphazard kind of way, and largely dependent for success on the skill and energy of the medical officer in charge; but such as it was, this General Hospital was inside the enclosure in which the building (*b*) stands, and the building (*b*) was then the Lock Hospital.

5. On the formation of the General Hospital, the nearest barrack was given for the purpose and added to an enclosure made round it, and these buildings became (*a*) the General Hospital. 4120

The old Lock Hospital (*b*) was retained as a female venereal ward.

The infectious disease ward (*c*) was built, and the building (*d*) was kept up in its original form as a cholera and small-pox ward.

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* Not printed.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

6. Thus the present General Hospital, with its different buildings (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), was formed.

7. The existing arrangements for treatment of female venereal cases are these.

8. The admissions are absolutely voluntary, so far as the authorities can make them.

9. Any women seeking relief from veneral disease would necessarily be examined.

10. If found diseased, she would be sent to the venereal ward.

11. Between the case of a prostitute seeking relief for venereal disease, and that of any other woman seeking relief for the same, the only difference that could occur is this. The prostitute, knowing the place, would go straight to the veneral ward, while the other might very likely go to the General Hospital ; both would become inmates of the female venereal ward.

12. Any such woman could leave the hospital at any moment ; but if she left before being cured she would not be permitted to reside in cantonments, as per paragraph 5, G. G. O. No. 617 of 4th July 1890.

13. No compulsion whatever is brought to bear on the women to present themselves for examination. They have been repeatedly told that if they wish they can be examined, but that they are not obliged to be examined.

I have, however, heard of pressure being brought to bear on the women indirectly by their customers preferring to deal with those who have been examined. Also I have heard of pressure being brought on them by those to whom they are in debt ; but the authorities have let the women know plainly that there is no compulsion on their part.

14. There is a dhai, who is paid Rs. 12 per mensem by the Cantonment Fund, and also has quarters in the General Hospital, and whose duty it is to attend on the sick.

Prior to the 1st February 1892, there were two dhais for matrons sanctioned. Application was made in this office No. 836 of 23rd December 1891 (copy attached marked J), for discharge of one, and for sanction to entertain a compounder in place of the dhai discharged. Sanction was given to this in Quartermaster-General's No. 86-B. of 14th January 1892.

15. Hitherto the day and time on which the medical officer is prepared to examine women has been notified. This is essential not only to enable the medical officers to properly arrange their work, but it is essential in the interests of the patients.

16. As having reference to the points noted so far, I attach, marked (K), a statement of queries made by me, and replied to by the medical officer at present in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

17. I now turn to heading B—" The action taken by the authorities to carry out the orders received."

The orders received may be classed under four heads, namely,—

(*a*) The removal of registered prostitutes from regimental bazaars, and that they were not to reside in any building owned by the Cantonment Fund.
(*b*) The discontinuance of registrations and the abolition of tickets.
(*c*) Substitution of voluntary for compulsory examination.
(*d*) Prostitutes not to be permitted to accompany troops on the march.

The orders issued on each of the above and action taken are as follows :—

18. *As regards* (*a*).—Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 directs that " residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars of British troops is to be prohibited."

I enclose the original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough to the Cantonment Magistrate, Major Campbell, marked (L).

Major Campbell states that all buildings out of which these women were ejected, which were Government property, were at once sold.

That some of the ejected women occupied a building in the Sudder bazaar, which was at that time the property of the Cantonment Fund, but which was then sold. The deed of sale is registered in the Office of the Registrar of Lucknow; and others of these ejected women hired houses in the vicinity of the above building, owned by private individuals.

19. It may be mentioned here that, consequent on the removal of the women from the regimental bazaars, the three regimental dhais were discharged. Sanction was obtained for this—*vide* Quartermaster-General's letter No. 2710-B. of 16th July 1889.

20. *As regards heading* (*b*) *and the orders to " discontinue registrations and abolition of tickets.*"—The action taken is noted on the reverse of original circular (Circular No. 12), and I attach this paper, marked (M).

Major Campbell states that since that time the register of prostitutes referred to in *Rule 9* of the old Lock Hospital Rules and the tickets referred to in *Rule 14* have both been discontinued in his office.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

21. On the above three points, I attach an original paper (marked N) written by Captain Ozzard in November 1890, apparently for the information of the General Officer Commanding, which describes the state of matters at that time.

Captain Ozzard is now in England.

22. *As regards* (*d*) *that "prostitutes were not to accompany troops on the march.*"—No troops have left this station or arrived during my tenure of command, which dates from the 1st April 1892. 4190

The point need not be dealt with by me beyond saying that it would be impossible for prostitutes to obtain Government transport for such a purpose, or Government hired transport, or money from Government to pay for rail fares; but there can be no doubt that prostitutes often do follow the soldiers; whether they pay their way themselves, or get help from the men, or borrow the money, is not material.

These women can easily carry out the orders, and yet follow certain men to their new stations. They simply go by rail to the new stations and establish themselves in the prostitutes' quarter, and await the arrival of their friends, and no action that we can take will prevent this. 4200

23. In concluding this portion of my report, I can only add that, having before me the different orders and circulars of the Commander-in-Chief, I can state that they have been loyally carried out, so far as I am aware, or can ascertain, by those officers whose duty it was to do so.

24. I now pass to the allegations, the first of which is—

> "That there is a chakla, or quarter, or serai in which prostitutes are living, in the sudder bazaar."

This is true. In the interests of the other inhabitants of the bazaar they are only allowed to reside in one quarter of the bazaar, in which prostitutes have always resided.

25. Again, regarding the existence of mahaldarnis. 4210

This is true; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities.

26. In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges.

The tariff of charges may be true.

It is immaterial whether really true or not, because it is certain that prostitutes expect and get payment, and it may be accepted as certain that a charge is made; but where the untruth lies is, that the public are led to believe that this tariff is recognised and sanctioned by the authorities.

27. Then take the allegation that "a policeman was seen on duty at the chakla." 4220

Why should he not be there?

Would the presence of a policeman on duty in the neighbourhood of brothels in London or New York be held to be "State aid, or regulation, or provision of vice"? Yet it is in this sense that the statements are made in the queries and replies Nos. 209–215.

28. The prostitutes are as much entitled to protection of life and property as other residents of the cantonments.

If the women had been found to be debarred from protection of police, it might have reasonably been considered a fault on the part of the authorities; but it is ridiculous to try and make out that the provision of police protection is blameworthy.

29. Then there is the incident described in queries 550–559. 4230

If the description given means anything, it means that the two ladies who were making these enquiries saw a girl sold before their eyes into prostitution.

These ladies were certainly aware of the existence of Officers and the Cantonment Magistrate, and it is unreasonable to suppose they did not know of the existence of one or more of the following :—

The General Commanding.
The English Chaplain.
The R. C. Chaplain.
The Presbyterian Minister.

What are we to think of two ladies who, knowing this, saw with their own eyes a girl sold into prostitution without taking a single step to get her released? 4240

One of two conclusions is obvious.

If they believed the story, they were themselves guilty of the abominable cruelty of leaving the girl to her fate; or if they did *not* believe the story, they have purposely represented the case in such a way as to deceive a credulous public in England.

The case is typical of the general way these ladies have gathered their evidence.

The credulous public in England will believe a good deal; but they would not have believed that in this case these ladies had asked for the help of one of the above officials and had been refused. Consequently, no such help was asked for.

It is no reply to say they did not know where to find any of the above officials.

They made no attempt to find any of them, and, as a matter of fact, the quarters of the General and the quarters of the Cantonment Magistrate are known to every cabman in Lucknow.

30. Then there is the endeavour to prove registration of prostitutes in the statements to queries 852–869.

As a matter of fact, *every person*, male or female, and of whatever occupation, trade, or calling, who wishes to reside in the sudder bazaar must present a written petition on a printed form laid down for miscellaneous petitions.

The price of a form is a quarter of an anna.

A one-anna court-fee stamp has to be affixed to the petition.

The man who writes the petition is paid by the petitioner as may be arranged between them.

This is the ordinary process of every day life, and I am informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that there is nothing approaching registration in it, and it is absurd to try and twist it into registration of prostitutes.

I am further informed by the Cantonment Magistrate, that prostitutes have never been made over to the police or to an inspector to take to hospital since registration was abolished.

31.—Then there is the story of the dismissal of the mahaldarni, queries 884–902.

It is probable that the woman who stated she had been dismissed was the woman referred to in attachment J.* The dates correspond; but she was, when in Government service, a paid matron or dhai, while, in the evidence, an attempt is made to prove she was paid as a procuress or forewoman of prostitutes.

**N.B.*—If she was the same woman, this conclusively proves her discharge was not owing to the visit of the two ladies, as suggested in queries and replies 884–892.

32. The statements and incidents alluded to in queries 973–1146 will, no doubt, be dealt with by the Commission on its road here.

I believe the girl in question is still here, and so is the Cantonment Magistrate who received the two ladies at his court. So, also, I think, is the Native Doctor referred to.

33. The allegations alluded to by me in this report are the main accusations brought against the authorities; and while, with my knowledge of the customs of the natives of the country and of the many minor native officials that have to be depended on to carry out the details of any radical changes, such as those directed, to meet the Resolutions of the House of Commons, it is, in my opinion, probable that there may have been cases of oppression, or of dilatoriness in the carrying out of the instructions in all these details, I can confidently reassert, with the orders in front of me, so far as I am aware, and as far as I can ascertain, the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been carried out loyally and in reasonable time.

34. I attach one more statement marked (O) showing the dates on which the Lucknow Cantonment Fund chaklas were sold.

J.

From Major-General A. E. Perkins, General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 836, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 23rd December 1891).

With reference to the accompanying letter from the Medical Officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital, I have the honour to request the sanction of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the following alteration in the existing establishment of the Cantonment Hospital proposed by the Medical Officer in charge of the hospital, and recommended by the Army Medical Officer:—

1. Compounder at Rs. 10 per month in place of a dhai.

2. I fully concur with the view that, under the present system, the services of two dhais are not necessary.

K.

Queries—Cantonment General Hospital.

(1) Were cases of any other kind treated in the old Lock Hospital enclosure before the new hospital was built, and did the Hospital Assistant treat cases himself?

A.—Yes; both male and female patients. The males were treated in a shed erected in the Lock Hospital compound. The women were treated in a detached portion of the lock ward.

(2) What has become of the huts in the Lock Hospital compound?

A.—They still exist, but are unoccupied.

(3) How many dhais are there and where do they live? What salary do they receive?

A.—One dhai only. She lives in the Cantonment General Hospital quarters. Salary is Rs. 12 per mensem.

(4) On what date was the New Cantonment General Hospital opened?

A.—1st February 1892.

(5) Was the female ward opened at the same time, or was it built afterwards?

A.—Built afterwards.

(6) Pending construction of the female ward, where were female patients treated?

A.—In the old Lock Hospital.

(7) When was the infectious disease ward opened?

A.—May 1892.

LUCKNOW; (Sd.) C. A. LANE, *Surgeon-Captain,*
The 12th June 1893. *Army Medical Staff.*

L.

Demi-official from CAPTAIN S. J. MICHELL, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to Major-General Sir C. S. GOUGH, K.C.B., V.C.,—(dated Lucknow, the 17th July 1888).

CIRCULAR No. 5, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain to all Officers Commanding Stations in the Oudh Division that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—*vide* paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules.

The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

M.

Memo. from MAJOR-GENERAL E. F. CHAPMAN, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding,—(No. 12, dated Simla, the 6th August 1888).

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital Rules, framed under clause 7, section XIX of Act XXII of 1864, and continued under section 2 of Act III of 1880.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compulsory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is in fact to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

No, 763, dated Lucknow, the 20th August 1888.

FORWARDED for information and favour of compliance with paragraph 2.

(Sd.) S. J. MICHELL, *Captain,*
Offg. Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

FORWARDED for information to Officer in medical charge Lock Hospital. Please return.

LUCKNOW; *The 20th August* 1888. (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major*, *Cantonment Magistrate.*

Noted and returned.

LUCKNOW; *The 20th August* 1888. (Sd.) R. E. KAY, *Surgeon, M.S.*, *In medical charge Lock Hospital.*

4350 REGISTRATION to be discontinued. All tickets to be recalled.

LUCKNOW; *The 22nd August* 1888. (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major.*

N.

Memo. by CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, Cantonment Magistrate, Lucknow, on the points noted by the Quartermaster-General in "*The Sentinel*" of October 1890.

1-A.—The whole tenor of this passage is to the effect that compulsory examinations of the women are still held. This is entirely false. The attendance of the women at the hospital is perfectly voluntary, also their residence in hospital if diseased. There is no compulsion in the matter at all. If a woman does not wish to attend, or to remain in hospital, she is at perfect liberty to act up to her wishes, and nothing further is done.

4360 1-B.—No women are punished by the Cantonment Magistrate for anything connected with their calling as prostitutes. They are of course subject to the ordinary cantonment rules, the same as every other inhabitant of cantonments, European or Native; and would be fined, like any one else, for breaches of them.

1-C. and 1-D.—Prostitutes reside in the sudder bazaar in one quarter; it might be called a "serai." This is merely in accordance with customs which restrict trades and professions to certain quarters and streets. The prostitutes' quarters are not new buildings, and they are not Government property. They belong to a native house proprietor named Salig Ram. The cantonment authorities have no more control over these premises than over any other buildings in bazaars.

4370 1-E.—There is no rule or law of any sort prohibiting native men from entering the building in question. Natives probably do not resort there; but this may be because they do not care for coming into contact with soldiers.

1-F.—Statistics are necessarily kept at the hospital as to the number of patients, the number voluntarily attending, their state of health, &c. It would be impossible for a hospital of any kind to be carried on without some records of results, and the number of patients, if only to check the bills for dieting.

1-G.—*Vide* reply to 1-A.—There is absolutely no compulsion in the matter, and no women are confined in hospital. They are examined and remain in hospital of their own free will. Being well treated and well fed whilst in hospital, there is no inducement whatever for them to leave; but if they should wish to do so there is nothing to hinder them.

1-H.—No tickets or licences of any kind are issued to the women, nor are any kept in the Cantonment Magistrate's office. The tickets were all called in and destroyed when the compulsory system was abolished two years ago.

1-K.—*Vide* reply to 1-C and 1-D.—The quarters where the women reside are not Government property, but belong to a private individual, who lets them on hire to the women the same as any other houses in the bazaar.

14. Two matrons are paid by the Cantonment Fund to look after the women and maintain order—one at the hospital and one in the prostitute's quarters. They are not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but are employed to maintain 4390 order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order, as in other parts of the bazaar.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

In conclusion, it is evident that the writers of the articles under reference can have no idea of what the old compulsory system was like, when every public prostitute within cantonments and within a radius of five miles round was compulsorily registered and licensed, and forced under heavy penalties to attend medical examinations, and rigorously confined in hospital if found diseased. This has all been swept away; the hospital is a voluntary institution in no material way differing from the hospitals in the United Kingdom in connection with the same subject; there is no registration; there are no penalties; the women are free to attend or not as they choose.

LUCKNOW;
The 10th November 1890.

H. H. OZZARD, *Captain*,
Cantonment Magistrate.

O.

Statement of Sales of Cantonment Fund chaklas at Lucknow.

Name of chakla.	Date of sale.	Name and description of purchaser.	Price realised.	Remarks.
			Rs. A. P.	
Royal Artillery -	4th August 1888 -	Ram Lall Pundit of Royal Artillery Bazaar.	97 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Sudder Bazaar -	24th September 1888	Salig Ram and Choonnee Lall, Merchants, Sudder Bazaar. (Deed of sale registered in Office of Registrar, Lucknow, on 10th December 1888).	4,000 0 0	Still occupied by prostitutes.
European Cavalry -	27th September 1888	Baij Nath Banya of Sudder Bazaar.	100 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Left Europea Infantry.	3rd October 1888 -	Mooloo Jemadar, cook - -	68 0 0	Has left the station. Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.

(Sd) A. W. CAMPBELL, *Major*,
Cantonment Magistrate.

LIST OF ENCLOSURES.

Plan of the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital and detached wards. (*Not printed*).

J.—Oudh District Office No. 836 of 23rd December 1890.

K.—Statement of queries and replies made by the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

L.—Original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough.

M.—Original Circular No. 12 with note of action taken on reverse.

N.—Original statement of how orders were given effect to by Captain Ozzard, Cantonment Magistrate, in November 1890.

O.—Statement showing dates on which the different chaklas, formerly owned by the Lucknow Cantonment Fund, were sold.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

From MAJOR-GENERAL R. C. LOW, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 363-C. L. "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

I HAVE the honor, with reference to your No. 2747-B., to submit the attached report, which deals *seriatim* and without comment with the points noted in the printed enclosure forwarded with your letter.

I may, however, here point out that the printed paper starts with an error; it states that—

"The principal facts ascertained and verified are the following, &c., &c."

The facts are stated by two ladies on the testimony of the most vicious and degraded of the population in India, and though these statements admitted of easy proof of the reverse, at the time and on the spot, no attempt whatever was made by these ladies to verify the statements, which, as a matter of fact, are untrue.

In cases where the facts stated were true as regards custom and procedure prior to 1888, they have been accepted as existing now, and no attempt was made by these ladies to ascertain whether they really existed now, or whether the statements only referred to the past.

The question at issue is, whether the procedure and custom prior to 1888 has or has not been abolished in obedience to orders; and it is worth noticing that so anxious were these ladies to prove the former (*sic*), that they were unable to see ordinary people in the every-day circumstances of an Indian bazaar without endeavouring to twist them into evidence in their favour.

They see a policeman.

He of course cannot be there in the usual course of police duty; he is there to guard and maintain prostitutes for the British soldier by order of the authorities!

His badge is an additional proof.

They see houses with numbers on them.

This is a proof of registration of prostitutes provided for the British soldiers, and so on to the end of the chapter.

So far as I am aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out.

LUCKNOW CANTONMENT.

Replies to Statements in annexure to Secretary of State's No. 50 *of* 20*th April* 1893.

A.—1. The word chakla means "brothel"; it is applied to any place or quarter of a town or bazaar where public prostitutes reside.

The sudder bazaar is the only place where prostitutes have been permitted to reside since 1888.

Neither houses nor rooms nor any special place of residence is assigned to them, but they necessarily congregate in one quarter, as if scattered amongst the respectable inhabitants, their presence would be resented.

2. Some of the prostitutes live in a large block of buildings, which formerly belonged to the Cantonment Fund, but which was sold in 1888.

Others live in adjacent houses.

The prostitutes are not reserved for British soldiers, but the fact that soldiers visited certain prostitutes might debar natives from doing so.

The women, like most of their class in all countries, live by prostitution.

There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them, and they are at liberty to leave cantonments whenever they choose; in fact, they constantly do so, and no steps whatever are taken to bring them back.

The large block of buildings was till 1888 the property of the Cantonment Fund; it was then sold.

4. Since 1888 the prostitutes have had to house themselves.

5. No guard is put over the chakla.

Military and native police visit the chakla as well the rest of the bazaar in their rounds.

GENERAL'S REPORT—LUCKNOW.

6. No register has been kept since the Lock Hospital Rules were abrogated. Where metal plates bearing numbers are placed over rooms or houses, it has been done by the owners of the houses for their own convenience.

7. There is no mahaldarni or other person in charge of the chakla who is paid by the cantonment or other fund.

8. Under the registration system (in force prior to 1888), dhais were paid for making daily inspections; some of them may hold testimonials from the medical officers under whom they performed their duties.

9. No women are authorized to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now.

10. Prostitutes who elect to reside in cantonments in preference to outside of cantonments, doubtless do so in the hope of receiving visits from soldiers.

The number of such prostitutes doubtless varies with the size of a cantonment—a larger number being in a big cantonment than in a small one.

11. There may be a fixed scale of charge; if so, it has been fixed by the women themselves; the statement that charges if not paid are stopped out of a man's pay is false.

12. Prostitutes, if they get into debt, are treated by the Cantonment authorities in no way different from any other class in the bazaar.

13. If a more attractive woman comes into the bazaar and takes the custom of those who are growing old, it would not be a matter in which the Cantonment authorities would interfere.

14. Women are not allowed to accompany a regiment on the march, nor is it possible for them to obtain Government transport or money from Government to pay for hired carriage or railway fares; but no doubt they often do follow a regiment to another station; there is nothing to prevent them going by rail to the new station, if they can raise the money for the fare.

It follows that the statement that they are protected by European guards on the March is false.

B.—There is no register, and women are not required to attend examinations.

There is a Cantonment General Hospital in which there is a female venereal ward; the admissions are entirely voluntary; any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined, and if found diseased, would be sent to the venereal ward for treatment.

C.—No woman is compelled to attend for examination; but if they attend voluntarily and are admitted into hospital, they are dieted, and the charge is defrayed from Cantonment Funds; this is the case with all patients, whether suffering from venereal disease or other malady.

D.—No compulsion is used to make a woman present herself for examination.

Pressure may be brought sometimes on the women indirectly, either by their customers or by those to whom they might be in debt; but they have been repeatedly told by the authorities that they are at liberty to do as they like in the matter.

2. If a woman voluntarily presents herself for examination and is sent to the venereal ward for treatment, she is at perfect liberty to leave the hospital whenever she likes; but if she does so before she is cured, she is not allowed to live in cantonments.

3. A women may leave the cantonments at any time, without any one's permission or any one interfering with her. Should she have permanently left and afterwards desire again to reside in cantonments, she would—like all new-comers of every class—have to obtain the permission of the Cantonment Magistrate.

No medical examination would be required.

4. Women are visited by soldiers outside as well as inside cantonment limits.

As to 2.

Small-pox and infectious diseases other than venereal have been treated for years past at the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital.

2. There are no registered prostitutes in Lucknow Cantonments.

There is no Lock Hospital.

BENARES—REPORT BY COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, COMMANDING ALLAHABAD DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2959-B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,*" dated Simla, 23rd June 1893).

In compliance with the request contained in paragraph 3 of Military Department No. 2450-D., dated 2nd June, and with reference to Military Department No. 2842-D., of 22nd June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports* regarding the allegations made in the evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Amritsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.

* (1) Allahabad District, No. 138-G.F., dated 19th June 1893, and enclosures.
(2) Oudh District, endorsement without No. and date.
(3) Oudh District, No. 362-C-L., dated 18th June 1893, and enclosure.
(4) Rohilcund District, No. 59-D., dated 15th June 1893, and enclosures.
(5) Rohilcund District, No. 60-D., dated 17th June 1893.
(6) Lahore District, No. 38-D., dated 15th June 1893, and enclosures.
(7) Rawal Pindi District, No. 170 C., dated 14th June 1893, and enclosures.
(8) Peshawar District, No. 10-C.D., dated 15th June 1893.
(9) Peshawar District, No. 9-C.D., dated 14th June 1893.

2. I am to add that the supplementary reports from Sitapur, Meean Meer, Amritsar, and Rawal Pindi will be submitted to Government immediately on receipt from the local military authorities.

3. Copies of the papers noted in the margin are herewith submitted in compliance with the request contained in paragraph 2 of Military Department No. 2842-D., of the 22nd instant.

Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 21, dated 13th July 1892.
Quartermaster-General's demi-official letters dated 13th July 1888, 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892.

From COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, Commanding Allahabad District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 138-G.-F., "*Confidential,*" dated Allahabad, 19th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 2568-B., dated 3rd June 1893, I have the honour to report that I at once forwarded the correspondence to the Officer Commanding at Benares for favour of report, and now enclose that report.

On receipt, however, of your No. 2746-B., dated 12th June, and in consequence of the above report not being as full as I thought it might be, I proceeded to Benares and tried to obtain as much information as I could as to the way in which the regulations issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889 were carried out.

I regret, however, having to say that I could get very little information on the subject, as there were no officials who had resided in the station a sufficiently long time to be able to say how it had been worked.

I examined the clerk of the Cantonment Magistrate's office, Babu Ram Juttan Singh, who has been many years in the office, and his information is contained on sheet page IV.

Besides this Babu I examined Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., 1st grade Hospital Assistant Safter Beg, and Bagwante, the Dhai of the Female Hospital.

I went most carefully through all the points noted in enclosure sent with your No. 2746-B., dated 12th June 1893, with Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., who was able to recall circumstances as far back as the end of 1891, and beg to refer you to that evidence. Of my own knowledge I am unable to make any statement, but from the evidence I have obtained, and also from what I have heard, I consider that all the Government Orders were duly carried out.

From having collected this evidence and having read all the official report, I notice that there are several points which are brought into great prominence before the Departmental Committee, and upon which I wish to make some remarks.

1. That because of debt therefore the women remained prostitutes.

I questioned the Hospital Assistant and the Dhai closely and separately on this point, and they both denied the idea. Indeed, the Hospital Assistant laughed at it—*vide* sheet page IV.

BENARES—REPORT BY COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, COMMANDING ALLAHABAD DISTRICT—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.

Apart from this it stands to reason that the women could not be in debt, for if a woman only received six men daily for 23 days in a month at the rate of only four annas per visit, that would represent Rs. 34-8-0, and even allowing one-fourth of this to go to the Mahaldarni, rent Rs. 2, and food at the rate of 4 annas daily for 30 days, a woman would have fully Rs. 17 a month clear.

The women become prostitutes simply because their mothers and sisters before them have been or are prostitutes. In many of the official replies this point comes out. Every one who has been in India any time knows that a prostitute is well off and has money to spare.

2. Stress is also laid on the women being unable to leave a "chakla."

The reply to question 208 shows this not to be the fact; also 531, 562, and other places. Also see sheet page IV.

3. Great stress is put on the women talking or only understand about the hospital when it is called "Lock Hospital."

Titles and names last for years in India even after a change is made, so this is no proof that because the place was called Lock Hospital by the women, that therefore the orders of Government had not been carried out, which is implied.

To show how long names last, I can only say that the house occupied by the Civil Surgeon at Benares ten years ago is still only known by his name.

4. See question 544 of report.

The idea of a soldier being brought before his commanding officer for not paying a woman (and so giving an official idea to the proceeding) is absurd. I have commanded a British regiment, and such a case never came before me, neither have I, previous to my obtaining the command, ever heard of such an idea. Just fancy the charge in a man's ledger accounts of—Woman, 4 annas.

5. Dhai and mahaldarni—see question 517.

This idea has also been put forward to implicate the Government indirectly, but it is absolutely untrue.

The dhai denied it when I questioned her myself.

6. The witnesses at the Committee have evidently mistaken the male side of the hospital at Benares for the female—see page IV. There is no wall round the female hospital, there is round the male side.

7. In questions 1423 to 1436 an attempt is made to show that the hospital at Benares was really kept up by Government for women, because out of 34 cases 25 were entered as "menses." I can only say that when I visited the hospital, without warning, on the 17th June, there were no female patients and only four men. Of these four men, three received two annas a day and the other one *nil*.

8. See question 538—The tariff; and question 794.

The idea of reducing the money paid to English money is nonsense, as four annas to a native woman is of the same value whether the exchange is high or low.

9. The idea of the life being one of "shame" can hardly be put forward, when it is in evidence that the women's relations are to be found in the chakla—*vide* questions 1046-584 and other places, and 478, where the girls' brothers went to the "chakla" with them as a guard, because they had so much valuable jewellery on.

10. I have ascertained from Brigadier-General Kinloch lately Commanding the District, that during the period of his command he had given the strictest orders that the ruling of Government as to registration and compulsory examination of women should be carried out, and he had been repeatedly assured that the orders were strictly attended to He himself believed that such was the true state of affairs.

Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., states, with regard to enclosure with Military Despatch No. 50, dated India Office, London, 20th April 1893 :—

Paragraph 1. A.—That during the first quarter of the year 1892, I know that native women did occupy the chakla, and that they were visited by European soldiers; but I am unable to say whether any systematic provision for the residence of those women was

made by or with the sanction of, the military authorities, or whether the women were set apart exclusively for the use of British soldiers. No papers have ever passed through my hands which would warrant the assumption that native women were set apart for the British soldiers.

B.—There has been no compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods by European or native medical officers since I came here in October 1891.

C.—No compulsory detention in hospital of any women was carried out by orders of a medical officer.

D.—Detention in hospital not being compulsory as stated (under C), no arrest, fines, or imprisonment *could* be inflicted, but in the case of a patient suffering from *any* contagious disease, they had the alternative presented to them of remaining in hospital or leaving cantonments. This is in keeping with circular memorandum, 11th July 1892.

Paragraph 2.—The Cantonment General Hospital at Benares was *not* used for maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution. There was no compulsory examination of prostitutes, and there were no registered prostitutes.

1. A.—The "chakla" mentioned by me in paragraph A was here when I arrived, but I cannot say that the rooms in it were "assigned" for prostitutes. It is situated in the sudder bazar, and is an ordinary native building. I do not know what went on inside the chakla or how the women lived; nor whether natives were prohibited from going into the chakla. I have always heard that the women in the chakla could go and come just as they liked.

I have no idea who owns the chakla, nor whether rent was paid for it.

The Cantonment Hospital is near the chakla, and the chaukidar of the former may have wandered to the chakla, and been taken for a guard of the place; otherwise no guard in uniform was maintained.

In this cantonment no register of "chakla" women was kept within my knowledge.

No plates to distinguish women were affixed to the rooms in the chakla or any other distinctive marks.

Until I perused the papers under consideration, I have never heard the native word "mahaldarni." At the present date there is a woman called a "dhai" who received and still receives Rs. 10 per month from Cantonment funds as matron or nurse on the female side of the Cantonment General Hospital.

I have never heard of her getting money from the women in the chakla; nor have I any knowledge of her being in possession of any certificates such as are referred to.

If a mahaldarni and a dhai are the same, I have no knowledge what their duties were, except that the dhai was necessarily present when women voluntarily presented themselves for examination.

I have never heard of any proportion of women for regiments; nor have I ever heard of a scale of pay, nor of a complaint ever being lodged to receive money.

I know nothing of the monetary or other private circumstances of those women, nor of the ages at which they begin this life. Nor do I know whether they move with regiments or not.

B.—As already stated, there was no register, and no compulsion was used for women to present themselves for examination either at irregular or fixed periods.

The examination (voluntary) was made sometimes when I was present, sometimes only the Hospital Assistant and dhai being present, and was made with the usual appliances.

C.—Venereal disease was treated like any other contagious disease, the patients being given the option of remaining in hospital until cured or leaving cantonment.

The women in many cases themselves reported that they were undergoing their menstrual period and voluntarily remained in hospital.

Certainly women in hospital received daily allowance of 2 annas, as do all patients, male or female, in poor circumstances or not in Government employ.

D.—As there were no registered women and no compulsory examinations, no reports to any one were necessary.

BENARES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.—BABU RAM JUTTAN SING, CLERK OF CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE'S OFFICE; FIRST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT SAFTER SING.

I was unaware that women required a permit to leave cantonments.

No rule was ever laid down giving prostitutes a prior claim for admission to hospital. Infectious diseases are treated in the cholera and small-pox hospital when they occur. Diseases other than contagious have always had an equal claim for admission within my recollection.

Sending cases of secondary syphilis away from hospital and turning them out of cantonment has not been done here. Again I repeat that there was no compulsion and no registration or reservation of women for use of British troops.

BABOO RAM JUTTAN SINGH, Clerk of Cantonment Magistrate's Office, states:—

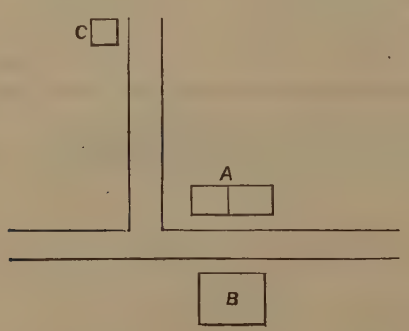
There is no record in the Cantonment Office of a place called a "chakla." There is a record of a place called formerly a lock hospital, but changed to Cantonment General Hospital since 1891, about. The place now known as a chakla belongs to Sher Rahamad Ulla, an agent.

There is no register of women kept now; it was discontinued from the date when the Lock Hospital Rules were abolished. This date was 23rd October 1890.

When the Lock Hospital Rules were in force, a woman who broke the regulations and was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate would render herself liable to a fine or imprisonment, but since those rules were given up the power could not be exercised.

FIRST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT SAFTER BEG—states:—

The natives all call the Cantonment General Hospital "the Lock Hospital," although the name has been changed since 1890, and no doubt they will continue to so call it for a number of years. In January 1892 the hospital was divided into two parts for the treatment of men and women, and has been so for some time. The "chakla" is in front of the male side of this Cantonment Hospital, but the Government paid no rent for it. I have heard it said that the East Lancashire Regiment (30th) paid the rent of the chakla, but I do not know if it is true or not. I do not know whether the "chakla" was reserved for British soldiers or not. I have never seen any list of the women who live in the chakla. The dhai in the hospital has never done any other but the one work. She has never done the work of dhai and mahaldarni together. The natives do use the two words indiscriminately. The dhai has been here for seven years. I have heard that she has been a prostitute—had given it up, gone to her village, and afterwards obtained her present post. It often happened that the prostitutes would give up the trade, leave it, and live with a man, but of course not married. It is a very common custom. For the past three years these women came and left as they wished. I have never heard of any tariff for the payment of the women, [On the question of the women owing money, Safter Beg laughed at the idea, because, the women being able to go where they wished, no one would lend them money or its equivalent. To the question 591, the witness says that the age of the girls was more than 14—about 17—as they came from a native chakla in the city.] Since I came here in November 1891, there has been no periodical examination of women as stated in question 641. I was on leave for ten days when the two European women came, as I heard, to this hospital, and prior to my leaving there was no list of women kept as a register.



The European women have mistaken the hospital B, which is for males, for that of C, which is for females. A is the chakla. The dhai must have brought these women from C to B, C shown * them the books, and they have mistaken B or C.

* Sic.

BENARES—BHAUGWANTI DHAI OF FEMALE HOSPITAL.—MAJOR H. READ, COMMANDING AT BENARES. SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.

BHAUGWANTI, Dhai of Female Hospital, states :—

Q. 517. With reference to this question, I may have used the two words "dhai" and "mahaldarni" because they are the same in native ideas, but I never did the two works.

Q. 399. For the first three months of 1892, when the two European women came, the chakla was occupied by some women.

Q. 561. The women were not bound by debts to remain in the chakla, but could leave when they liked. There were no numbers over the doorways to distinguish the women.

From MAJOR H. READ, Commanding at Benares, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Allahabad District,—(No. 80-C., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Benares, the 15th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 126-G.F., dated 5th June 1893, and No. 130 G.F., dated 9th June 1893, forwarding Quartermaster-General's No. 2568-B., Confidential, dated Simla, 3rd June 1893, and copies of minutes of evidence, which are herewith returned, I have the honour to forward a report by Surgeon-Captain Paterson, A.M.S., referring to the allegations contained in the minutes of evidence under reference.

Surgeon-Captain Paterson is the only officer now present at Benares who is in a position to state of his own knowledge what occurred, as he was the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital. Of my own personal knowledge I am unable to make any statement, except that at the present time no practices exist at this station which infringe in any way the provisions of the Cantonment Act of 1889, or the orders issued in July 1890.

Dated 19th June 1893.

Endorsed by the General Officer Commanding Allahabad District.

FORWARDED to the Quartermaster-General in India with my report, No. 138-G.F., dated 19th June.

Report on Minutes of Evidence taken at the India Office, Whitehall, S.W., on Tuesday, 11th April 1893, *and following days.*

First day.

Para. 81. Evidence exists that two European women did visit Benares Cantonment Hospital.

85. No Lock Hospital has existed in Benares within my recollection.

88. There then existed, as at the present date, male and female wards in separate but adjacent buildings. Males were not restricted to being "out-patients." All medicines were stored and issued from within the building set apart for male patients.

398. The description of the chakla is correct.

400. Of my own knowledge I am unable to state whether or not these women living in the chakla paid rent. No money devoted to such purpose ever passed through my office.

402. I never heard of any order limiting the use of the women in chakla to British soldiers.

403 & 406. No registration lists existed here, and, consequently, the women could not be assigned to certain European regiments.

517. The statement of the dhai that she received Rs. 10 per month is correct.

518. To the best of my belief this woman was always called "Dhai."

521. The dhai was and is still paid at the rate of Rs. 10 per month. All pay-bills and records were and are signed by the officer in medical charge Cantonment Hospital.

522. "With her name as dhai of the Lock Hospital." This is incorrect. The dhai's name and pay is entered in the pay-book along with the names and rates of pay of other servants of the Cantonment Hospital.

NOTE.—I never considered the dhai as performing "double services," but always regarded her as paid nurse or matron of the female side of the Cantonment Hospital only.

538. The existence of this tariff was unknown to me, and I have no knowledge that it existed.

BENARES—SURGEON-CAPTAIN PATERSON, A.M.S.
SITAPORE—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

Para. 561. At this length of time and in the absence of records I cannot confirm or deny this statement as to the early loss of health on the part of the women.

591 to 598, inclusive. This does not come within my knowledge.

639. Examinations of a purely voluntary kind were carried out in Benares within my knowledge and recollection, but to the best of my belief they lapsed and the women ceased to attend earlier than March 1892.

872. No registration lists of prostitutes existed within my knowledge in 1892, and all "*old Lock Hospital*" books had been destroyed in the end of 1891.

1417 *et seq.* to 1419. There appears to be some confusion in these statements. Apparently the visitors had mistaken the male side of the Cantonment Hospital for the female side (their so-called "Lock Hospital"). The building devoted to males is surrounded by a moderately high brick wall, and bears the inscription "Cantonment Hospital" on the wall near the gate. The female ward or building is not surrounded by a high wall, but contains a courtyard to the rear, which is enclosed as in most native buildings. This building never had a separate inscription over its door.

1423. *All patients*, male or female, were and are allowed two annas daily subsistence allowance, provided (1) they are not in Government employ, or (2) provided they are too poor to support themselves.

1425. Replied to under paragraph 872.

1428 to 1436. This I am unable to reply to, these two books being no longer available for reference, having been taken away by Officer Commanding the Station on May 24th, 1893.

Within my knowledge and to the best of my belief, instructions and regulations with regard to the management of the Cantonment General Hospital, Benares, have been strictly and consistently adhered to.

J. PATERSON, *Surgeon-Captain, A.M.S.*,
Officer in Medical Charge, Cantonment General Hospital.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District, Lucknow,—(No. 23-C.F., dated Sitapur, 13th June, 1893).

I HAVE the honour, in compliance with your memorandum, No. 7790, dated 7th June 1893, *1st*, to forward a report on the allegations contained in the printed evidence forwarded to me; *2ndly*, to state that no infringement of the Cantonment Act of 1889 takes place in the Cantonment of Sitapur. With regard to the report on the allegations, I have to state that Surgeon-Captain Reilly, who was in medical charge of the Cantonment Hospital on the 5th March 1892, has since left Sitapur, and no further direct evidence on the points mentioned than is contained in the report can be obtained. The Hospital Assistant, "Shah Mahomedabad," on whose authority the principal allegations rest, has also been relieved, and therefore had not been called on to explain the statements attributed to him in the printed evidence.

Endorsed by the General Officer Commanding Oudh District.

FORWARDED to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District, Lucknow.

No. 220. But you did not see any orders to that effect?—No; at Lucknow 35 girls and two mahaldarnis testified that only Europeans could visit them.

At Sitapur a woman who was there pointed to the smoke on the wall, and said that this room had been occupied by a native woman who was at that time one of the women of the chakla, who had a native lover who visited her secretly. He became very jealous and angry and set fire to the bed, and then it all came out, his visiting her secretly, and the woman was expelled from the cantonment.

No. 220. Formerly this was the case, but the order ceased on the passing of the "Cantonment Act, 1889." It is possible the soldiers through ignorance, or in order to keep the women to themselves, may have kept up the idea.

This case, as recorded in the police station' is as follows :—On the 22nd January 1892 a prostitute, named Moorah, in the chakla quarrelled with the natives, Kurran Khan and Tukhan, who visited her, and accused them of burning her bed, and they in turn accused her of burning her own bed in order to bring the accusation against them. The Head Constable reported the woman as a bad character, and she was ordered out of cantonments by the late Major Ferrier, Commanding Officer.

SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

No. 389. Sitapur you visited 5th March?—Yes. Left Bareilly 4th March. Visited Sitapur 5th March.

No. 389. No record of this.

No. 390. Is the only chakla there at the sudder bazaar?—Yes.

No. 390. This is correct, but no order now exists for the prostitutes to live in the chakla. Nor is prostitution recognised in the cantonment.

No. 395. What did they tell you? Did they say anything as to the payment of rent for the building?—That was after we passed round to the other side. (The remainder of her answer refers to Lucknow.)

No. 396. Was this your second visit?—No; we passed round the end of the building to this girl's room and she said to us: "This house belongs to the Government, and we pay no rent here. We had to pay two rupees a month at Lucknow, but we pay no rent here.

Nos. 395-96. This is correct. On the 5th March 1892 the chakla was Government property. When the Cantonment Act of 1889 was passed, the women who had previously lived in the chakla were allowed to remain where they were, paying no rent and being under no special supervision. Steps to get rid of the house having been apparently omitted to be taken, the house was sold in May 1892.

No. 516. How at Sitapur?—At Sitapur there was no mahaldarni: a woman and an *ex* dhai who was living here stated that the European guides and the native police took care of them; that they had no mahaldarni.

516. The prostitutes are under no special police supervision whatever. They are treated as all other natives.

It is not understood what is meant by European guides; there are none at Sitapur. The Military Police visit the sudder bazaar, but have strict orders not to interfere with natives of any sort. They are there solely for the purpose of looking after soldiers and seeing that they do not create disturbances.

No. 528. That was a much smaller proportion?—At Sitapur 15.—(The remainder of this answer refers to the number of prostitutes kept at other stations for soldiers.)

There is no record of any list of the number of prostitutes at Sitapur since the Act of 1889 amongst the documents in the Cantonment General Hospital, or elsewhere.

No. 538. Table showing sources of information as to uniform rate of pay, viz.:—

This may be correct, but it is, I believe, a mutual arrangement between the men and the women. There is no record of any fixed rates as having been established as ordered.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Sergeant	1	0	0
Corporal	0	8	0
Private	0	4	0

Cantonment.	Brothel.	No. and character of informants.
Sitapur	Sudder Bazaar.	1 prostitute; 1 *ex* dhai.

No. 579. *At Sitapur.*—What did the girl show you?—The Committee will remember the construction of the Sitapur chakla. It was ten suites of rooms facing opposite ways, with a wall in the middle. The girls showed us a hole in the wall up near the roof, and they said that that was to enable them to call for help in case the soldiers abused them.

The holes referred to were placed there for the purpose of ventilation, there is no hole for the purpose mentioned. There are four or five in the building, but not one to each room.

SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

No. 589. *At Sitapur.*—You saw a young girl, did you not?—We saw a young woman there who said she was "sold by a sepoy, whose daughter had brought her up, to the mahaldarni to sit in the chakla"—that was the way she expressed it—when she was 11.

No evidence can be obtained as to the truth of this story; the natives deny all knowledge of the matter.

The *ex* dhai says she remembers a lady about a year ago coming to Sitapur, but says she asked her no questions and remained a few moments.

No. 590. What age was she?—She did not seem to be more than 20 then. She was sold by the sepoy. It was in famine times.

The was a famine in 1877 at Sitapur, but none since. The woman would be about 36 years of age.

No. 637. At Sitapur.—At Sitapur, in an interview with the women the next day, the women said they went to the hills with the soldiers at Dagshai and Sabathu, and what they earned they paid on the way.

This must refer to the marches from Umballa. On the march of the regiment to Dagshai in March 1891, the women were forbidden to accompany the troops by the Commanding Officer, and threatened to be handed over to Civil Police if they were found in the vicinity of the camp.

No. 641. Table showing times, &c., of regular periodical examinations :—

Cantonment.	Place of obtaining information.	Number and character of informants.	When examined by Surgeons.
Sitapur -	Lock Hospital -	1 Native Doctor -	Regularly
Do. -	Chakla - -	2 prostitutes and an *ex* dhai.	Tuesday (weekly).

It appears from the documents at the Cantonment Hospital that since the passing of the Act of 1889 there have been no compulsory or periodical examinations of women, but there appear to have been voluntary inspections which the women attended or not as they pleased in the years 1889 and 1890. There is no mention of even voluntary inspections after 1890.

No. 754. At Sitapur.—At Sitapur in the chakla they said the examinations are voluntary, but if they did not go to the examinations they would be expelled from the cantonment.

In the annual report, 1890, Surgeon Major O'Reilly, the medical officer in charge, states as follows :—

"This is now a voluntary hospital; no tickets are issued, no register of prostitutes is kept, and no compulsory examinations of women held."

There is no evidence of regular periodical examinations having taken place in the documents of the hospital or elsewhere. It probably refers to the case of women supposed to be suffering from contagious disease, whose attendance at the hospital for inspection had been applied for. This applies to all contagious diseases such as small-pox, &c., besides venereal.

1060.—Did you hear anything more about this poor girl from any one that you saw?—We saw a girl at the Sitapur chakla who spoke of her and said "she can never leave a life of shame: she has more debts than the hairs of her head, and if she tried to go away, the police would catch her and bring her back."

Nothing is known of this particular case. Undoubtedly these women do get into debt with bunniahs and others, who get them into their powers in the same way as they do all the poorer classes of this country. The police have no power to prevent them leaving if they wish.

1072. In the official documents that you had an opportunity of inspecting, how did you find the hospitals were called?—At Sitapur it was called the Cantonment hospital for contagious and infectious diseases.

This is correct.

SITAPORE—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

1076. Did you find that the Lock Hospital was used for the purpose of their periodical examination? We did.

Since the Act of 1889 was passed no compulsory or periodical examinations appear to have taken place.

1077.—Invariably? In every instance.

See Answer 641.

1381.—You visited the Lock Hospital at Sitapur on the 5th March? Yes.

This seems to have been an unauthorised visit, and the books inspected without the permission of the medical officer in charge being obtained.

1384.—Did you see the Native Doctor? We did.

1335.—Did he admit you? He did.

1388. How many patients did you find? One

1389.—Did you see the examination room? We saw it.

1389.—There is no special examination room at this hospital other than the ordinary room which is used as an office and where patients of all sorts are seen.

1390.—And the dispensary? And the dispensary—there were no medicines there excepting those suitable for venereal cases.

1390.—The medical officer reports that there is a list of medicines taken over by the Hospital Assistant, 27th June 1890, in which there are several medicines, not used for venereal diseases.

1395.—Did the Doctor tell you what cases were treated there? He did. He said that the in-patients were only women with venereal. The women who were at the chakla; it was for them only; there were a few patients; out-door patients connected with the out-door dispensary; but all the in-patients were prostitutes only, and that no other women would be kept there.

Any resident in Cantonments would be by the regulations eligible for admission into the hospital; and cases other than venereal are shewn in the periodical returns of having been admitted. The apothecary was talking loosely; there was at the time no out-door dispensary; it is only now being started.

1396.—Did you ask if soldiers' wives could be treated? We did, and he said they would not.

Correct.

1398.—What kind of medicines were there then? There were washes and disinfectants, and such as would be used for treating venereal cases.

See answer 1390.

1401.—Did you see the annual report for 1891? We did.

1403. Under the column headed with names of diseases was there any record except for venereal?

The report for 1891 is not at hand to refer to, having been sent to the Assistant Adjutant General, Oudh District, by the Officer Commanding the Station, 26th May 1893.

No contagious diseases except venereal.

The report included out-door patients; the patients connected with the out dispensary.

1405.—I thought you said that there were no medicines except for venereal?

See answer to 1390.

There were not, and I do not understand how to explain that point. I only noted the fact that there were not.

1407.—And the financial statement, what did it say? It said the funds were received from Government, that was the expression.

1413.—How many women were there on the register at that time. There were 15 on the registration list.

1415.—Did you ask him what would be done if there were too many? We did, and he said send them away; and we asked if too few, and he said send and get some more.

1415.—There is no evidence of any such thing being done since the passing of the Cantonment Act, 1889.

1451.—Did the women understand that it was voluntary?

No, they said unless they submitted to the examination, they would be turned out of Cantonments.

1551.—It is possible; the women may have believed so, and did not understand the difference of the law previous to 1889, and as it was after the passing of Act of that year

See Answer 954.

1413.—There is no such register among the hospital documents or elsewhere to be found.

1407.—Correct

Correct.

SITAPUR;

The 13th June 1893.

(Sd.) A. W. NOYES, *Lieut.-Col.*,
2nd West Yorkshire Regiment,
Commanding at Sitapur.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, 2nd West Yorkshire Regiment, Commanding a Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant General, Oudh District, Lucknow,—(No. C. L. 24 dated Sitapur, the 16th June 1893).

IN answer to your memo. No. 8062, Confidential, of 13th June 1893, I have the honour to state that I can positively state of my own knowledge as to the allegations referred to, *viz.*—

No. *637*, that the prostitutes were forbidden the camp of regiment on the march from Umballa to Dagshai in March 1891, and were threatened with being handed over to the civil police if found in its vicinity, as I was in command at the time.

No. *395-6*, that it is true that the "chakla" was Government property on the 5th March 1892, and that the women were in occupation of it about that date.

No. *1407*, that it is true the Cantonment Hospital is supported out of Cantonment Funds.

With regard to the remaining allegations, namely :—

(1) That a woman was brought into the chakla at eleven years of age.

(2) That a native man burnt the bed of a prostitute in the chakla through jealousy.

(3) That the holes in the wall were made for the purpose of enabling women to call for assistance.

(4) That there was a register of women kept at the hospital, and that the number was fifteen (15).

(5) That the prostitutes were compulsorily and periodically examined.

(6) That the only medicines were for venereal cases.

(7) That the only cases in hospital of contagious diseases were venereal.

(8) That only women living in the chakla were admitted into the hospital.

(9) That only medicines for the treatment of venereal were in the hospital.

(10) That more prostitutes would be sent for, if required, and some sent away if there were too many.

I cannot state of my own knowledge if they are true or not.

With regard to the question whether the positive orders of Government from 1888–90 have been disregarded on the subject, I cannot state positively of my own knowledge that any infringement whatever of these orders has taken place.

From the Commandant, Oudh District, to the Quartermaster General in India,—
(No. C. L. 362, dated Lucknow, the 18th June 1893).

FORWARDED in continuation of this office, No. C. L. 361, dated 13th June 1893, with reference to the Quartermaster General's telegram No. 2672-B., dated 8th June 1893. The Officer Commanding Sitapur has been directed also to comply with Quartermaster General's No. 2747-B., of 12th June 1893, without delay.

From MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, Commanding Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 59-D.,—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,*"—dated Ranikhet, the 15th June 1893).

IN forwarding replies to your No. 2570-B., dated 3rd June 1893, and subsequent telegrams, I would premise my statements by saying that the General Officer who commanded the District between 1888–1892, Major-General Sir Robert Low, is now at Lucknow, the two officers who commanded at Bareilly, Lieutenant-Colonel Hillyard, Rifle Brigade, and Colonel Cochran, 1st Hants Regiment (the latter commanded District from November 1891 to 1st May 1892), are both on half pay in England, the Cantonment Magistrate Major Annesley is on leave in England, and the medical officers in charge of the Cantonment Hospital have been changed.

2. In rendering this report I have therefore been unable to rely on personal knowledge before May 1882, but have made the most exhaustive enquiries I have been able to in the time.

3. I cannot support my replies by reference to books, as all the books were sent at your request to Simla.

4. Detailed answers have been given by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, now commanding at Bareilly, and I forward his replies with the letter I addressed to him.

5. I have personally examined a medical officer who was in charge of the Cantonment Hospital from December 1892 to end of January 1893, and his replies corroborate Lieutenant-Colonel Clark's statement.

6. With reference to the various points noted, I would remark—

Name of Hospital.—The Cantonment Hospital has ever since 1888 been so called officially, and by all who knew its proper name. But if the building stood empty, it would be probably known as the Lock Hospital by the natives. Every one knew that natives are slow to change their ideas, and having known it for years as a Lock Hospital, they will probably continue to call it a Lock Hospital as long as it stands. That it is in any sense a Lock Hospital is absolutely untrue ; there is no wall round it, and any one can ride through it in any direction they like.

Cases treated in Hospital.—With reference to the cases treated in the Cantonment Hospital, at first no doubt there was a prejudice against going there among the better class native ; this prejudice is gradually wearing off, and in January 1893 Surgeon-Major Butt informs me, that not only were all the men's wards full, but the verandahs also were occupied. The implication that any other cases but venereal were treated in any way other than that laid down in G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890, is absolutely false. There is a leprosy hospital in the city of Bareilly, and a case of leprosy would naturally be sent to it. The statement that there were no cholera or small-pox wards at the Cantonment Hospital is absolutely false. I forward a plan showing their position.

The Chakla.—There is no chakla officially recognised, or in any way paid for by any Cantonment moneys. That prostitutes generally collect in one part of the bazaar is well known, as respectable natives would object to their being scattered through the bazaar This custom is not unknown in London.

Apparently the majority of these houses belong to the matron of the Cantonment Hospital. This I have only just ascertained, and am issuing orders that she must either relinquish her post as matron or her connection with the houses.

Nature of evidence tendered.—The answer (379) as to the numbers on the houses shows how loosely the evidence was taken; the large number was the number of the block of the bazaar, the small number the number of the individual house.

It is well known to any one acquainted with India that any European going among natives and asking suggestive questions can obtain nearly any evidence that he requires. An instance of this is to be seen in the answer alleged to have been given by the Native Doctor at Bareilly, *viz.*, that infectious diseases other than venereal were not treated at the Cantonment Hospital, and apparently the lady inquisitors gathered that* other diseases of a contagious nature were treated otherwise than venereal. The same Native Doctor is now asked if he has known any case treated otherwise, and he says No. As a matter of fact, none have have been.

* Answer 789.

Guard over Chakla.—With reference to the guard over the so-called chakla, it will be seen there is no such guard: that the policeman on duty would probably be frequently near a spot where disturbances may frequently arise, is not unlikely; and another fact is well known, and that is, that if any European appears in the bazaar and begins to make any inquiries, the native policeman is sure to turn up and push himself officiously to the front.

Date of examination.—The medical officer lately in charge of the Cantonment Hospital at Bareilly informs me that a date was fixed on which women, who wished to be examined, might come. This was merely a business precaution, as the medical officer in charge had other duties to perform, and could not always visit the hospital at the same hour daily. There was absolutely no compulsion. He says that he noticed one woman always accompanied them, but he did not know who she was: doubtless she was the keeper of the bawdy house.

Reserving women for British Soldiers.—No doubt the bawdy house-keeper tried to reserve her prostitutes for British soldiers, but she had no official assistance in so doing.

From MAJOR G. M. BULLOCK, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, to the Officer Commanding, Bareilly,—(No. 54-D., *Sanitary – Cantonment Hospitals*, dated Ranikhet, the 9th June, 1893).

IN forwarding the enclosed correspondence, I have the honour to request that you will make the closest investigation into the matter therein alluded to, and will return the documents, if possible, so as to reach this office not later than 14th instant, as the report is called for at Simla on 17th instant.

2. The General Officer Commanding is aware that of your own personal knowledge you cannot reply to matter previous to November 1892, but he wishes you to obtain the best evidence you can on the various questions, and also to answer from your personal knowledge what prevails at present.

Queries referring to Bareilly Nos. 85–88, 92–93, 124–128, 131, 133, 174, 220, 227, 229, 371–378, 440, 441, 513–515, 528, 538, 575–578, 635, 639–656, 753, 784, 789, 801–809, 871, 948–967, 1066, 1072, 1077, 1080, 1354–1380, 1450–1463.

3. The circulars referred to in telegram No. 2673-B., Q. M. G. will be in your office. The demi-official letters of 13th July 1888, and of the 8th November 1890, are not forthcoming. I enclose the demi-official, dated 21st March 1892.

4. The questions affecting Bareilly are noted in the margin, and your attention is especially called to the following :—

Q. 220. Is there any chakla or house in which women are kept reserved for European soldiers? If so, by whose authority, and what means are used to keep them for Europeans? Who owns the chakla, if there is one? Is the women in charge of it paid, and, if so, by whom?

Q. 227.—Is any guard kept over any woman's house, if so, by whose orders?

Q. 513.—Is there any mahaldarni? Does she receive any regular pay, if so, from whom?

Q. 515.—Is there any ground for saying that the expenses of any chakla or bawdy house are charged to the Cantonment fund?

Q. 649.—Is any registration list kept or signed by the medical officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital?

BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

Q. 803.—Please describe the position of the infectious ward of the Cantonment Hospital with reference to the other wards. Also, if the native Doctor of the Cantonment Hospital is the same who was there in January 1892. Please ask him if he knows of any case in which a contagious or infectious disease, other than venereal, has been known to the Cantonment authorities and has not been treated in the way laid down in G. G. O., No. 617, *i.e.*, either admitted to hospital, segregated, or turned out of Cantonment?

Q. 379.—Please inquire into these numbers; if the numbers referred to were registration numbers, what was the register? Was there any register of prostitutes, or was the register a register of householders?

Is there any record in the Cantonment Hospital, or in the Cantonment Magistrate's office, of any women being ordered to attend for examination, and, if so, under what circumstances.

Please return all enclosures.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL W. CLARK, Commanding at Bareilly, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Rohilkhand District, Ranikhet,—(dated Bareilly, the 13th June 1893).

Reference.—Your letter No. 54-D—1893, Confidential, dated the 9th instant.

1. As it was only received on the 12th it is impossible to despatch the answer, so that it reaches you not later than the 14th instant.

2. Hewewith I furnish replies to the questions marginally noted in your letter above quoted:—

Q. 85.—The hospital is the Cantonment Hospital, and was so then.

Q. 86.—It was called "Cantonment Hospital," but the old name of "Lock Hospital" from force of habits was frequently used, especially by women, and probably by the Native Doctor.

Q. 87.—It was called and described as the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 88.—For treatment of both men and women, there being separate wards for each. The dispensary is part of the building. I am told the men were seen by these visitors.

Q. 92. I believe they visited the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 93.—The men were seen by these visitors in *the wards*, and not in the out-door dispensary.

Q. 124. I cannot say who they went to first. The senior medical officers are all changed.

Q. 125.—I cannot say what the medical officers said.

Q. 128.—I cannot ascertain who these friends were.

Q. 131.—There was no Lock Hospital; they visited the "Cantonment Hospital."

Q. 133.—I understand from the Native Doctor that they looked at the books.

Q. 174.—Prostitutes in the sudder bazar have not been reserved for British soldiers since 1888.

Q. 220.—See answer to above. The information given to these visitors was untrue.

Q. 227.—Police were on duty to keep order, but not as a guard. None are now specially detailed.

Q. 229.—See answer to 227. Very likely a policeman was about.

Q. 371-78.—I believe they did make a visit in March, and the numbers they saw might have been as described.

Q. 440.—The statement is not correct; no room or house was so marked.

Q. 513.—There is none now.

Q. 515.—No expenses were ever paid out of Cantonment Fund for payment of mahaldarni; a dhai in the Cantonment Hospital received and receives pay for services *in the hospital.*

Q. 528.—The numbers are probably correct.

Q. 538.—There was a tariff, but I can't say what it was.

Q. 575.—I have no means of proving the truth of the statement; it is probably about one-hundredth part true and the rest untrue.

Q. 578.—See above.

Q. 635.—They make their way to the hills no doubt, but they do not "march with the soldiers," nor are they recognized.

Q. 639.—Statement is not correct; no examinations were held.

Q. 686.—I can find no register of any examination.

Q. 753.—There being no compulsory examination, the statement is untrue.

Q 784.—There is a small-pox ward at the Cantonment Hospital, and patients have been treated there. The Leprosy Hospital is not in the cantonment. One case of small-pox in 1891, none in 1892, 2 in 1893, 1 in a ward at present.

Q. 789.—Would be treated as contagious diseases.

Q. 801.—Answered before.

690 Q. 803.—There is both a small-pox and cholera ward.

Q. 804 —They were treated in separate wards.

Q. 805.—It is not a "venereal building."

Q. 806.—I have no reports left; the books are not here.

Q. 807-9.—No record exists of their going to the Officer Commanding the station or any one else to report.

Q. 871.—Previously answered as to numbers.

Q. 948-967.—There was no compulsory examination.

Q. 1066.—The wards for men and women are separate.

Q. 1072.—Cantonment Hospital,

700 Q. 1077.—If a woman came and wished to be examined, it would be done at the hospital.

Q. 1080.—Answered before.

Q. 1354.—No record of the date, but probably correct.

Q. 1380.—The woman alluded to is still so living.

Q. 1450-1463.—The examinations were voluntary, and are so now. Certain days were fixed. Several women have come very recently of their own accord for examination and treatment, as they find they are treated well and kindly, and no punishment, such as turning them out, or anything else, is inflicted.

I forward the following answers to the questions to which you direct my particular attention :—

710 Q. 230.—There is no chakla or house in which women are reserved for European soldiers.

Since the arrival of the present Cantonment Magistrate, in consequence of some complaints of drunken soldiers trying to enter the houses of respectable people in the sudder bazaar, it was suggested to the women that they should live in one part of the bazaar. (By women, I mean prostitutes.) They have all moved to one part now. The houses they have gone into mostly belong to one woman, the matron of the Cantonment Hospital. I dare say this part of the bazaar will be known as the "chakla," though it is not so.

The women are in no way reserved for Europeans.

Mrs. Barrett is the name of the owner of most of the houses occupied by prostitutes.

720 There is no woman in charge.

There is no payment made to any one for being in charge.

Q. 227.—There is no guard over any house.

Q. 513.—There is no mahaldarni, and consequently no pay.

Q. 515.—No grounds whatever for such a statement.

Q. 649.—There is no register or list kept, consequently there is nothing to sign. When I sent the books to Simla, I found no registers or lists. The register seems to have been given up in 1888.

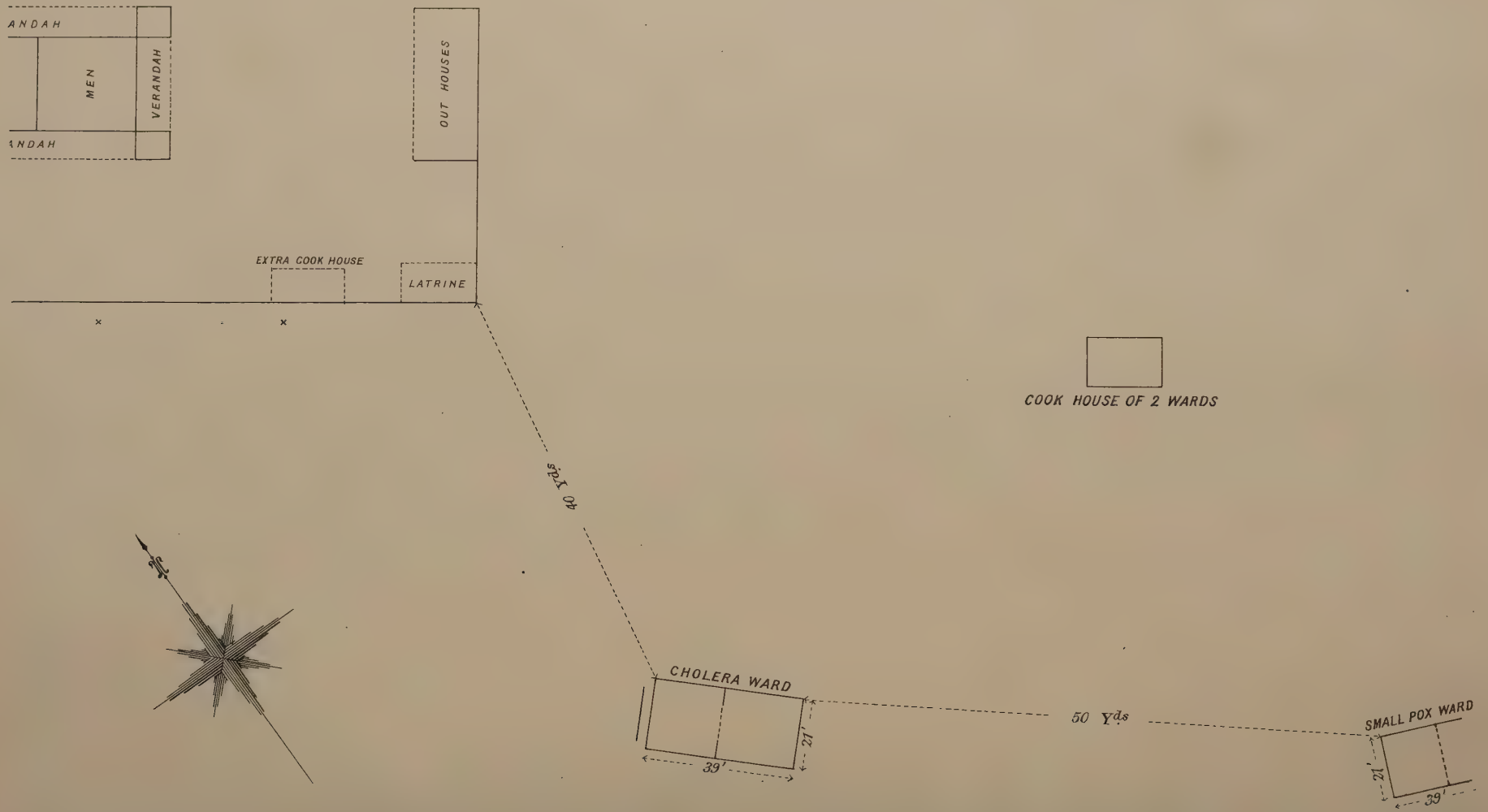
Q. 803.—I enclose a sketch of the Cantonment Hospital as it now exists. The clerk in the Cantonment Magistrate's Court states that a verandah used to be where the 730 dispensary now is.

2. Yes; the Native Doctor has been there since 9th October 1891.

3. He states he does not know of any.

Q. 379.—Cantonment Magistrate states that the numbers had no reference at all to any registration of women; but the large number was the number of the *block* or portion of the bazaar, and the small numbers those of the houses *in the block*. There was and is no register of prostitutes.

There is no record *anywhere* of any woman being ordered to attend anywhere or at any time for examination. I have no documents to support these statements, nearly all the books having been sent to Simla.


ANDAH
MEN
VERANDAH
NDAH
OUT HOUSES
EXTRA COOK HOUSE
LATRINE
40 Yds
COOK HOUSE OF 2 WARDS
CHOLERA WARD
39'
21'
50 Yds
SMALL POX WARD
21'
39'

Y 24265

BAREILLY—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

BAREILLY— REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, COMMANDING ROHILKHAND DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL T. GRAHAM, C.B., R.A., Commanding the Rohilkhand District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 60-D.—1893, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Ranikhet, the 17th June 1893).

I HAVE already forwarded my reply to your No. 2726-B., dated 10th June 1893, but even at the risk of repetition I answer again categorically the allegations made in the statement of so-called facts relating to the administration of the East India Cantonment Acts, forwarded with your No. 2748-B., dated 12th June 1893.

I (A) No provision whatever is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities at Bareilly for the residence of native women as prostitutes for the use exclusively of British soldiers.

(B) No compulsory examination of such women is made in Bareilly by European or Native medical officers.

(C & D) Women found diseased are detained in hospital, or expelled from cantonments in accordance with G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890.

The Cantonment Hospital at Bareilly is not used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of prostitutes.

As to 1, there is no recognised chakla in the sudder bazar at Bareilly, but the prostitutes undoubtedly live together. Doubtless the prostitutes may live by themselves each in one room; I know of no law to prevent them: and doubtless they may receive visits from soldiers in their quarters, though I am informed that they generally go with soldiers to other quarters than those they sleep in; but of this I cannot get very reliable information. The women probably do no other work; harlots seldom do.

I am not aware that there is any solicitation by the women.

If natives are not allowed to resort to them, that is probably an arrangement between the women and the keeper of the brothel.

The women may leave the cantonment whenever they like.

The chakla, or quarters, in which the harlots happen to live at Bareilly do not belong to the Government, but doubtless may have been acquired by their present owners from Government.

If the harlots live rent-free, it is because the owners of the houses allow them to.

There is no guard placed over the so-called chakla.

There is no register kept of chakla women.

There are no plates or numbers, metal or other, affixed over the quarters of the harlots, indicating the register number of the harlots, there being no register.

There is a keeper of a brothel apparently at Bareilly who may call herself a mahaldarni. Her wages are not paid out of the cantonment fund. Very possibly she has certificates from British officers showing her to have been in the employment of the cantonment previous to the suspension of the Contagious Diseases Acts; but as she is not in any way in the employment of the cantonment, I cannot call upon her to produce them.

She has no duties connected with the cantonment and has nothing to do with the production of women for periodical examination.

I have no knowledge at present of the number of harlots living in cantonments, but could ascertain it from the general register of inhabitants in cantonments, if necessary.

Probably the rate of pay harlots get from soldiers is low and may be graduated.

The amount is never stopped out of men's pay.

I know nothing of the manner in which prostitutes spend their earnings. As nearly every class of native tries to prey on some other, doubtless bunniahs and others prey on these women.

The usual fate of prostitutes, unless they die, is to be replaced by younger women when they grow old. I believe prostitutes begin their trade young in this country.

No transport is ever allowed to prostitutes when a regiment moves, doubtless many follow it.

They are never protected by European guards. I know nothing of what the so-called mahaldarni may try to do to protect them. She is not under Government control.

(B) No women are entered in a register: no woman is required to present herself for periodical examination: nor is the Cantonment Hospital established for these particular diseases.

The voluntary examination is generally held once a week on a particular day, and a woman may come or not as she likes.

I am informed hy a medical officer lately in charge of the Cantonment Hospital that the examination is mainly done by the dhai, and hardly ever with the speculum.

The women for voluntary examination come on a fixed day, and probably either walk or come in some kind of conveyance.

(C) The women who voluntarily come for examination either are dismissed, detained in hospital, or turned out of cantonments.

No women are detained in hospital during the menstrual period.

During detention in hospital all the poorer patients, venereal or others, receive subsistence from the cantonment funds—*vide* G. G. O. No. 617, paragraph 3.

(D) The Cantonment Magistrate never orders any women up for examination, nor are they fined, imprisoned, or expelled from cantonments for not appearing for examination. If diseased, and known to be so, they have either to go to hospital or to leave cantonments.

If a woman leaves cantonments she can come back whenever she likes, unless she is known to be diseased.

As to 2. Very few natives like to go to a hospital which has been known in former years as a lock hospital. The prejudice is dying out in Bareilly.

Many cases of secondary syphilis have been treated in the Cantonment Hospital.

No women are subjected to obligatory examination.

With regard to the above "charges" against cantonment authorities, might I ask what alternative an officer commanding a cantonment has to either permit a harlot "to resume her shameful calling" or to turn her out of cantonments? Has he any power to turn her out of cantonments for pursuing her shameful calling if she is not diseased?

Is there any law under which he can compel her to work, or if she does not work, punish her?

I am aware of none.

I should be only too glad if Cantonment Magistrates were allowed to expel from cantonments every harlot caught plying her trade, and to imprison any attempting to return.

It also would be a great boon to cantonments if cantonment hospitals were closed and Government charitable dispensaries founded in their place.

The cantonment hospital is a great burden on the cantonment fund, while owing to its previous history it is not well received by the classes whom it might be desirable to help.

The charges against cantonment authorities appear to be both that they allow harlots to live in cantonments and that they expel them; that if harlots remain in cantonments they are allowed to ply their shameful calling, that if they are expelled they starve. There is an alternative, and that is, that if expelled from cantonments they go to the neighbouring native city and come back after dark and disease soldiers.

The average number of patients in the General Hospital at Bareilly who suffer from venereal disease has been, during my stay at Bareilly, about 50 per cent. of the patients, while many of the other diseases are directly traceable to venereal.

From Major-General Viscount Frankfort, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head-Quarters, Simla—(No. 38-D, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, 15th June 1893).

In compliance with your No. 2571-B., dated 3rd instant (received evening of 6th instant), and No. 2624-B., of 6th instant, I have the honour to enclose herewith a report regarding the station of Meean Meer.

2. The Officer Commanding at Amritsar in March 1892 is not now under my command. He has been communicated with by telegram, and his report will be furnished on receipt; but as my report is due in Simla on the 17th instant, it cannot be delayed for this statement.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

A statement by the medical officer there in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, is, however, attached (annexure A), which deals directly with the allegations (inferred, though advisedly stated) that the examination of prostitutes was not voluntary.

3. I am unable to state of my own personal knowledge what is or what is not true in the allegations regarding facts previous to April 1892, as I did not assume command of the Lahore District until 1st April last year.

4. I will deal as far as possible with the case of Amritsar first, being the simpler, remarking categorically on each question and reply affecting that station, as recorded in the minutes of evidence.

Q. 293.—Date of visit not disputed.

Q. 294. The fact that a small brothel only exists in the sudder bazaar is not disputed. Its construction is similar to most native houses, and requires no comment.

Q. 295.—The fact that there was a mahaldarni is not disputed.

Q. 296, 297.—The number of British troops in Amritsar is not disputed. It is 200.

Q. 298.—The fact that an English soldier was seen near the brothel is not disputed.

Q. 510.—The fact that the mahaldarni was not a Government servant, but was paid by the women themselves, is not disputed.

Q. 637, 640.—The fact that prostitutes were examined by the medical officer is not disputed. Such examination was, however, voluntary and not compulsory.

It may perhaps be noted, however, that there is a slight discrepancy between answer 294 and 641 in the evidence. Answer 294 states there were five prostitutes only in the brothel. Answer 641 states the information regarding examinations was received from six prostitutes in the same place, exclusive of the mahaldarni.

Q. 643.—The fact that a book of expenses is kept up at the Cantonment Hospital is not disputed.

Q 678.—The examination of prostitutes at Amritsar was entirely voluntary, nor was any complaint or representation on that subject made to the medical officer in charge or to the Hospital Assistant, Cantonment Hospital (annexure A).

Q. 1302.—The fact that there were no patients in the female ward, Cantonment Hospital, on 1st March 1892, is not disputed. The number of native inhabitants of cantonments is small, and native soldiers are treated in their own hospital.

The Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, is divided into two wards, for males and females situated in separate though adjacent houses. This was the only suitable accommodation procurable in the cantonment. The male ward has been occasionally used, at any rate, as I have seen a patient or patients there at my visit, and I know that out-patients are treated at this hospital.

Q. 1304–1306.—The fact that a matron for the female ward, Cantonment Hospital, is paid from the cantonment funds is not disputed. Her pay is Rs. 10 (ten rupees) per mensem, and will be found included in the annual cantonment budget estimate for last year.

Q. 1307–1311.—The fact that the Cantonment Hospital possessses necessary instruments and equipment for the surgical examination of women is not disputed, nor that the examination of women voluntarily presenting themselves is made.

There do not appear to be any further statements affecting Amritsar.

5. Regarding the report from Meean Meer, it is plain therefrom that the orders on the subject have not been obeyed in the following instances :—

(*a*) Prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazaars. They have, however, paid rent for their own houses.

(*b*) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march to Meean Meer, paying their own way.

(*c*) From some extraordinary misconception of orders on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate (see last paragraph of report from Officer Commanding, Meean Meer), women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly inspections made between March 1890 and May 1892. It was brought to my notice in May 1892 that tickets were being issued to prostitutes in Meean Meer. I ordered the discontinuance of the practice at once, and it was reported to me on the 17th May 1892 that no registration of prostitutes in any form whatever then continued.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

6. I am now instituting searching enquiries as to how this misconception on the part of the Cantonment Magistrate occurred.

I have every reason to believe from my personal knowledge that the matters at fault have been already entirely rectified in every detail, and on this I shall assure myself again at my next visit to Meean Meer, in a few days' time.

7. In addition to the replies of the Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, there are two points to be touched on.

Answer 279.—In the evidence it is stated there were 12 women at the rest-camp. This is an absolute falsehood, without the very slightest foundation whatever. I have the positive statement of Captain Hamilton, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General in charge of the camp since 1890, that not only do no women of any kind whatever live at or near the camp, but there is no bazaar there, and the only native inhabitants are the camp servants.

8. With regard to the brothel in the sudder bazaar, I would invite your attention to your No. 415-B., dated 1st February 1893, forwarding a petition from one Badri Singh, the owner of this brothel, and my reply thereto, No. 550-B., dated 14th March 1893, from which it is clear that the Cantonment Committee repudiated all responsibility for rent in September 1888, and declined to accede to the petition of the owner (to whom the rent had been guaranteed previously) to cause the prostitutes to reside in the brothel. The owner, therefore, petitioned the Commander-in-Chief.

9. With reference to the replies of Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, Nos. 667 to 670 I have called for a copy of the alleged petition, or a statement by some person who saw the petition, to be forwarded to me, and it shall be transmitted. I regret that time does not admit to procure and forward it now, as the statement was only received yesterday evening, and my report must be posted before 11 A.M. to-day.

It is hoped, therefore, that, for this reason, in view of the short time available for the preparation of the report, any omissions may be forgiven.

The statements of evidence are returned under separate cover.

Telegram from SURGEON-CAPTAIN TROTTER, Amritsar, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Dalhousie,—(dated 13th June 1893).

"Examination of women in March 1892 quite voluntary. No complaint or representation ever made to me or to my Hospital Assistant."

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. D. DOUGLAS, R.A., Commanding at Meean Meer, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District,—(No. 3-C., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Meean Meer, 13th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 31-D., dated 7th June 1893, forwarding Quarter-master-General in India's No. 2571-B., dated 3rd June 1893, and enclosures, I have the honour to submit the following report on the allegations made in the attached minutes of evidence:—

Paragraph 266.—Admitted.

Paragraph 267.—Admitted.

Paragraph 268.—Admitted.

Paragraph 269.—It appears on inquiry that they conversed with a woman named Hooseenie who lived next to the chukla and who was known as a mahaldarni, but who is not the matron who lives in the compound of the Contagious Diseases Hospital.

Paragraphs 272–276.—They paid rent to the owners of the houses and not to the mahaldarni.

Paragraph 277.—Admitted.

Paragraphs 419–423.—No comments to make.

Paragraphs 424, 425.—The wording of the blank form is not correct. Instead of "as she is enrolled," &c., it should be "and who attends the periodical inspection at the voluntary venereal hospital."

Paragraph 426. Impossible to say—no counterfoils to refer to.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

Paragraphs 427, 428.—No comment to make.

Paragraphs 429, 430.—Admitted.

Paragraph 433.—Ticket admitted to be correct.

Paragraphs 487, 490.—The mahaldarni seen and conversed with in her own house abutting the chukla, had nothing whatever to do with the voluntary venereal hospital, nor was she in receipt, as stated by her, of Rs. 10 a month from Government.

The matron who does receive Rs. 10 a month from cantonment funds lives in the compound of the voluntary venereal hospital altogether apart, and some distance away, from the chukla.

Paragraphs 491, 492.—Impossible.

Paragraph 495.—Admitted.

Paragraph 624.—It was customary for them to pay for their own carts.

Paragraph 625.—The mahaldarni conversed with had no standing.

Paragraph 626.—Most probable that they paid for their own carts.

Paragraph 648.—It has never been denied that the European medical officer held the examination.

Paragraph 651.—Without a reference to the books it is impossible to state distinctly what entries were made in them, but it is believed they were to this effect—that the woman had been examined and had been found clean, or that she was suffering from such and such a disease.

Paragraphs 667, 670.—Cannot comment on this. In 1889 (October) the prostitutes of the sudder bazaar expressed their willingness (in a petition) to attend and be inspected as heretofore.

Paragraphs 735, 737.—Undisputed.

Paragraphs 1219, 1220.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1221.—No watchman at the gate.

Paragraph 1222.—It is in the sudder bazaar.

Paragraph 1223.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1225.—Evidently the latter book.

Paragraphs 1226, 1227.—Undisputed.

Paragraph 1228.—No comment to make.

Paragraph 1229.—Not correctly worded, as shown before.

Paragraph 1237.—The dhai, so called, otherwise the mehtrani, receives Rs. 5 per mensem from the cantonment funds.

The registration of prostitutes was stopped in August 1888 and recommenced in March 1890. The issue of tickets also ceased between September 1888 and March 1890, and was commenced again on receipt of Quartermaster-General's No. 283-B., dated 28th January 1890, sanctioning increase of establishment for Meean Meer Lock Hospital. From September 1888 no inspections took place, but on receipt of the above-quoted circular, women were registered, tickets issued, and bi-monthly examinations made, so far voluntary, that whenever a prostitute absented herself from the examination she was told she must either be examined or leave the station.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 170-C., "*Sanitary — Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Murree, 14th June 1893).

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your communications noted in the margin, and to report that the investigation therein directed has been held personally by myself and Colonel Pennington, C.B., now in command of the station at Rawal Pindi. As most of the corps concerned are quartered about this station, the enquiry has been held here instead of at Rawal Pindi, the officers required being brought up for examination.

1. Q. M. G.'s No. 2572-B., dated 3rd June 1893.
2. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2625-B., dated 6th June 1893.
3. Q. M. G's. telegram No 2675-B., dated 8th June 1893.
4. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2728-B., dated 10th June 1893.
5. Q. M. G.'s telegram No. 2743-B., dated 12th June 1893.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

2. The minutes of evidence taken before the Departmental Committee of the Secretary of State for India have been carefully examined, and all relating to Rawal Pindi noted. The corps and individual officers referred to are :—

(1) 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, now stationed at Kuldanna.

(2) 2nd Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders, now at Ferozepore.

(3) 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps, now at Gharial.

(4) Three Batteries of Mountain Artillery, one of which has left the district, the other two now stationed in the Murree Hills.

(5) The Royal Artillery of the Rawal Pindi garrison ; head-quarters in Church Lines, Rawal Pindi.

(6) Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate.

(7) The medical officer in charge of the hospital visited by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell.

(8) The native assistant in the hospital.

3. The list of officers called up and examined is annexed; it includes all available officers concerned:—

(1.) Lieutenant-Colonel Price, then Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, has left the service. The Quartermaster is present.

(2) The Seaforth Highlanders have left the command.

(3) The Commanding Officer and Quartermaster of the 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifles, are present ; also the present Commanding Officer's immediate temporary predecessor.

(4) The Commanding Officer and Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery are present. One battery has left the command ; the Commanding Officer of one of the ether batteries is on leave in England.

(5) The Commanding Officer of the Royal Artillery has left the command. The Adjutant is present.

(6) Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi, is present.

(7) Of the medical officers who have been in charge of the hospital concerned of late years, Surgeon-Major Mawson, I.M.S., and Surgeon-Major Battersby, M.S., are alone present.

(8) The native assistant who was in subordinate charge of the hospital at the period mentioned is present. His immediate predecessor, who was (apparently) the native official referred to in the minutes, is at Meean Meer, and has been telegraphed for.

4. The various allegations have been classified under heads, and the examination of the various witnesses has been directed accordingly. As far as possible the questions and answers of the Secretary of State's Committee, to which the examination refers, have been noted in the margin.

5. Before remarking on the evidence, I would beg to refer to the various orders and instructions received consequent on the passing of the Resolution of the House of Commons in 1888, to which my particular attention has been drawn. These documents may be classified in three groups :—

(1) The legislation and orders of 1888, comprising—

(*a*) The Resolution of the House of Commons.

(*b*) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888.

(*c*) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3001-B., dated 13th July 1888.

(*d*) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 12, dated 6th August 1888.

(2) The legislation and orders of 1890, comprising--

(*a*) The Cantonment Act of 1889, in force from 1st January 1890.

(*b*) The rules issued under the Act, G. G. O., Judicial, No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.

(*c*) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 4910 B., dated 8th November 1890.

(3) The orders of 1892, comprising—

(*a*) Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 420-B.—Camp, dated 21st March 1892.

(*b*) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

(*c*) Quartermaster-General's circular No. 21, dated 13th July 1892.

In addition to the above there were—

(4) The enquiry held under Quartermaster-General's No. 5379–B., dated 31st October 1891.

(5) Quartermaster-General's No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892.

(6) Quartermaster-General's No. 1961-B., dated 9th May 1892.

(7) Quartermaster General's No. 527-B., dated 9th February 1893.

6. The first group refers to a period antecedent to my assumption of the command of this district. The orders enjoined were—

(1) That the residence of registered prostitutes in bazaars of British corps is prohibited.

(2) That no public prostitutes are to be permitted to accompany regiments on the line of march.

(3) That no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, or any tickets issued, nor compulsory examination of women held.

(4) The Cantonment Lock Hospital was to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

7. The second group contains the rules published in G. G. O. 617 of 4th July 1890, and the Quartermaster-General's order to report that the instructions conveyed in previous orders are being fully carried out in my command.

In reply to that order I reported in my demi-official No. 26-C., of the 9th December 1890. I stated that the whole question had been dealt with confidentially by my predecessor, and that I therefore thought it best to enclose the actual replies received from Commanding Officers. I added that I should await the receipt of orders from the Quartermaster General before taking further action; and as to the general observance of the rules, I stated that nowhere in this command was there any compulsory examination of women, and that the Cantonment Hospitals are conducted on the purely voluntary principle.

8. Next in the order of sequence came (4) the inquiry under Quartermaster-General's No. 5379 of 31st October 1891. This was a reference relative to the working of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and rules regarding venereal disease in this command, directed by Military Department letter No. 4123, dated 21st October 1891 in consequence of a protest of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland against the Cantonment Act and the rules framed under it. To this reference I replied in my No. 11-C., dated 10th January 1892. I considered it necessary to place the Quartermaster-General in possession of the reports of all Commanding Officers, as it would be impossible to convey in a single report the exact tenor of the whole. In regard to the points more especially insisted upon, I stated my opinion as follows:—

(1) The military authorities of this district are keeping strictly within the terms of the Cantonment Act and the rules approved by the Secretary of State.

(2) Compulsion, in excess of that which is authorized under the rules, is not resorted to.

(3) There is nothing that can fairly be described as official purveying for immorality.

9. Quartermaster-General's No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892 (5), should here be referred to, as it was the first intimation that the Quartermaster-General's circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888 was held to refer generally to prostitutes, instead of, as stated in the circular, to "registered" prostitutes, and that in fact the residence of prostitutes generally in regimental bazaars was prohibited.

10. Group (3) [referred to in paragraph 5] should next be noted. These orders were in effect—

(1) An injunction that the resolution of the House of Commons, the Cantonment Act, 1889, and the rules issued thereunder (G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890), should be strictly interpreted.

(2) A reiteration of the previous rules issued by the Quartermaster-General.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

(3.) An admonition to medical officers as to the extended scope proposed by Government for the dispensing of medical relief in the Cantonment Hospitals.

In Quartermaster-General's circular No. 20, included in this group, it was particularly enjoined that prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazaars. This point is noted, as in the present enquiry this circular (dated 11th July 1892) is relied upon by some Commanding Officers as being the first injunction that prostitutes were prohibited from residing in regimental bazaars.

11. The communication (5) dated 16th February 1892 had special application to three regiments alone. I myself did not appreciate any distinction betweeu "registered" prostitutes and prostitutes generally, more especially as the registration of prostitutes had been prohibited as early as 1888, but I feel bound to accept the plea set forward by, for instance, Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, Royal Artillery, in regard to whom any suggestion of mental reservation cannot be entertained.

12. Quartermaster-General's circular No. 1961-B., dated 9th May 1892 (6), addressed to Major-General Luck during my absence in England, asking if any registration of prostitutes existed in any cantonment in this command, was replied to in the negative by my No. 87-C., dated 15th May 1892.

13. Quartermaster-General's No. 527-B., dated 9th February 1893 (6), was a communication from the Quartermaster-General in a special case which laid down the general rule that a regimental bazaar in a station, even if it is the only bazaar, is still to be regarded as one in which the residence of prostitutes is to be prohibited.

14. Having detailed the orders received in connection with this enquiry, I proceed to state what in my opinion is, and what is not, true in the allegations regarding the station of Rawal Pindi contained in the printed minutes of evidence in the proceedings of the Secretary of State's Departmental Committee.

15. I have generalised the allegations under the following heads. The use of the present tense refers to the period of the visits referred to in the minutes of evidence.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 217-219, 282, 407, 434, 1261-63.

A.—*That women are reserved for European soldiers and registered by corps.*

The evidence shows there was no reservation of any sort. The Cantonment Magistrate took no action of the kind. It would appear that women voluntarily attached themselves to a mahaldarni, and that the mahaldarni with her troop either resided in the sudder bazaar or attached herself to a particular regiment, residing where she could—in quarters if she could get them, or if not, in tent provided by herself. It is probable that this was a survival of the old system abolished in 1888, before which there was presumably, as a general practice, registration of women and their allocation in regimental bazaars. That registration ceased in 1888 there appears to be no doubt. How far the mahaldarnis were countenanced subsequent to that date it is difficult to determine. The only allegation of direct connection with the authorities of a regiment in the minutes of evidence is in answer 497, where it is stated that the mahaldarni of the Highlanders (Seaforth) bazaar showed certificates of service extending to November 1891. It is, however, not stated by whom the certificates were given, and I have been unable to pursue the investigation in this case.

In the present enquiry it has been elicited that in the Royal Artillery Church Lines there was cognizance of a mahaldarni and certain women who resided near the regimental bazaar, and lists of whom were seen by the Adjutant. Any agreement or arrangement with these women is, however, repudiated, and they appear to have been free agents to come and go as they pleased without reference to any regimental authority in the Royal Artillery.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 176-78, 282-92.

B.—*That chaklas under regimental cognizance in regimental bazaars still exist.*

The inquiry shows that this was not the case.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 220, 407, 434, 639-41, 656, 671-76, 1261-68, 1299-1301, 1447-48, 1455-59.

C.—*That compulsory periodical examinations are in force for women receiving Europeans, but not for those consorting with natives.*

The whole enquiry shows that there has been no compulsion of any kind, unless the procedure under the rules (G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890) is called compulsion. The letter-books of the Cantonment Hospital and of the Cantonment Magistrate have been put in to show the procedure which obtained. The action of the Contonment Magistrate appears to be strictly according to law except his suggestion, in his letter No. 3044, of 13th November 1891, which was, however, not acted on. In regard to the action of the medical officers of the hospital, it appears to have been the practice to employ the dhai of the hospital to procure information as to the state of the women in the sudder bazaar.

Whether this practice is within the terms of the law or not may be questioned. It appears to me that it is not illegal, although it was open to abuse, and was therefore in so far objectionable. This practice has long ceased. On the other hand, whether the action taken by the medical officers on the information was in all cases legal is more open to question. The procedure that should be followed is, I believe, correctly described by Captain Dennys in his evidence. Various letters in the two letter-books under notice have been marked, and cross-references, to show action taked, have been inserted.

There is one class of letter which calls for special remark, addressed by the medical officer to Officers commanding regiments. There are a few of these, commencing
1190 apparently with No. 26, of 24th March 1891. This, it appears to me, was written under a misapprehension. The writer was Surgeon-Captain Garvie, who took over charge on the 26th February and relinquished it on the 23rd March 1891. The terms of the letter indicate that a new arrangement is asked for, and it is addressed to nearly all British corps. No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, is addressed, whereas there were three mountain batteries, but the writer was probably unaware that the bazaar was not a battery organization, but was under the Lieutenant-Colonel. The letter was written also on or about the very date that the troops left Rawal Pindi for the Hazara Expedition of 1891. Endeavours have been made to trace these letters of the 4th March in the enquiry, but without success. Probably no notice was taken of them. Another letter that requires
1200 special notice is Surgeon-Major Mawson's, No. 92 of 10th November 1891. So far as it concerns his relation with the Cantonment Magistrate it speaks for itself; but the last sentence requires attention. Surgeon-Major Mawson explains this in his evidence (*vide* answer No. 78).

There is a noticeable fact in connection with this allegation which appears to me to negative absolutely the idea of compulsion. The number of European troops in garrison at Rawal Pindi during the cold weather is certainly over five thousand. Both the minutes of evidence (Question 434) and Surgeon-Major Mawson's evidence (Questions 79, 80) show that the number of women examined weekly was insignificant compared with the numbers that are known to reside in cantonments. If there was any system of examination by compulsion in this the largest European garrison in India, it seems to me certain that
1210 the number of examinations would, in the nature of things, have greatly exceeded the admitted number of attendances.

No doubt the law was put in force to induce suspected women to come up for examination, but healthy women also came up voluntarily, and if the latter be deducted, the numbers of the former class (*i.e.*, the suspected) are reduced to comparatively very small dimensions.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 738-42.

D.—*That penalties were in force for refusing to submit to examination.*

There is nothing to be said on this point. Any action taken is described in the evidence of Captain Dennys, and appears to have been perfectly legal.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 496-505, 920-939.

E.—*That mahaldarnis are in regimental employ, or at any rate that transactions between them and the women are recognised, and that they receive certificates of good service.*

1220 This allegation is wholly and universally repudiated, including the Royal Artillery, in which it is admitted that the mahaldarnis' lists of women were seen. That any mahaldarnis were, at the time referred to, in regimental employ, I do not believe; but that their presence about the various regimental quarters, accompanied by their women, was known, cannot be doubted. This knowledge, however, does not necessarily constitute recognition of transactions between the mahaldarnis and the women employed by them. The case of the Seaforth Highlanders, where a mahaldarni is said to have received a certificate as recently as November 1891, cannot be inquired into.

Secretary of State's Committee. Question 528.

F.—*That women reside in regimental bazaars.*

1230 The answer marginally quoted implies the residence in the bazaar of an establishment of prostitutes entertained regimentally. This is universally denied, and I do not believe the practice existed. That there were prostitutes in all bazaars is more than probable, but if it was so, they were not regimentally entertained or registered. Registration, in fact, wholly ceased in 1888, and the bands of prostitutes frequented by soldiers I believe to have resided outside the regimental bazaars. Lieutenant-Colonel Keith has specially, in his statement following on his examination, explained his views as to the orders on the point. Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall has also given evidence as to the West Ridge bazaar. The injunction of Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3001-B., of 13th July 1888, addressed to Sir T. Baker, has been already referred to. It had not been acted on up to October 1888, when I assumed the

command, and I quite recognise the difficulty of complying with it. To expel a set of women is one thing, to compel them to adopt a designated residence is another thing. The one may be effected, the other cannot. I know no legal means of enforcing it. It should also be stated that, n the case of the Lal Kurti bazaar, commonly spoken of by the natives by the names or numbers of the cavalry or infantry regiment quartered in the Church Lines, it is in fact a small town of 9,000 inhabitants. At the period referred to in this enquiry this overgrown bazaar had been taken out of regimental jurisdiction and handed over to the Cantonment Magistrate. It was in fact a sudder bazaar and had come under sudder bazaar rules.

It has for years been a source of anxiety and difficulty owing to its size and situation. In respect to this bazaar the rules as to the expulsion of prostitutes and of their location in the sudder would no apply.

In respect to the Artillery bazaar, the women were not within its precincts. The interpretation of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 1888 as to the expression "registered prostitutes" applies in this case for what it is worth up to the middle of 1892. After that date, if the women were allowed to occupy the locality described by Captain Leslie, it was a breach of orders. Further enquiry alone can show if this was the case. It would seem from entries in the malhaldarni's book, handed in by Captain Leslie, that the occup on of these huts continued until recently.

G.—*That the rates which soldiers pay for the use of women are fixed.*—The rates may be fixed by custom amongst the mahaldarnis, but that there is any official or regimental cognizance of these rates is, I believe, wholly imaginary. Enquiry in English towns might disclose customary rates which in many cases might be the same, but it would be equally just to charge the municipalities concerned with regulating prostitution, as a concerted plan, because this tariff existed, as to charge the cantonment authorities in India with a similar base transaction.

H.—*That women are unlawfully detained in hospital.*—The native official who is concerned in this charge is not serving in the district. He has been sent for, but has not arrived in time for examination. Surgeon-Major Mawson has given evidence on this point, which appears to be quite satisfactory.

Secretary of State's Committee. Question 563.

J.—*That women are ill-used by soldiers.*—The evidence shows that no complaint of this nature has been received. In the absence of any complaint the presumption is that no cases have occurred.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 572–3.

K.—*That some prostitutes are very young.*—*15 or 16 years of age.*—The probability is that prostitution is practised at even younger ages than this. The age of puberty in India is 12 years.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 586–8.

L.—*That women accompany corps on the march under regimental care and protection.*—This charge relates to the Mountain Batteries and to the 2nd Battalion, Seaforth Highlanders. The Artillery officers have given evidence on this point. The Seaforth Highlanders cannot be examined here.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 627–32.

I have little doubt that women do *follow* regiments on the march. The practice cannot be prevented; but that is not the charge. I prefer to accept the evidence of the officers to that of the women, which seems to be on a par with the statement coupled with it, that they had been registered by Government.

M.—*That certificate are given to dhais.*—This is fully explained by Surgeon-Major Mawson. I see no reason why a dhai should not get a certificate as well as any other public or private native servant.

Secretary of State's Committee Questions 1265–8.

N.—*That only venereal diseases were treated at the Cantonment Hospital and no secondary syphilis.*—This statement has also been dealt with by Surgeon-Major Mawson. It is altogether erroneous. The hospital afforded medical relief, according to the design of Government, to the fullest extent of which it was capable.

Secretary of State's Committee. Questions 1243–52.

It is obvious that none but prostitutes could be expected to go there. No respectable woman would venture near it, and it is difficult to imagine why it was expected that men should be treated there.

These ladies asked to be taken to the Lock Hospital, and they were naturally taken to the contagious disease ward for women of the Cantonment General Hospital. They saw some medicines used for venereal cases, and they concluded that there were no others. It is unfortunate that the hospital assistant, described as a graduate of Calcutta, and an M.D.,

cannot be examined, and explain his statements where they differ from Surgeon-Major Mawson's. As regards the treatment of males, if these ladies had widened the scope of their enquiry, they would have found within a stone's throw of the hospital they visited another hospital, or rather another section of the same hospital, under the same medical officer, where in-patients were admitted and out-patients treated, where there was a fully equipped dispensary capable of affording relief to the whole sudder bazaar.

It was here that cases were diagnosed and all infectious cases immediately sent to the contagious diseases ward of the same hospital, which was located at a distance.

A statement by Surgeon-Major Battersby as to the scope of the hospital is annexed to the evidence. I would invite attention to the concluding sentence. This section of the Cantonment General Hospital is now practically useless, and this has resulted not from restricting operation within legal limits, but from non-application of the law at all. I am told, and I believe it is true, that women are suffering unnecessarily, and with slight encouragement would seek relief at the hospital. But this encouragement is not forthcoming. All officials concerned are holding back.

There is a general indisposition to incur the responsibility of action, which, however legal it may appear, may, by some fresh limitation at any time, come to be construed as an irregularity. The fear is groundless, but it is not the less real, and the public service suffers. The same causes are at work in these hill stations. Protective measures are paralysed. The result cannot but be prejudicial to the health of the troops. Disease is increasing to an alarming extent. One regiment has 59 cases of venereal and 24 of all other diseases.

16. This enquiry has been made as full as time permitted. Investigation might have been pursued further in several directions; but the instructions that the report must reach Simla on the 17th instant, instead of the 23rd instant as previously ordered, has left only four days for the proceedings, including the preparation of the report.

List of enclosures to letter No. 170-*C. of* 14*th June* 1893, *to Quartermaster-General in India.*

1. Evidence given at enquiry held by the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District.

2. Statement by Lieutenant-Colonel P. H. Smith, 1st Devonshire Regiment.

3. Report by Surgeon Major J. Battersby, Medical Service.

4. Extract Cantonment Hospital letter book.

5. Confidential letter from Lieutenant-Colonel J. Keith, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, dated 13th June 1893.

6. Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Bedfordshire Regiment, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi, dated 12th June 1893.

7. Heliogram from Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, Bedfordshire Regiment, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-Genertl, Rawal Pindi, dated 14th June 1893.

8. Demi-official from Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, 1st King's Royal Rifles, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi, dated 14th June 1893.

9. List of officers attending prostitute enquiry.

10. List of books despatched by parcel post.

Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel J. Keith, D.S.O., Royal Artillery.

Q. 1.—You were commanding Officer of the Mountain Artillery at West Ridge Barracks at Rawal Pindi between 20th and 26th February 1892, inclusive?

A. 1.—Yes.

Q. 2.—Had you any bazaar establishment attached to your command, and if so, where was it located?

A. 2.—A portion of the general bazaar at West Ridge is apportioned to the Mountain Artillery, and I had an establishment for it of one mutsuddie and two weighmen who live in the bazaar lines, and a conservancy establishment of sweepers. The individual batteries had no separate bazaars, nor had the Officers Commanding Batteries any jurisdiction in it.

RAWALPINDI—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KEITH, R.A.—CAPTAIN DOWELL, R.A., ADJUTANT OF THE MOUNTAIN ARTILLERY.

76-8, 183, 32-93, 496, 05, 920-39.

Q. 3.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your command or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 3.—None.

17-9, 282, 07, 434, 261-3.

Q. 4.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? 1360

For what purpose was any such register kept?

A.—4. There was no register of prostitutes of any sort.

83, 282-98.

Q. 5.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar?

A. 5.—No.

91.

Q. 6.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with the Mountain Artillery?

A. 6.—There were no tents occupied by women in any way connected with the Mountain Artillery?

220, 407, 34, 639-41, 39.

Q. 7.—Were there any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance, for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 1370

A. 7.—No women were ever sent up by my orders, or with my cognizance, to be examined anywhere.

38-41

Q. 8.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 8.—No; I have never heard of any rates of payment.

628.

Q. 9.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer No. 628. What have you to say?

A. 9.—No women were registered, nor recognized, nor accompanied batteries on the march.

Q. 10.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the 1380 nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your command?

A. 10.—While I have been in command prostitutes have never been recognized, and consequently have never been registered; nor have they been specially protected; nor have they been sent up for periodical examination; and no steps have been taken for their being procured for the use of the men under my command.

Statement by Lieutenant-Colonel Keith, with reference to the above examination.

I WISH to add that in February 1892 prostitutes may have been living in the bazaar as private individuals; houses in the bazaar are private property and let by their owners to whom they like, subject to their orderly behaviour; but if there were such, they were 1390 in no way recognized or treated differently from the other inhabitants in the bazaar. On receiving a copy of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892, the the orders of Government, which had previously prohibited the residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars were extended to prostitutes generally.

I made it my duty to see that no prostitutes at all have been allowed to live in the regimental bazaar since that time. The only officer who was Commanding A. Battery at the time, and who is now in the district, is Major Cunningham, Commanding No. 3 Battery. My Adjutant at the time, Captain Dowell, is also present. He is and was the Captain of No. 9 Mountain Battery. The Adjutant of Mountain Artillery is specially in charge of the regimental bazaar. Nos. 3 and 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, were the only 1400 Mountain Batteries at Rawal Pindi in February 1892.

Statement of Captain Dowall, R.A., Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery.

I WAS Acting Adjutant of the Mountain Artillery from December 1888 to February 1893, and had charge of regimental bazaars at the West Ridge at Rawal Pindi. During that time no registered prostitutes have ever lived in the regimental bazaar; nor, since July 1892, have any prostitutes resided in the bazaar. I have heard Lieutenant-Colonel Keith's evidence and corroborate it in every detail.

No prostitutes accompanied No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, on the march. I have been Captain of No. 9 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, since December 1890. 1410

RAWALPINDI—MAJOR D. CUNNINGHAM, R.A., LIEUTENANT-COLONEL MacCALL.

Statement by Major D. Cunningham, R.A., Commanding No 3 Mountain Battery, R.A.

I HAVE been Commanding No. 3 Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, in the Rawal Pindi District, since February 1891, as Commander of a battery at West Ridge, Rawal Pindi. I had no connection with any bazaar, as the regimental bazaar is under the supervision of the Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding. In my battery there has never been any recognition of prostitutes; nor have any been sent up for periodical examination; nor have any been procured for the use of the men by me or with my cognizance. My battery has never been accompanied by women on the march. In the hill I am Commanding Officer of the station my battery occupies during the hot weather. No registered prostitutes have ever been allowed in any bazaar in cantonments; and since receipt of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 1892, no prostitutes of any kind have been allowed to reside in it.

Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, Major the Honourable Keith Turnour, Lieutenant and Quartermaster Dwane, representing 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifles.

Q. 11.—Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall, you were Commanding Officer of 1st Battalion King's Royal Rifles, from 29th January 1892 to date, and between 20th to 26th February 1892, inclusive. It was stationed at West Ridge, Rawal Pindi?

A. 11.—Yes.

Q. 12.—Had you any bazaar establishment attached to your command, and if so, where was it located?

A. 12.—My regimental bazaar at West Ridge was a portion of the general bazaar allotted to my regiment.

Q. 13.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a woman called a mahaldarni? 176-8, 183, 282-92, 496-505, 920-39.

A. 13.—No.

Q. 14.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to or resident in the regimental bazaar? For what purpose was any such register kept? 217-9, 282, 407, 434, 1261-3.

A. 14.—I had no register of any kind.

Q. 15.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar? 183, 282-98.

A. 15.—No.

Q. 16.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with your regiment? 291.

A. 16.—There were some women in tents, living outside the precincts of the bazaar; but they had no connection in any way with the battalion under my command. On receipt of Quartermaster General's letter No. 478-B., dated 16th February 1892, Simla, I took steps to have the tents containing these women removed, in order to avoid any appearance of connection with my corps, because I considered this letter intended to extend the operation of the orders on the subject.

Q. 17.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 220, 407, 434, 639-41, 739.

A. 17.—Never. I had none to send.

Q. 18.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women? 538-41.

A. 18.—No.

Q. 19.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. Has any such practice ever obtained in your battalion? 628.

Q. 19.—No. No women has ever accompanied my battalion on the march.

Q. 20.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your battalion?

A. 20.—Absolutely nothing of the kind.

RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT COLONEL MACCALL—MAJOR THE HON'BLE KEITH TURNOUR, 1ST KING'S ROYAL RIFLE CORPS—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTER-MASTER J. W. DWANE, 1ST KING'S ROYAL RIFLES—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATERSON, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

2-3. *Q.* 21.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers?

A. 21.—No cases have ever been brought to my notice. I wish to add that in the hill stations occupied by my battalion no prostitutes are, or have been, in any way recognised or dealt with.

Major the Hon'ble Keith Turnour, 1st King's Royal Rifle Corps.

States:—I commanded the 1st Battalion King's Royal Rifles from 1st July 1891 till 29th January 1892.

I have heard the evidence given by Lieutenant Colonel MacCall. The answers he has given relative to the practices under discussion apply to the period of my command. 1470
I am aware that in February 1892 a letter was received from Quartermaster General, stating that a report submitted by my battalion during my command showed that prostitutes were allowed to reside in the regimental bazaar. What I said was that prostitutes are at present living in tents which are pitched in line with others in the bazaar. They were never in the bazaar. They are the tents referred to by Colonel MacCall, which he subsequently had removed.

Lieutenant and Quartermaster J. W. Dwane, 1st King's Royal Rifles.

States:—I have been Quartermaster of the 1st King's Royal Rifles since the arrival of this battalion at Rawal Pindi in January 1891. I have heard the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel MacCall and Major the Hon'ble Keith Turnour, and can confirm it in 1480
every particular. The regimental bazaar was under my immediate charge. When Lieutenant-Colonel MacCall assumed command, I accompanied him round the bazaar and pointed out to him the tents which I knew were occupied by women, but with which I had nothing to do, as they were outside bazaar limits. I do not know how many there were, or anything connected with them. No practice has obtained in my corps which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration and protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of my corps.

Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.

81. *Q.* 22.—You were Commanding Officer of the 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, from 12th October 1892, to date; and from 20th to 26th February 1892; it was stationed 1490
in Church Lines, Rawal Pindi?

A. 22.—Yes, in February 1892, Lieutenant-Colonel Price was in command, and until I assumed command; he has now left the service.

Q. 23.—Who was the Quartermaster of the battalion?

A. 23.—Lieutenant Fox was Quartermaster from the arrival of the battalion in India up to date.

76-8, 183, 282-93, 296 505, 920-39. *Q.* 24.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 24.—No.

217-9, 282, 407, 434, 1261-3. *Q.* 25.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register or 1500
a general register of persons attached to, or resident in the regimental bazaar. For what purpose was any such register kept?

A. 25.—No register of any description has ever been kept.

183, 282-93. *Q.* 26.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazar?

A. 26.—No.

Q. 27.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with the regiment?

A. 27.—No.

220, 407, 434, 639-41, 739. *Q.* 28.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cog- 1510
nizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital?

A. 28.—Never.

538-41. *Q.* 29.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 29.—No knowledge.

RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL PATERSON, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER FOX, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT.

Q. 30.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. Has any such practice ever obtained in your battalion? 628.

A. 30.—No; I have never heard of or seen such practice.

Q. 31.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being provided for the use of the men of your regiment?

A. 31.—Certainly not.

Q. 32.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers? 572-3.

A. 32.—I have never heard of any case.

Q. 33.—Have prostitutes ever been recognised or dealt with in the hill stations occupied by your battalion?

A. 33.—Never.

Examination of Lieutenant and Quartermaster Fox, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.

Q. 34.—You were Quartermaster of 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment, from the date of arrival of the battalion in Rawal Pindi to date, and from 20th to 26th February 1892?

A. 34.—Yes.

Q. 35.—At that time was there any bazaar establishment attached to your battalion, and, if so, where was it located?

A. 35.—Up to December or January previous there was a regimental bazaar situated in what is called the "Lall Kurti" bazaar. It was too large for regimental control, as it contained 9,000 inhabitants. Three hundred only of these belonged to the battalion. Owing to representations of the impossibility of looking after so large a bazaar, at a meeting held prior to February 1892, the jurisdiction was transferred to the Cantonment Magistrate. After that I had nothing to do with the bazaar.

Q. 36.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to your battalion, or a woman called a mahaldarni? 176-8, 183, 282-93, 496-505, 920-39.

A. 36.—No.

Q. 37.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register, or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? For what purpose was any such register kept? 217-9, 282, 407, 434, 1261-3.

A. 37.—There has never been any register kept.

Q. 38.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar. 183, 282-98.

A. 38.—Near the "Lall Kurti" bazaar, but outside cantonments, there was a disused chakla. It had nothing to do with my battalion, and whenever I have been near it, it was unoccupied. There was no regimental chakla of any kind.

Q. 39.—Were there any tents occupied by women in any way connected with your regiment? 291.

A. 39.—None.

Q. 40.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 220, 407, 434 639-41, 739.

A. 40.—No.

Q. 41.—Have you any knowledge of any rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women? 538-41.

A. 41.—I have never heard of any fixed rate.

Q. 42.—Read Question and Answer 628 of Secretary of State's Committee. Has any such practice ever obtained in your battalion? 628.

A. 42.—No such practice has ever obtained in my battalion.

Q. 43.—Has any practice obtained under you which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your regiment?

A. 43.—No such practice has ever obtained.

RAWAL PINDI—LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER FOX, 1ST BATTALION, BEDFORDSHIRE REGIMENT—CAPTAIN J. H. LESLIE, R.A.

Q. 44.—Read letter No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, from Surgeon-Major in charge Cantonment Hospital, to Cantonment Magistrate. Can you explain this letter?

A. 44.—About that time I remember the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Price, sending for me and showing me a letter he had just received, asking why the prostitutes from the regimental bazaar had not been sent for examination. The bazaar called the regimental bazaar was in fact the "Lall Kurti" bazaar, of 9,000 inhabitants, and was at that time under my charge. The Colonel asked me if women were ever compelled to go for examination. I replied "No," and he told me to ignore the letter, and not to send the women for examination. He could not decipher the signature on the letter, and as it had not come through the office of the General Officer Commanding, he destroyed it. 1570

There were about 300 prostitutes in the bazaar at this time, none of whom were registered in any way. I know this, as I had to take a census of the whole bazaar.

Q. 45.—In a letter, dated 10th November 1891, the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital states:—"Hitherto a list of prostitutes for examination has been furnished to regiments by Quartermasters of regiments." Does this apply in any way to you? 1580

A. 45.—No.

Q. 46.—Do you know if any of these women went voluntarily for examination?

A. 46.—I do not know whether they went or not. If they did go, I had nothing to do with it. I never heard of it.

Q. 47.—Read letter No. 26, dated 4th March 1891, noted as addressed, amongst others, to the Officer Commanding 1st Bedfordshire Regiment by the Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital. Have you any knowledge of that letter?

A. 47.—No.

03-7. *Q.* 48.—Read letter No. 32, dated 26th March 1891, from the Medical Officer in charge Cantonment Hospital to Officer Commanding 1st Bedfordshire Regiment. Have you any knowledge of this letter? 1590

A. 48.—No, I have not. I was a good deal sick at this time, and may have been absent from duty. I never heard of matron Mogul.

[*Note.*—Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson has been requested to refer to the regimental books concerning these two letters. It is noted that between January and April 1891 the battalion was located at West Ridge Barracks.] I should like to add that when the battalion arrived in Rawal Pindi in January 1891, it went straight into the barracks at West Ridge, vacated by the 2nd Devonshire Regiment. Until April I had nothing to do with the bazaar. I then took over the whole of it, including the batteries. It was not until it was pointed out to me in April that I was aware that I should have taken charge of any portion of it. The two letters last read refer to this period. The reason I took over the batteries was because they had proceeded on service. 1600

Examination of Captain J. H. Leslie, R.A.

Q. 49. You were Adjutant of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi between 20th and 26th February 1892; and as Adjutant you have, in respect of bazaars, the same duties as a Quartermaster of Infantry?

A. 49.—Yes; I have been Adjutant since July 1890 to date, and my duties are practically the same as a Quartermaster of a regiment as regards the bazaar. During this period there have been five different Commanding Officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot assumed command in April last. 1610

Q. 50.—Is there any bazaar establishment attached to the Royal Artillery, and if so, where is it located?

A. 50.—Yes; in the regimental bazaar.

176-8, 183, 282-93, 496-505, 920-39. *Q.* 51.—Had you any establishment of prostitutes attached to the Royal Artillery, or a woman called a mahaldarni?

A. 51.—No; none.

217-9, 282, 407, 434, 1261-3. *Q.* 52.—Had you any register of prostitutes, and, if so, was it a separate register or a general register of persons attached to, or resident in, the regimental bazaar? For what purpose was any such register kept? 1620

A. 52.—There was no register of any sort.

Q. 53.—Had you a chakla in or about the regimental bazaar? 183, 282-98.

A. 53.—No regular chakla; but in some huts at the end of the syces' lines women used to live. Beyond the fact that they were there I had no cognizance of this; and they were looked on as ordinary residents.

Some were probably there in February 1892; but I do not know how many.

Q. 54.—Do you recollect the receipt of Quartermaster General's Circular No. 20 of the 11th July 1892?

A. 54.—I do not personally; but there is a record in the office, no doubt.

Q. 55.—Are you aware that this Circular prohibited absolutely the residence of
1630 prostitutes in regimental bazaars?

A. 55.—No, I am not; but these huts, although close by, are not within bazaar limits.

Q. 56.—Are the huts still occupied by prostitutes?

A. 56.—I really cannot say, as no notice is taken of these people more than others.

Q. 57.—Were there any huts occupied by women in any way connected with the Artillery? 291.

A. 57.—None.

Q. 58.—Were any women ever sent up by you, by your orders, or with your cognizance for examination at the Cantonment Hospital? 220, 407, 434 639-41.

A. 58.—No; but I believe they attended voluntarily.

1640 *Q.* 59.—Would women attending the Cantonment Hospital voluntarily have been accompanied by any one connected with the Royal Artillery?

A. 59.—No; certainly not.

Q. 60.—Would these women have taken a list for examination? 403 7.

A. 60.—I have seen lists, which I believe were made out by themselves, purporting to give the results of the visit. This, I take it, was for their own credit. The list was certainly made by a native, and not by any one in the Artillery.

Q. 61.—Have you any knowledge of the rate of payment by soldiers for the use of women? 538-41.

A. 61.—No.

1650 *Q.* 62.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 628. Has any such practice ever obtained in the Royal Artillery? 628.

A. 62.—No.

Q. 63.—Has any practice obtained in the Royal Artillery which could be construed as being of the nature of the registration or protection of women, or of their periodical examination, or of their being procured for the use of the men of your command?

A. 63.—None.

Q. 64.—Have you any knowledge of the ill-usage of women by soldiers?

A. 64.—No knowledge.

Examination of Surgeon-Major Mawson, I.M.S.

1660 *Q.* 65.—You were in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, during January and February 1892, until its abolition in the latter month (16th February)?

A. 65.—I took over charge, on the 6th September 1891, from Surgeon MacLeod, I.M.S. I handed over, on the 14th February 1892, to Surgeon-Captain Elkington, M.S.

Q. 66.—Did you conduct periodical examination of women at the Cantonment Hospital? 639-41, 656.

A. 66.—Yes; I attended every Friday to examine such women as came up. I also went frequently during each week for the same purpose, and to inspect the patients. On the latter occasions I went at irregular hours: on Friday I went at a regular hour, which was generally known as my hour of attendance at the hospital.

739, 1262

Q. 67.—Was there any register of prostitutes in the Cantonment Hospital, and if so was it by corps? 1670

A. 67.—There was no register whatever in the Cantonment Hospital.

220. *Q.* 68.—Was there any distinction as regards attendance or examination between women consorted with by European soldiers and those by natives?

A. 68.—None whatever, so far as I am aware. They came from all bazaars and the city, and I treated all indifferently, and whatever their diseases were.

Q. 69.—Then you treated cases other than venereal?

A. 69.—Yes; I had medicines for the purpose. Of course they were only prostitutes, as no respectable women would come for treatment at a hospital in which prostitutes were patients.

1238-59. *Q.* 70.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Questions Nos. 1238 to 1259. The Native Doctor states, in answer to 1243, that only venereal diseases were admitted there. 1680 Is that correct?

A. 70.—Any disease sufficiently severe to require treatment in hospital would have been admitted if the patient had been desirous of remaining in hospital; as a matter of fact, none were treated as in-patients, as they preferred to take medicine as out-patients and return to their home.

Q. 71.—In reply to Question No. 1246 of Secretary of State's Committee, it is stated that only medicines for venereal cases were seen—none for general medical cases. Can you explain this?

A. 71.—The medicines referred to in the question were those kept in the examining room for constant use, such as washes, lotions, &c., which had to be applied several times 1690 during the day. The other medicines, and also the stock from which these were prepared, were kept in a separate room in an almirah under lock and key on the other side of the building.

Q. 72.—In answer to Questions Nos. 1249-50 of Secretary of State's Committee, it is stated that the record of patients for the year and the annual report practically dealt only with venereal cases. Can you explain this?

A. 72.—The returns and records of patients dealt only with in-patients, and it is not the practice of military hospitals to keep any record of out-patients.

Q. 73.—Has any record or list of women examined been kept?

A. 73.—None. If any women were admitted, their names were entered in the hospital admission and discharge book. This record was required to adjust the monthly 1700 bills of the hospital. No other record was kept.

671. *Q.* 74.—Did you understand that all these women attended voluntarily to be examined?

A. 74.—No women ever made any objection to me to be examined.

Q. 75.—Did they come alone or in charge of any one?

A. 75.—Some came alone, and some accompanied by their mahaldarni; but they were never accompanied by any one else.

Q. 76.—If there were no hospital registers of women, were there any lists?

A. 76.—There were no lists in hospital. In some cases the mahaldarni brought lists. These latter generally referred to women who voluntarily consorted with European soldiers, and resided near the barracks of the various European corps in cantonments. 1710

Q. 77.—By whom were these lists made out?

A. 77.—I do not know; so far as I can remember, these lists were always unsigned, and generally badly written. I was under the impression that they were made out by some one connected with the regimental Quartermaster's establishment.

Q. 78.—Have you any further grounds for this belief? Read letter No. 92, dated 10th November 1891, addressed by Surgeon Major Mawson to the Cantonment Magistrate: that letter contains a positive statement.

(Letter book forwarded.)

A. 78.—I naturally assumed that these lists emanated from the Quartermaster's establishment. I know of no other source from which they could come; and I under- 1720 stood from the mahaldarni that brought them that they were made out by the regimental bazaar-writer.

RAWALPINDI—SURGEON MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.

Q. 79.—As to the numbers examined, can you give any information? Was any record kept of these?

A. 79.—No record was kept. I should say from 50 to 70 attended on the Friday at the hour appointed for my visit.

Q. 80—What proportion of these brought lists?

A. 80.—I do not know. At a guess I should say about one-half.

Q. 81.—Did you keep these lists?

A. 81.—No; I noted the condition of the women named, signed and returned them
1730 to the woman who brought them; and what became of them I do not know.

Q. 82.—Will you look over this letter book—there are several letters all to the same purport, notifying to the Cantonment Magistrate the absence of women from examination. Take No. 91 of 6th November 1891. Why was that letter written?

A. 82.—In consequence of the women's names appearing in these lists mentioned in answers Nos. 77 and 78, I could not understand with what other objects these lists were submitted, unless it was for me to signify their absence and state of health. I considered it right to make the report for the information of the Cantonment Magistrate; but, having done so, it was immaterial to me whether they came or not. As a matter of fact, they never were sent to me. In the letter next after the one under reference, *viz.*,
1740 No. 92, I see that I explain my views as to my duties as in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

Q. 83.—Will you refer to letters Nos. 76 of 17th September 1891, and 87, dated 27th October 1891? These letters do not appear to be consistent with No. 92 of 10th November 1891.

A. 83. Both these letters refer to women in the sudder bazaar. I understood that one of the duties of the hospital dhai was to make herself acquainted with the state of health of prostitutes in the sadr, and report the diseased woman who did not come to hospital through me to the Cantonment Magistrate. In answer to these reports the Cantonment Magistrate informed me that the hospital dhai should be forbidden to make any more inspections. This was complied with, as reported in my No. 88 of 28th October 1891.

1750 *Q.* 84.—Were any women you examined ever in possession of a ticket or document licensing them as prostitutes?

A. 84.—None. I never saw one, or heard of one.

Q. 85.—In answer to No. 1298 of Secretary of State's Committee, that no cases of secondary syphilis were recorded, because "we send them out of the Cantonment to the Civil Hospital"—that there was no provision for treating them there. Is this correct?

A. 85.—It is not correct. I have never sent a woman to the Civil Hospital. I should never have thought of such a thing. On referring to the admission and discharge books, I find two under treatment by me in September 1891, one in October 1891; and in addition to these there are several entries of secondary syphilis under other names, such as condyloma, warts, &c.

1760 *Q.* 86.—Were there any cases of infectious disease brought to the Cantonment Hospital?

A. 86.—None. If any came, they would have been sent away to the isolated hospital.

Q. 87.—Were women who, on examination, were found diseased ever compulsorily detained in hospital, or, having been admitted, compelled to remain until cure.

A. 87.—No woman was admitted to hospital against her own free will, or, on being admitted compulsorily, detained until cured. If she declined to remain, this fact, as well as the fact that she was suffering from disease, was reported to the Cantonment Magistrate.

Q. 88.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 563. Did you 563.
ever hear of any such practice as this?

A. 88.—Never. Every admission and discharge was made personally by me. The
1770 Hospital Assistant had no power in the matter. In accordance with native custom, it is possible that bribes were given, although the expenditure of money in this way was useless, the Native Doctor having no influence.

Q. 89.—Did any case of the extreme youth of prostitutes come under your notice? 586-9.

A. 89.—Yes. There is one case referred to in my letter No. 96 of 19th November 1891. It was sent to me by the police, and I was asked to give my opinion as to age and physical fitness for prostitution. In no other case have I found a prostitute under age.

RAWALPINDI—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.—NO. 527, 2ND GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT PREM SINGH.

Q. 90.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Questions and Answers 1265-12 Did you give the certificates referred to, dated 14th February 1892?

A. 90.—I have no recollection of doing so; but the 14th February being the day on which I gave over charge of the hospital, it is highly probable that, according to custom, 1780
I gave certificates to all servants at the hospital, including the dhai.

371. *Q.* 91.—As to the manner of conducting examinations, was there any undue exposure or publicity?

A. 91.—The examinations were conducted by me in a private room, with the assistance of the Native Doctor and hospital nurse (dhai). The patients came in singly. There was no undue exposure or publicity, nor were any complaints ever made to me.

657. *Q.* 92.—Read Secretary of State's Committee Question and Answer 657. Is the description correct?

A. 92. No. I did not use a speculum for purposes of examination. I only used a speculum when it was necessary to apply medicines. 1790

Examination of No. 527, *2nd Grade Hospital Assistant Prem Singh.*

Q. 93.—You were Hospital Assistant of the Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal Pindi, between the 20th and 26th February 1892?

A. 93.—Yes. I was appointed on the 18th February 1892, and continued there till October of the same year.

281. *Q.* 94.—Do you remember two European ladies visiting the hospital?

A. 94.—I heard of their visit from the chuprassi, but did not see them. I was in another part of the Cantonment General Hospital, close by.

Q. 95.—Where did you hear the ladies were?

A. 95. I heard that there were two ladies in the venereal ward, and went over there. 1800

Q. 96.—How soon did you go there?

A. 96.—In about five minutes.

Q. 97.—Did you see the ladies?

A. 97.—No.

Q. 98.—Who was in subordinate medical charge of the venereal ward when you were appointed to the Cantonment General Hospital?

A. 98—Senior Hospital Assistant Shaikh Tajuddin Hussain.

738. *Q.* 99—Could he speak English?

A. 99.—Yes, very well.

738. *Q.* 100.—Was he a graduate of Calcutta?

A. 100.—No, he was educated at the Agra Medical College, where I was; but he 1810
was senior to me.

738. *Q.* 101.—Was he an M.D.?

A. 101.—No, he was not.

Q. 102.—Was there any other Hospital Assistant in Rawal Pindi at that time who could talk English?

A. 102.—In that part of Rawal Pindi there was no other Hospital Assistant who could speak English.

Q. 103.—You know nothing more of the visit of these ladies?

A. 103.—No, except that the chuprassi told me that they had examined the books, 1820
which they could easily do, as they were on a table in the verandah.

Q. 104.—Did you report their visit to any one?

A. 104.—Yes, the next day, to Surgeon-Captain Elkington, who was in charge.

Q. 105.—Did you take over the records from Hospital Assistant Shaikh Tajuddin?

A. 105.—Yes.

Q. 106.—Had Tajuddin any connection with the hospital on the 20th February 1892?

A. 106.—He had no official connection; but, having been so recently in charge, he was well known to all, and came to the hospital for two or three days after he handed over.

RAWALPINDI—NO. 527, 2ND GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT PREM SINGH—CAPTAIN DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI.

Q. 107.—Where is the chuprassi?

A. 107.—He is dead.

Q. 108.—Did you attend at the venereal ward when the doctor attended?

A. 108.—Yes, every day.

Q. 109.—Were you there when the women came for examination?

A. 109.—Yes.

Q. 110.—How did the women come up?

A. 110.—Some came with mahaldarnis, and those from the sudder bazaar came without.

Q. 111.—Did you ever see any brought up by the police?

A. 111.—No.

Q. 112.—Did they bring any lists with them?

A. 112.—Yes, each mahaldarni brought a list in which were the names of the women. It was returned to them with the doctor's remarks. I do not know who made out the lists. There were no signatures to them.

Q. 113.—Did you keep any list of prostitutes in the hospital?

A. 113.—No, only the names of those who were admitted were entered in the admission and discharge book.

Q. 114.—If a woman wanted to go away from hospital, was she allowed to go?

A. 114.—Yes.

Q. 115.—Could they go without leave?

A. 115.—Yes, they often went without leave.

Q. 116.—Did you ever hear the women make complaints about being examined.

A. 116.—No, never; they came voluntarily for examination.

Examination of Captain C. Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi.

Q. 117.—You are Cantonment Magistrate of Rawal Pindi, and were so in February 1892?

A. 117.—Yes.

Q. 118.—There are a large number of prostitutes resident in the sudder bazaar? 217.

A. 118.—A very large number, including Greeks, Italians, Japanese, sometimes Europeans, French, Eurasians, and natives of all classes.

Q. 119.—Have you a separate register of such women? 220.

A. 119.—No register.

Q. 120.—Are they classified in any way, *i.e.*, are certain women set apart for the exclusive use of European soldiers, others for native soldiers, and others for generally? 739, 1362.

A. 120.—No classification of any kind.

Q. 121.—Are any women compulsorily registered? 739

A. 121.—No women are ever registered.

Q. 122.—Are any allotted to particular regiments, or to particular quarters? 407

A. 122.—None.

(Error in series).

Q. 124.—Is there any different treatment of those frequented by European soldiers? Is there anything approaching compulsory examination of these women? 407, 434, 1457-9, 1261-3

A. 124. There is absolutely no difference, and there is not, and never has been, any compulsory examination since 1888. 1299-1301.

Q. 125.—Are any prostitutes required to attend hospital for examination, periodically or otherwise? 407, 1262, 639-41, 1299

A. 125.—None except those reported by the medical officer in writing to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment, as being persons suffering from, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering from, any infectious or contagious disorder.

RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN C. DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI.

Q. 126.—Are the women voluntarily examined, and if so, how is this voluntary examination brought about?

A. 126.—The examination is purely voluntary. If women suffering from venereal disease wish to be examined, they go to the ward for contagious diseases at the Cantonment General Hospital (formerly the Cantonment Hospital). The examination is brought about by a report in writing from the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital to the Officer Commanding the Cantonment. On receipt of such a report by me, I communicate with the police, who can ascertain the whereabouts of the women and produce them without the aid of any legal process. If found the women are brought before me, and are informed that they can go to the Cantonment General Hospital for examination; and that if they refuse to go, or, having gone and been admitted, leave it before the medical officer has pronounced them free from the disorder, I can, as Cantonment Magistrate, on an application from the medical officer, order them to remove from the cantonment within 24 hours, and prohibit them from re-entering or remaining in cantonments without the written permission of the medical officer, or on failure, they will incur a penalty of a fine which may extend to 50 rupees, or eight days' imprisonment.

Q. 127.—Have any women been reported to you for breach of the regulations, or have any women been expelled from cantonments, or have you inflicted any fines or imprisonment?

A. 127.—Yes; they have been reported by the medical officer. None have been expelled; none have been imprisoned. But I believe I once inflicted a fine of 20 rupees for a breach of the regulations.

Q. 128.—Are these different chaklas in the sudder bazaar apportioned for any particular uses?

A. 128.—No; there are no separate chaklas. There is one large centre containing a long street in which a large number of native prostitutes reside; others live in houses either owned by themselves or as tenants; the latter include the more respectable class of women. As Cantonment Magistrate, I have nothing to do with the location of the prostitutes; but should any complaints be made to me by respectable inhabitants of their being a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and I find the complaint well founded, I order them to remove under the Criminal Procedure Code.

Q. 129.—Are any mahaldarnis paid from Cantonment Funds, or otherwise recognised?

A. 129.—None.

Q. 130.—Is any payment to mahaldarnis by prostitutes recognised?

A. 130.—No; but I am aware that it is customary for prostitutes to appoint their own mahaldarnis. She looks after them and manages their business for them.

Q. 131.—Have you ever assigned women to the several regimental quarters?

A. 131.—Never; but it is quite possible that a body of prostitutes may attach themselves to a regimental quarter under their own mahaldarni, who will keep up their numbers as required from the bazaar. I have, however, no official cognizance of this.

Q. 132. Are the localities in which the women reside outside the sudder bazaar regulated by you?

A. 132.—In no way whatever.

Q. 133.—Are any women compelled to reside in certain localities?

A. 133.—None; they are free to reside anywhere, provided they are not a nuisance.

Q. 134.—Has there been a periodical examination of women. What part had you in this?

A. 134. I am aware that the medical officer had one day per week for the attendance of prostitutes, but the examination was purely voluntary. I had no part in this, as before described. I simply promoted the attendance of women diseased, or suspected of disease, by a written application of the medical officer.

Q. 135.—Have you any knowledge of the rates of pay by soldiers for the use of women?

A. 135.—No.

Q. 136.—Have you any knowledge of transactions between mahaldarnis and women regulating payments to the former?

A. 136.—None whatever. No case of this sort has ever come before me. Such complaints, if preferred, before magistrates, should not be recognised as opposed to public policy.

Q. 137.—Have you any knowledge of ill-usage of women by the soldiers? 572-3.

A. 137.—I have never received a complaint from any women against any soldier since I have been Cantonment Magistrates in Rawal Pindi.

Q. 138.—Do you know of any very young girl practising prostitution in the sudder bazaar? 586-8.

A. 138.—There was one case two years ago which was brought to my knowledge through the police, in a case of disturbance in the bazaar, which nearly resulted in a riot. The girl was supposed to be diseased, and of her own free will and accord went to hospital, where she was examined and found diseased. She was subsequently cured and discharged and went to her home in the Gujerat district. The medical officer was of opinion that she was about 14 years of age.

Q. 139.—Have you ever advanced money from the cantoment funds or otherwise for the procuration of women?

A. 139.—Never. Such an unauthorised charge would never be passed by the Accountant General.

Q. 140.—You know the bazaar called the Lall Kurti bazaar?

A. 140.—Yes. The so-called Lall Kurti bazaar is situated between the British cavalry and infantry lines in the old cantonment. It sprung up as a regimental bazaar between these two lines; it has now grown into a small town of about 9,000 inhabitants. In the cold weather of 1891, frequent representations having been made by Commanding Officers that it was too large for regimental supervision, the matter was brought up at a Cantonment Committee, which resolved that the bazaar should be placed under my charge.

Q. 141.—So it is in fact now, and was in February 1892, a sudder bazaar?

A. 141. It is in fact now, and was in February 1892, a sudder bazaar; but there is no doubt that it continues to be spoken of by natives as the regimental bazaar of the corps who happen to be quartered in the Church Lines.

Q. 142.—Are there any prostitutes in this bazaar?

A. 142.—Yes, there are a large number; and precisely the same rules apply to these women as to those in the sudder bazaar.

Q. 143.—Will you read letters Nos. 76 and 79, dated 17th September 1891, No. 87' dated 27th October 1891, No. 89, dated 2nd November 1891, and No. 6, dated 14th January 1892, in the Cantonment Hospital letter-book, addressed to you; what action did you take on those letters?

A. 143.—I produce my letter book.

(1) Medical Officer's No. 76, dated 17th September 1891, was forwarded to the police for compliance; *vide* my No. 2578, dated 18th September 1891.

(2) Medical Officer's No. 87, dated 27th October 1891, dealt with as above; *vide* my No. 2915, dated 27th October 1891.

(3) This office No. 2916, of same date, is a continuation of the above.

(4) Medical Officer's No. 6, dated 14th January 1892. dealt with in this office No. 139, dated 14th January 1892.

Q. 144.—Will you read letter No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, in the same book?

A. 144.—On receipt of No. 91, dated 6th November 1891, I replied; *vide* my office No. 3012, dated 7th November 1891.

Q. 145.—And letter No. 92, dated 10th November 1891?

A. 145.—On receipt of medical officer's No. 92, dated 10th November 1891, I replied in my No. 3044, dated 11th November 1891.

Q. 146.—Will you look at letter No. 11, dated 11th February 1892, which appears to be a report from medical officer relative to a woman who left the Cantonment Hospital before she was cured. What action did you take?

A. 146.—*Vide* my No. 353, dated 11th February 1892. The woman Saidhoo, a prostitute, was directed to leave the cantonments within 24 hours by the police. The presumption is she left, as the police did not produce her for remaining in or re-entering the cantonment, which they would have done had she remained in or re-entered the cantonment.

RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN C. DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN T. H. LESLIE, R.A.

Q. 146. (*a*)—In your letter, to which Surgeon-Major Mawson's No. 92 is a reply, you speak of regimental mahaldarnis; do you know what regiments had mahaldarnis? 1990

A. 146. (*a*)—No; I took that from Dr. Mawson's letter. I had no reason to suppose that they had mahaldarnis, but as Dr. Mawson spoke of them, I accepted his statement as representing facts, of which I had no previous knowledge or idea.

Q. 146. (*b*)—Did you ever hear of mahaldarnis in regimental employ since 1888?

A. 146. (*b*)—No; I have never heard of them in regimental employ since registration of prostitutes ceased.

Captain T. H. Leslie, R.A., recalled.

Q. 147.—You said you would endeavour to obtain a list of prostitutes referred to in your answer. Have you succeeded?

A. 147.—Yes. I produce a book containing the lists referred to. The handwriting 2000 is that of a native. I have not any idea of whom. I have always been under the impression that these lists were the private property of the "mahaldarni," and voluntarily kept up by her for her own purposes. I am certain they were not made out by, or by the direction of, any one in the Artillery.

Q. 148.—Did you receive Quartermaster-General's demi-official circular letter No. 420-B., dated 21st March 1892?

A. 148.—Yes.

Q. 149.—With reference to the enclosures from the Secretary to the Government of India, paragraph 3, and the lists of prostitutes you have produced, was any action taken by you, directly or indirectly, or by any one under your orders, to oblige these 2010 women to attend the hospital periodically for examination, on pain of being turned out of cantonments?

A. 149.—No action of any kind, or at any time, either to compel the women to attend the hospital, or to induce them to go voluntarily or to be examined.

Q. 150.—Do you know of any instance of non-attendance?

A. 150.—I have seen "absent" noted on the lists.

Q. 151.—Did you take any action thereon to procure the expulsion from cantonments of such absentees?

A. 151.—None whatever, as the women were not recognised in any way.

Q. 152.—Are you aware of Quartermaster-Generals circulars Nos. 3 and 12 of 1888? 2020

A. 152.—Yes; the orders therein contained have been observed. I have never seen, or known, or heard of any registered prostitutes in any Royal Artillery regimental bazaar.

No tickets have ever been issued to any prostitutes, nor has any compulsory examination taken place that I know of.

I do not consider the former of these circulars to apply to any but registered prostitutes.

Q. 153.—Are you aware of Quartermaster-General's demi-official circular of 15th July 1888, requiring that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar?

A. 153.—Yes; I must have seen the circular, but as there were no registered prostitutes to eject, no action was required from me. 2030

Murree, 12th June 1893.

1ST DEVONSHIRE REGIMENT.

The battalion arrived at Rawal Pindi at the end of February 1893.

The following answers refer to the time between February to June 1893.

With reference to the evidence of prostitution, &c., which I have just heard read, I desire to state—

1. No regimental chakla exists in the 1st Devonshire.

2. There is not a mahaldarni

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, IN MEDICAL CHARGE CANTONMENT GENERAL HOSPITAL, RAWALPINDI—EXTRACT FROM CANTONMENT HOSPITAL LETTER-BOOK.

3. There are no registered or licensed prostitutes in the regimental bazaar.

4. There is no examination of women, either compulsory or voluntary.

5. Prostitutes do not reside in the regimental bazaar.

6. No rates of pay have ever been fixed by any regimental authority.

7. I have not received any complaint of women being ill-used by soldiers since the arrival of the battalion in India.

8. There are no women.

9. No women have accompanied the battalion on the march since I have been in command.

PHIL. H. SMITH.
Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding 1st Devonshire.

I corroborate the above.

H. HONNER, *Quartermaster,*
Devonshire Regiment.

Report by SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, M.B., A.M.S., *in Medical Charge, Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal Pindi.*

I TOOK over medical charge of the Cantonment General Hospital, Rawal Pindi, from Surgeon-Captain H. P. Elkington, M.S., on 15th April 1892, and am still in charge.

There were about seven prostitutes under medical treatment in the wards specially appointed for that purpese. These wards were part of the General Hospital, as much as the small-pox or cholera wards. The patients referred to were directly under my medical care, and were at perfect liberty to leave the hospital if they wished to do so.

I have been under the belief that Clause 4, G. G. O. 617 of 1890, applied equally to cases of venereal disease as well as small-pox or cholera, and any case of suspected or existing disease (venereal) that has ever been examined by me, was examined in a private room, assisted by my hospital assistant and hospital nurse (dhai).

No other patients or people were ever allowed into this room, and the examination was as purely private as any existing practice I have seen in large hospitals at home.

It is most undesirable and much to the prejudice of the hospital that venereal cases should be treated in the same wards with surgical and medical cases. In fact, I know that women with broken limbs would prefer to remain in the bazaar rather than come to hospital if they thought they were to be treated in the same ward with those suffering from venereal diseases.

I believe that many cases of bad venereal disease were brought to hospital through the instrumentality of the hospital dhai, but on receipt of Quartermaster-General's No. 420-B., dated 21st March 1892, I instructed the dhai to limit her work entirely to the hospital.

I have not had any cases of venereal disease among women since August 1892.

No compulsory examination has been made during the time I have been in charge of the hospital, nor have any women been detained therein against their will.

June 13th, 1892.

Extract from Cantonment Hospital Letter-book.

No. 26, dated 4th March 1891.
Officer Commanding Bedfordshire Regiment.
Officer Commanding Seaforth Highlanders.
Officer Commanding King's Royal Rifles.
Officer Commanding 3rd Dragoon Guards.
Officer Commanding No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery.

Has the honour to request he will be good enough to make arrangements for the inspection of the prostitutes living in the bazaar under his command at the Cantonment Hospital on every Friday at 9 A.M., established for the purpose.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

From MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, to LIEUTENANT-COLONEL KEITH, D.S.O., R.A., and CAPTAIN DOWELL, R.A.

Reminder sent—20th March 1891.

PLEASE report if the above was received and the action taken theron.

When did No. 9, Mountain Battery, leave Rawal Pindi for the Black Mountain?

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. KEITH, Commanding Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, Murree Hills, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District,—(Dated 13th June 1893). 2090

I HAVE the honour to inform you that nothing is known by No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, about the accompanying memorandum dated 4th March 1891, which would seem to have been circulated to corps in Rawal Pindi station.

It was not received by No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, which was not in Rawal Pindi on the above date, having left for the Black Mountain on 1st March 1891.

Demi-official from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, —(Dated Kuldana, the 12th June 1893).

OUR letter register for 1891 is left at Rawal Pindi, so I am not able to inform you whether the letters in question were received by us or not. 2100

If required I will send for the register.

Telegram from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON, to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Staff Officer,—(Dated Kuldana, the 14th June 1893).

THE person we sent down to Pindi telegraphs that he cannot find the Quarter-master's letter-book for 1891. We have found the letter-book of the orderly room for that year, and there is no trace in it of either of the letters purporting to have been addressed to Officer Commanding Bedfordshire Regiment.

Demi-official from LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. B. MACCALL, to MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District,—(Dated Norfolk Lodge, the 14th June 1893). 2110

YOUR urgent wire just received *re* action taken on a certain letter from Medical Officer, Cantonment Hospital, presumably West Ridge. As far as I can ascertain, no action was taken at all, as there were no women in the bazaar known of, and a reply was considered unnecessary. This, of course, is only what I can hear, as I did not belong to the battalion at that time. Colonel Cramer was in command. The Quarter-master, to whom the letter was given, filed it, and this is now down in Pindi, he having only brought up the last 12 months' letters with him. If necessary the Quartermaster is quite prepared to answer any questions on the subject. My Adjutant brought the telegram over to my house, and he takes this on, and can bring me any answer you wish to send.

List of Officers, &c., directed to attend at the enquiry regarding prostitutes. 2120

COLONEL C. R. PENNINGTON, C.B., Colonel on the Staff, Rawal Pindi.

SURGEON-COLONEL T. MAUNSELL, Principal Medical Officer, Rawal Pindi District.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. KEITH, D.S.O., R.A., Commanding Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

MAJOR J. D. CUNNINGHAM, R.A., Commanding No. 3, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery.

CAPTAIN G. C. DOWELL, R.A., Commanding No. 9, Mountain Battery, Royal Artillery, and late Acting Adjutant, Mountain Batteries, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL P. H. SMITH, Commanding 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER H. HONNER, 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. M. PATERSON, Commanding 1st Battalion, Bedforshire Regiment. 2130

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER C. FOX, 1st Battalion, Bedfordshire Regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. B. MACCALL, Commanding 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps.

PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

MAJOR THE HONOURABLE KEITH TURNOUR, 1st Battalion, King's Royal Rifle Corps.

LIEUTENANT AND QUARTERMASTER J. W. DWANE, 1st Battalion, Kings' Royal Rifle Corps.

CAPTAIN C. J. DENNYS, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi.

SURGEON-MAJOR W. A. MAWSON, I.M.S., late in charge, Rawal Pindi Cantonment General Hospital.

SURGEON-MAJOR J. BATTERSBY, A.M.S., in charge, Rawal Pindi Cantonment General Hospital.

CAPTAIN J. H. LESLIE, R.A., Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

2ND GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT PREM SINGH, Subordinate Medical Department.

MAJOR E. A. TRAVERS, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District.

List of books despatched by Parcel Post to the Quartermaster-General in India in connection with the Rawal Pindi District Prostitute Enquiry.

1. RAWAL Pindi Cantonment Magistrate's Memo. Book C. from 15th September 1891 to 25th July 1892.

2. Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital Letter-book from 4th June 1884 to 14th February 1892.

3. Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, Admission and Discharge Book, from 13th March 1891 to 31st August 1892.

4. List of prostitutes referred to by Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

MURREE,
The 14th June 1892.

E. A. TRAVERS, *Major*,
Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

From BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head-Quarters, Simla,—(No. 10-C. D. —*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*—dated Cherat, the 15th June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter—*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*, No. 2751-B., of June 12th 1893, and of your memorandum (Sanitary) No. 2754-B., of same date, both of which reached me this morning. The report previously called for was forwarded by me yesterday, and I think that it nearly fully answers the allegations based on the evidence given before the Departmental Committee at the India Office.

I think, however, that it is as well to recapitulate, and reply to the statements contained in confidential enclosure to Lord Kimberley's Despatch No. 50, dated London, April 20th 1893, as regards the Cantonment of Peshawar.

1 (A).

There is no rule by which any prostitutes are reserved for the use of British soldiers: they may receive visits from any one they like.

(B.)

There is no compulsory examination of women.

(C.)

There is no compulsory detention in hospital.

(D.)

There is no punishment for non-attendance at hospital, except that any person who may be certified to be suffering from contagious disease of any description may be expelled from cantonments if he or she refuses to submit to treatment.

2.

1 (A).

As already reported, prostitutes mostly resort to one quarter of the sudder bazaar, according to ancient custom.

There is no restriction as to who visit them, nor as to their going and coming.

There are no guards in uniform, but Military Police visit the whole bazaar, to preserve order.

No register is kept, nor has been since 1888.

There were numbers on some of the houses, but they had no meaning in 1892.

There is no recognised "mahaldarni;" if such a woman exists, it must be by arrangement among the women. The authorities know nothing about her.

Possibly certificates may have been given in old days, before the new rules were promulgated.

As there is no establishment of women, there can be no fixed proportion.

No "rate of pay" is or could be fixed. During more than thirty years' residence in India I have never heard of a man's pay being stopped for such a purpose as that mentioned.

If "black-mail" is levied on prostitutes, it is certainly not with the connivance or knowledge of the military authorities.

It is well known by any one with even limited acquaintance of India that prostitutes rarely or never wish to give up their trade. Should they do so, there is nothing, except the customs of their own people, to prevent them.

Prostitutes generally begin young, being brought up to the life by their own relations, and girls coming to maturity much earlier than in Europe. I do not believe that prostitutes are ever now sent with troops, though they sometimes were in former years. Should they choose to follow particular regiments, it is entirely by their own choice. No one can interfere with their liberty.

1 (B).

Medical officers and medical subordinates deny that there has been any compulsory examination since the orders on the subject were issued. The statement that the women themselves ever objected to the examination when it was compulsory is, from all that I can ascertain, entirely unfounded, as a general rule.

If women attended the Cantonment Hospital voluntarily, it would of course be at a fixed hour, and naturally they would either have to walk or drive.

1 (C).

If a women was certified to be suffering from any contageous disease, she would have the option of remaining in hospital till cured, or leaving the cantonment. A small sum for daily food is allowed for those requiring it, as long as they remain under treatment.

1 (D).

The statement of penalties to be incurred for disobedience of orders which are non-existent is, of course, untrue.

The only reply to the objection that a woman would be starved if she had to leave cantonments under the only circumstances when she could be required to do so, although she could live comfortably in hospital and ultimately be cured, appears to be that the objectors consider that she should be not only permitted but encouraged to ply her calling and spread disease.

2. The reason why most of the cases of contagious diseases treated in the hospital are venereal is the fact that unfortunately these diseases are the most prevalent. Small-pox being infectious as well as contagious, and one of the most fatal diseases, patients suffering from it are invariably isolated in all hospitals, and treated in separate wards or buildings, which are generally temporary. I am unable to find any evidence to show that admission has ever been refused to a person suffering from secondary syphilis.

The last paragraph has been already answered.

3. With regard to your No. 2754–B., I can only observe that Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer's statement entirely supports what I have already submitted in my report of yesterday, which is based upon all the evidence that I have been able to obtain after full and searching enquiries, in which I have been assisted by Colonel Prendergast, Commanding the station, Brigade Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel Churchill, Principal Medical Officer, and Major Macausland, Cantonment Magistrate.

PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

From BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 9-C.-D., "*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Cherat, 14 June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in your Confidential letter "*Sanitary Cantonment Hospitals*," No. 2573-B., of 3rd June 1893, and telegrams No. 2676-B., of 8th June, and No. 2729-B., of 11th June 1893, I proceeded to Peshawar, and there, in conjunction with Colonel Prendergast, Commanding the Station, Brigade Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Churchill, Principal Medical Officer, and Major Macausland, Cantonment Magistrate, made the fullest possible enquiries into
2240 the truth of the allegations made by the witnesses who gave evidence before the Committee that assembled at the India Office.

2. In consequence of the numerous changes that have taken place among staff and other officers since February 1892, it is now difficult to obtain direct evidence to contradict some of the assertious made by the witnesses; but I believe that what evidence we have been able to elicit shows that there is no foundation for the charge that the orders of Government were evaded or disregarded.

3. I think that the clearest and simplest way in which I can give the information called for is to refer to the questions put by the Home Committee, and the answers thereto, in consecutive order, so far as they apply to the Cantonment of Peshawar; to give the
2250 results of my enquiries, and the sources from which I obtained information.

Such books and documents as in any way bear upon the question will also be quoted, and the originals attached.

Question 175.—The women chiefly reside in two streets. This is nothing extraordinary. I believe that in every city in the world women of this class frequent certain localities, their presence being objected to by the respectable residents in other quarters.

Questions 301 *to* 344.—The women live in houses as described. Those who had recently been ordered to leave regimental bazaars under the new regulations would naturally resort to the same locality as the others.

As the women had so increased in numbers, there would probably be two examina-
2260 tion days for the convenience of those who attended for treatment, but such attendance was voluntary; I can find no record nor any evidence to show that there was any compulsion.

It is quite true that there are circular plates with large numbers in addition to the numbers of the houses, but they were put up several years ago, when the old rules were in force, and have long been obsolete. They did not correspond with any register, and had no further significance than any old name or signboard left by a former resident. I have now ordered them to be removed. No register was kept, nor were any tickets issued by the Cantonment Magistrate, who distinctly states that he never heard of or saw a register until I ordered a search to be made, when the old register (marked A) which is forwarded herewith was discovered. It will be observed that it bears no signature, and that it has evidently been disused since 1888.

2270 A list of prostitutes has been commenced in 1890, but not carried on, and as no tickets were issued, and the new numbers do not correspond with those opposite the same names in former years, it is evidently in no sense a register, but was probably made out for administrative purposes as stated in telegram from Cantonment Magistrate attached (marked B).

The police, of course, have lists of all persons residing in bazaars, whatever their trade or calling may be. The hospital was not set aside for venereal diseases.

Q. 411 to 418.—So far as I can ascertain, the alleged statement of the girl was utterly untrue, unless it referred to what was done several years before, which it probably did.

Q. 509.—No mahaldarni exists; if any woman receives any fees from prostitutes, it must be by private arrangement among themselves.

2280 *Q.* 633.—Women may possibly follow troops that go to the hills, but there is no proof that they accompanied them. It is also now incapable of disproof, but considering the stringent orders issued, I cannot believe that it has been allowed since the publication of those orders.

Q. 639.—In reply to question 304 it was stated that there were two examination days a week. Here is a discrepancy.

Q. 677.—From enquiries that I have made I am certain that the objection of women to be examined on sentimental grounds is purely imaginary. They neither consider themselves

PESHAWAR—REPORT BY BRIGADIER GENERAL A. A. A. KINLOCH, COMMANDING PESHAWAR DISTRICT—QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S CIRCULAR NO. 21, DATED 13TH JULY 1892.

outcasts, nor are they looked down upon by the native community generally. I know of instances where they have expressed their satisfaction with the system of examination, which they considered a benefit and not a hardship.

Q. 743 to 746.—The native medical subordinate who was at the Cantonment Hospital on the occasion referred to, flatly denies having given any such information as that imputed to him, and distinctly states that there was no compulsion. What the women state about their having no other profession is true enough. Their trade has been recognised as a legitimate one, from time immemorial, among their own countrymen.

Q. 758 to 769. The so-called register must have been the private list of women voluntarily examined and treated by the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, which was forwarded to you with my No. 8 C.D., of 26th May 1893. If there were only 56 names in the list, it is obvious that it could not be a register. There are probably double that number of prostitutes in the sudder bazaar.

Q. 870 and 872.—The numbers were certainly there, as admitted in my reply to questisns 316 to 332; but the inference drawn therefrom was incorrect.

Q. 1269 to 1301.—The description of the Cantonment Hospital is correct.

The so-called registration list, containing 56 names, was doubtless the hospital book referred to in my reply to questions 758 to 769.

The native medical subordinate distinctly denies having given the information attributed to him, and also denies the truth of the statements.

He states that he was called by the "dhai" to see two persons whom he described as European "Mem-Sahibs," and that they asked him to show the books, which he refused to do without the permission of the medical officer in charge

He further states that they did not inspect the books in his presence, although he cannot say what they may have done before he was called, of course with the connivance of the "dhai."

This man receives a high character from the Staff Surgeon under whom he served, when in charge of the followers' hospital at Peshawar.

4. I attach a letter (marked C) from the Cantonment Magistrate, in which he states that no register was kept up, nor tickets issued since 15th April 1891, when he took charge of the Peshawar office.

As an additional proof, if one were required, that there is no system of registration (and was not in 1892), a careful search in the bazaar only produced two tickets, dated ——— 1884. These are attached to Major Macausland's letter.

5. In conclusion, I would point out that, although even among the women themselves all enquiries have failed to establish the fact that any of them are or recently were registered or were under the impression that they were, any surreptitious questioning by strangers who asked leading questions with a view to getting the answers they desired would have no difficulty in eliciting any amount of strange and false evidence, on any subject, in any bazaar in India.

6. The enclosures of your letter under reply are returned as directed.

Circular Memorandum from Colonel *W. L. Dalrymple*, for Quartermaster General in India, to the General Officers Commanding Presidency, Assam, Allahabad, Nerbudda, Bundelkhand, Oudh, Rohilkhand, Meerut, Sirhind, Lahore, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar, Quetta, Districts, and Punjab Frontier Force—No. 21, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Army Head-Quarters, Simla, 13th July 1892).

THE Quartermaster General is directed to bring to the notice of General Officers Commanding Districts that a perusal of the annual reports of the working of Cantonment Hospitals for the year 1891 leads to the belief that medical officers in charge of those institutions do not, in all instances, fully appreciate the intention of Government, as expressed in G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890, which is that every description of case applying for relief should be treated therein, so far as may be possible, either as out-door or indoor patients, according to the possibilities or requirements of the cases. It is therefore requested that the attention of all medical officers in charge may be invited to this point, and that they may be instructed to carry out the purpose of Cantonment Hospitals to the greatest extent possible.

2. It is also requested that the attention of medical officers concerned may be drawn to the forms of annual reports forwarded with this office circular marginally noted, and that they may be directed to have them carefully filled in and without altering the prescribed forms in any way before submission.

No. 29, dated 5th August 1891.

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S CIRCULAR NO. 21, DATED 13TH JULY 1892 —QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IF INDIA'S DEMI-OFFICIALS, DATED 13TH JULY 1888 AND 8TH NOVEMBER 1890.

From Colonel *W. L. Dalrymple*, for Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, the Adjutant General in India; the Director General of Military Works; the Military Secretary to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; the Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India; the Secretary to the Government of Bengal; the Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh; the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; the Chief Commissioner, Assam; the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces; and the Agent to the Governor General for Central India, the Controller of Military Accounts, Eastern Circle; the Controller of Military Accounts, Western Circle; the Quartermaster General, Madras Army; the Quartermaster General, Bombay Army—(No. B, dated Simla, July 1892).

Forwarded for information.

From Major-General *E. F. Chapman*, Quartermaster General in India, to Brigadier-General H. M. G. Purvis, Presidency District; Major General W. W. Lynch, Allahabad District; Major-General C. J. S. Gough, Oudh District; Brigadier-General C. J. East, Saugor District; Brigadier-General R. M. Rogers, Gwalior District; Colonel W. H. Macnaghten, Rohilcund District; Major-General Sir G. R. Greaves, Meerut District; Major-General D. Macfarlan, Sirhind District; Major-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Major-General Sir T. D. Baker, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Brigadier-General Sir O. V. Tanner, Quetta District; Brigadier-General Sir R. C. Low, Upper Burma Force, —(dated Simla, 13th July 1888).

CIRCULAR No. 25, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain for your information that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—*vide* paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules. The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

From Major-General Sir *James Browne*, K.C.S.I., C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to Major-General Lord Frankfort, Presidency District; Brigadier-General A. A. A. Kinloch, Allahabad District; Brigadier-General W. Barnard, Nerbudda District; Brigadier-General Sir R. Low, Rohilcund District; Major-General A. E. Perkins, Oudh District; Brigadier-General G. T. Pretyman, Bundelkhand District; Major-General Sir J. Hudson, Meerut District; Brigadier-General Auchinleck, Sirhind District; Major-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Major-General Sir Geo. White, Quetta District—(dated Simla, 8th November 1890).

HIS Excellency the Commander-in-Chief desires me to write and invite your attention to this Department Circular No. 3, of 12th May 1888, and No. 12, of 6th August 1888; also to a confidential demi-official letter addressed to the General Officer Commanding by name by General Chapman on the 13th July 1888 (Quartermaster-General's No.).

In view to probable and existing agitation on the subject in England, I am to ask you to let me know, for His Excellency's information, that the instructions conveyed are being fully carried out in your command.

The subject is one which in the existing state of feeling in England requires to be most carefully dealt with, more especially as the establishment of Cantonment Hospitals, rules for which are under issue, will probably raise further opposition at home.

I am therefore to ask that you will carefully inquire into the subject demi-officially and confidentially in such manner as you may consider necessary. It has been brought to His Excellency's notice that the order regarding prostitutes not accompanying regiments on the march has in some instances been disregarded.

From Major General *E. Stedmam*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to Major-General Lord Frankfort, Presidency District; Brigadier-General A. A. A. Kinloch, Allahabad District; Brigadier-General W. Barnard, Nerbudda District; Colonel F. Cochran, Rohilcund district; Lieutenant-General A. E. Perkins, Oudh District; Brigadier-General G. de C. Morton, Bundelkhand District; Major-General Sir J. Hudson, Meerut District; Brigadier-General G. T. Pretyman, Sirhind District; Lieutenant-General Sir H. Gough, Lahore District; Colonel Palmer, Rawal Pindi District; Brigadier-General F. J. Keen, Peshawar District; Major-General Sir G. S. White, Quetta District—(dated Fort William, 21st March 1892).

IN continuation of Sir James Browne's demi-official letter No. 4901-12-B., dated 8th November 1890, regarding the question of prostitutes in cantonments, I am desired by

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL IN INDIA'S DEMI-OFFICIAL, DATED 21ST MARCH 1892. LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to forward copies of two demi-official letters, dated 11th March 1892, from Major-General Collen, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, and, with reference thereto, to request that you will be good enough to warn officers commanding stations, demi-officially and confidentially, to carry out, both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolutions (quoted in one of the accompanying letters) of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and the provisions of the Cantonment Act and the Rules, which have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

From Major General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 2988-B,—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 26th June 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 2959-B., dated the 23rd instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further reports* regarding the allegations made in the evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Lucknow, Rawal Pindi, Amritsar, and Meen Meer.

*(1) Oudh District, No. C.-L.361, dated 13th June 1893, and enclosures.
(2) Oudh District, No. C.-L.-363, dated 22nd June 1893.
(3) Rawal Pindi District, No. 171-C., dated 21st June 1893.
(4) Lahore District, No. 48-D., dated 22nd June 1893, and enclosures.

From Major General *R. C. Low*, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No C.-L.-361,—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Lucknow, the 13th June 1893).

WITH reference to your 2672-B. and your No. 2725-B., I have the honour to make the following report:—

The subject is here dealt with under the following heads :—

A.—The existing Cantonment Hospital and its arrangements.
B.—The action taken by the local authorities to carry out the orders received.
C.—The allegations made against the authorities.

2. As regards heading A, I attach a plan showing the hospital buildings, which consist of—

(*a*) The General Hospital for both males and females.
(*b*) The venereal ward for females only.
(*c*) The infectious disease ward for cases other than venereal.
(*d*) There is another building not shown in the map, being on the confines of cantonments and two miles from the hospital. This is a cholera and small-pox ward.

Patients are removed to this ward (*d*) from the ward (*c*) when an epidemic of cholera or small-pox occurs.

The ward (*c*) being used for isolated cases, which are of frequent occurrence.

3. There is a point of importance with reference to the female venereal ward (*b*), namely, that it was formerly, and for many years, the lock hospital, and it is still generally called so by the native inhabitants of cantonments.

4. It is necessary to show how these four blocks of buildings have been gradually merged into a Cantonment General Hospital, as the process had the effect of isolating the building (*b*).

A General Hospital for treatment of all classes of cases had been in operation here for some years in a haphazard kind of way, and largely dependent for success on the skill and energy of the medical officer in charge ; but such as it was this General Hospital was inside the enclosure in which the building (*b*) stands, and the building (*b*) was then the Lock Hospital.

5. On the formation of the General Hospital, the nearest barrack was given for the purpose and added to an enclosure made round it, and these buildings became (*a*) the General Hospital.

The old Lock Hospital (*b*) was retained as a female venereal ward.

The infectious disease ward (*c*) was built, and the building (*d*) was kept up in its original form as a cholera and small-pox ward.

6. Thus the present General Hospital, with its different buildings (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*) was formed.

7. The existing arrangements for treatment of female venereal cases are these.

8. The admissions are absolutely voluntary so far as the authorities can make them.

9. Any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined.

10. If found diseased, she would be sent to the venereal ward.

11. Between the case of a prostitute seeking relief for venereal disease and that of any other woman seeking relief for the same, the only difference that could occur is this: The prostitute, knowing the place, would go straight to the venereal ward, while the other might very likely go to the General Hospital; both would become inmates of the female venereal ward.

12. Any such woman could leave the hospital at any moment; but if she left before being cured, she would not be permitted to reside in cantonments, as per paragraph 5, G. G. O. No. 617 of 4th July 1890.

13. No compulsion whatever is brought to bear on the women to present themselves for examination. They have been repeatedly told that if they wish they can be examined, but that they are not obliged to be examined.

I have, however, heard of pressure being brought to bear on the women indirectly by their customers preferring to deal with those who have been examined. Also I have heard of pressure being brought on them by those to whom they are in debt; but the authorities have let the women know plainly that there is no compulsion on their part.

14. There is a dhai, who is paid Rs. 12 per mensem by the Cantonment Fund, and also has quarters in the General Hospital, and whose duty it is to attend on the sick.

Prior to the 1st February 1892, there were two dhais sanctioned. Application for matrons was made in this office No. 836 of 23rd December 1891 (copy attached marked J), for discharge of one, and for sanction to entertain a compounder in place of the dhai discharged. Sanction was given to this in Quartermaster General's No. 86-B. of 14th January 1892.

15. Hitherto the day and time on which the medical officer is prepared to examine women has been notified. This is essential not only to enable the medical officers to properly arrange their work, but it is essential in the interests of the patients.

16. As having reference to the points noted so far, I attach, marked (K), a statement of queries made by me and replied to by the medical officer at present in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

17. I now turn to heading B—"The action taken by the authorities to carry out the orders received."

The orders received may be classed under four heads, namely,—

(*a*) The removal of registered prostitutes from regimental bazaars, and that they were not to reside in any building owned by the Cantonment Fund.

(*b*) The discontinuance of registrations and the abolition of tickets.

(*c*) Substitution of voluntary for compulsory examination.

(*d*) Prostitutes not to be permitted to accompany troops on the march.

The orders issued on each of the above and action taken are as follows:—

18. *As regards* (*a*).—Quartermaster General's Circular No. 3 directs that "residence of registered prostitutes in regimental bazaars of British troops is to be prohibited."

I enclose the original order of Major General Sir C. Gough to the Cantonment Magistrate, Major Campbell, marked (L).

Major Campbell states that all buildings out of which these women were ejected, which were Government property, were at once sold.

That some of the ejected women occupied a building in the sudder bazaar, which was at that time the property of the Cantonment Fund, but which was then sold. The deed of sale is registered in the Office of the Registrar of Lucknow; and others of these ejected women hired houses in the vicinity of the above building, owned by private individuals.

19. It may be mentioned here that, consequent on the removal of the women from the regimental bazaars, the three regimental dhais were discharged. Sanction was obtained for this—*vide* Quartermaster General's letter No. 2710-B. of 16th July 1889.

20. *As regards heading* (*b*) *and the orders to "discontinue registrations and abolition of tickets."*—The action taken is noted on the reverse of original circular (Circular No. 12), and I attach this paper, marked (M).

Major Campbell states that since that time the register of prostitutes referred to in *Rule* 9 of the old Lock Hospital Rules and the tickets referred to in *Rule* 14 have both been discontinued in his office.

21. On the above three points, I attach an original paper (marked N) written by Captain Ozzard in November 1890, apparently for the information of the General Officer Commanding, which describes the state of matters at that time.

Captain Ozzard is now in England.

22. *As regards (d) that "prostitutes were not to accompany troops on the march."*—No troops have left this station or arrived during my tenure of command, which dates from the 1st April 1892.

The point need not be dealt with by me beyond saying that it would be impossible for prostitutes to obtain Government transport for such a purpose, or Government hired transport, or money from Government to pay for rail fares: but there can be no doubt that prostitutes often do follow the soldiers; whether they pay their way themselves, or get help from the men, or borrow the money, is not material.

These women can easily carry out the orders, and yet follow certain men to their new stations. They simply go by rail to the new stations and establish themselves in the prostitutes' quarter and await the arrival of their friends, and no action that we can take will prevent this.

23. In concluding this portion of my report, I can only add that, having before me the different orders and circulars of the Commander-in-Chief, I can state that they have been loyally carried out, so far as I am aware, or can ascertain, by those officers whose duty it was to do so.

24. I now pass to the allegations, the first of which is—

> "That there is chakla, or quarter, or serai in which prostitutes are living, in the sudder bazaar."

This is true. In the interests of the other inhabitants of the bazaar they are only allowed to reside in one quarter of the bazaar in which prostitutes have always resided.

25. Again, regarding the existence of mahaldarnis.

This is true; but it is untrue that any mahaldarni is paid by Government, or has any recognised position from the authorities.

26. In the same way truth, with a lie at the back of it, is given forth in the statements as regards a tariff of charges.

The tariff of charges may be true.

It is immaterial whether really true or not, because it is certain that prostitutes expect and get payment, and it may be accepted as certain that a charge is made, but where the untruth lies is that the public are led to believe that this tariff is recognised and sanctioned by the authorities.

27. Then take the allegation that "a policeman was seen on duty at the chakla." Why should he not be there?

Would the presence of a policeman on duty in the neighbourhood of brothels in London or New York be held to be "State aid, or regulation, or provision of vice"? Yet it is in this sense that the statements are made in the queries and replies Nos. 209-215.

28. The prostitutes are as much entitled to protection of life and property as other residents of the cantonments.

If the women had been found to be debarred from protection of police, it might have reasonably been considered a fault on the part of the authorities; but it is ridiculous to try and make out that the provision of police protection is blameworthy.

29. Then there is the incident described in queries 550–559.

If the description given means anything, it means that the two ladies who were making these inquiries saw a girl sold before their eyes into prostitution.

These ladies were certainly aware of the existence of officers and the Cantonment Magistrate, and it is unreasonable to suppose they did not know of the existence of one or more of the following:

The General Commanding.
The English Chaplain.
The R. C. Chaplain.
The Presbyterian Minister.

What are we to think of two ladies who, knowing this, saw with their own eyes a girl sold into prostitution without taking a single step to get her released?

One of two conclusions is obvious.

If they believed the story, they were themselves guilty of the abominable cruelty of leaving the girl to her fate; or if they did *not* believe the story, they have purposely represented the case in such a way as to deceive a credulous public in England.

The case is typical of the general way these ladies have gathered their evidence.

The credulous public in England will believe a good deal; but they would not have believed that in this case these ladies had asked for the help of one of the above officials and had been refused. Consequently, no such help was asked for.

2590 It is no reply to say they did not know where to find any of the above officials.

They made no attempt to find any of them, and, as a matter of fact, the quarters of the General and the quarters of the Cantonment Magistrate are known to every cabman in Lucknow.

30. Then there is the endeavour to prove registration of prostitutes in the statements to queries 852-869.

As a matter of fact *every person*, male or female, and of whatever occupation, trade, or calling, who wishes to reside in the sudder bazaar must present a written petition on a printed form laid down for miscellaneous petitions.

The price of a form is a quarter of an anna.

2600 A one-anna court-fee stamp has to be affixed to the petition.

The man who writes the petition is paid by the petitioner as may be arranged between them.

This is the ordinary process of every day life, and I am informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that there is nothing approaching registration in it, and it is absurd to try and twist it into registration of prostitutes.

I am further informed by the Cantonment Magistrate that prostitutes have never been made over to the police or to an inspector to take to hospital since registration was abolished.

31. Then there is the story of the dismissal of the mahaldarni, queries 884–902.

2610 It is probable that the woman who stated she had been dismissed was the woman referred to in attachment J.* The dates correspond; but she was, when in Government service, a paid matron or dhai, while, in the evidence, an attempt is made to prove she was paid as a procuress or forewoman of prostitutes.

N.B.—If she was the same woman, this conclusively proves her discharge was not owing to the visit of the two ladies, as suggested in queries and replies, 884-892.

32. The statements and incidents alluded to in queries 973–1146 will, no doubt, be dealt with by the Commission on its road here.

I believe the girl in question is still here, and so is the Cantonment Magistrate who received the two ladies at his court. So, also, I think, is the native doctor referred to.

2620 33. The allegations alluded to by me in this report are the main accusations brought against the authorities; and while, with my knowledge of the customs of the natives of the country and of the many minor native officials that have to be depended on to carry out the details of any radical changes, such as those directed, to meet the resolutions of the House of Commons, it is, in my opinion, probable that there may have been cases of oppression, or of dilatoriness in the carrying out of the instructions in all these details, I can confidently reassert, with the orders in front of me, so far as I am aware, and so far as I can ascertain, the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have been carried out loyally and in reasonable time.

34. I attach one more statement marked (O) showing the dates on which the Luck-
2630 now Cantonment Fund chaklas were sold.

List of Enclosures.

Plan of the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital and detached wards.

J.—Oudh District Office No. 836 of 23rd December 1890.

K.—Statement of queries and replies made by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

L.—Original order of Major-General Sir C. Gough.

M.—Original Circular No. 12 with note of action taken on reverse.

N.—Original statement of how orders were given effect to by Captain Ozzard, Cantonment Magistrate, in November 1890.

2640 O.—Statement showing dates on which the different chaklas, formerly owned by the Lucknow Cantonment Fund, were sold.

LUCKNOW Dn M. W.

PLAN SHOWING VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GENI CANTONMENT HOSPITAL.

Scale 1 Inch = 500 Feet.

100' 1000' 500' 0' 1000' Feet

GENERAL CANTONMENT HOSPITAL ENCLOSURES

Dº Dº Dº BUILDINGS

OTHER BUILDINGS

(Sd.) E.D.SWIN

OFFº EXE ENGR L

TOPO. Dy Nº 527.
JUNE 1893.

LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

J.

From MAJOR-GENERAL A. E. PERKINS, General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, – (No. 836, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated, Lucknow, the 23rd December 1891).

WITH reference to the accompanying letter from the Medical Officer in charge of Cantonment Hospital, I have the honour to request the sanction of His Excellency the Commander in Chief to the following alteration in the existing establishment of the Cantonment Hospital proposed by the Medical Officer in charge of the hospital, and recommended by the Army Medical Officer:—

1. Compounder at Rs. 10 per month in place of a dhai. 2650

2. I fully concur with the view that, under the present system, the services of two dhais are not necessary.

K.

Queries—Cantonment General Hospital.

(1) Were cases of any other kind treated in the old Lock Hospital enclosure before the new hospital was built, and did the Hospital Assistant treat cases himself?

A.—Yes; both male and female patients. The males were treated in a shed erected in the Lock Hospital compound. The women were treated in a detached portion of the lock ward.

(2) What has become of the huts in the Lock Hospital compound? 2660

A.—They still exist, but are unoccupied.

(3) How many dhais are there, and where do they live? What salary do they receive?

A.—One dhai only. She lives in the Cantonment General Hospital quarters. Salary is Rs. 12 per mensem.

(4) On what date was the New Cantonment General Hospital opened?

A.—1st February 1892.

(5) Was the female ward opened at the same time, or was it built afterwards?

A.—Built afterwards.

(6) Pending construction of the female ward, where were female patients treated?

A.—In the old Lock Hospital. 2670

(7) When was the infectious disease ward opened?

A.—May 1892.

LUCKNOW;
The 12th June 1893.

(Sd.) C. A. LANE, *Surgeon-Captain,*
Army Medical Staff.

L

Demi-official from CAPTAIN S. J. MICHELL, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, to Major-General Sir C. S. GOUGH, K.C.B., V.C.,—(dated Lucknow, the 17th July 1888).

CIRCULAR No. 5, dated 25th May 1888, having been cancelled, I am asked to explain to all Officers Commanding Station in the Oudh Division that women who may be ejected from regimental bazaars should reside in the sudder bazaar—*vide* paragraph 11 of the explanation, Lock Hospital Rules. 2680

The houses they occupy should not be the property of the Cantonment Fund.

M.

Memo. from MAJOR-GENERAL E. F. CHAPMAN, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding,—(No. 12. dated Simla, the 6th August 1888).

THE Quartermaster-General is directed by the Commander-in-Chief to intimate that it is the intention of the Government of India to revise the Lock Hospital Rules, framed under clause 7, section XIX of Act XXII of 1864, and continued under section 2 of Act III of 1880.

LUCKNOW—CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, LUCKNOW.

2. Pending the issue of the revised rules on the subject, His Excellency directs that no register of public prostitutes is to be kept, nor shall any tickets be issued, nor compul-
2690 sory examinations of the women held. The Cantonment Lock Hospital is in fact to be worked as a purely voluntary institution.

No. 763, dated Lucknow, the 20th August 1888.

FORWARDED for information and favour of compliance with paragraph 2.

(Sd.) S. J. MICHELL, *Captain,*
Offg. Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General.

FORWARDED for information to Officer in medical charge Lock Hospital. Please return.

LUCKNOW; *The 20th August* 1888. (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

Noted and returned,

2700 LUCKNOW; *The 20th August* 1888. (Sd.) R. E. KAY, *Surgeon, M.S.,*
In medical charge Lock Hospital.

REGISTRATION to be discontinued. All tickets to be recalled.

LUCKNOW; *The 22nd August* 1888. (Sd.) A. W. D. CAMPBELL, *Major.*

N

Memo. by CAPTAIN H. H. OZZARD, Cantonment Magistrate, Lucknow, on the points noted by the Quartermaster-General in "*The Sentinel*" of October 1890.

1-A.—The whole tenor of this passage is to the effect that compulsory examinations of the women are still held. This is entirely false. The attendance of the women at the
2710 hospital is perfectly voluntary, also their residence in hospital if diseased. There is no compulsion in the matter at all. If a woman does not wish to attend, or to remain in hospital, she is at perfect liberty to act up to her wishes, and nothing further is done.

1-B.—No women are punished by the Cantonment Magistrate for anything connected with their calling as prostitutes. They are, of course, subject to the ordinary cantonment rules, the same as every other inhabitant of cantonments, European or Native, and would be fined, like any one else, for breaches of them.

1.C. and 1-D.—Prostitutes reside in the sudder bazaar in one quarter: it might be called a "serai." This is merely in accordance with customs which restrict trades and professions to certain quarters and streets. The prostitutes' quarters are not new buildings, and they are not Government property. They belong to a native house proprietor named
2720 Salig Ram. The cantonment authorities have no more control over these premises than over any other buildings in bazaars.

1-E.—There is no rule or law of any sort prohibiting native men from entering the building in question. Natives probably do not resort there; but this may be because they do not care for coming into contact with soldiers.

1-F.—Statistics are necessarily kept at the hospital as to the number of patients, the number voluntarily attending, their state of health, &c. It would be impossible for a hospital of any kind to be carried on without some records of results, and the number of patients, if only to check the bills for dieting.

LUCKNOW.—CAPTAIN OZZARD, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE, LUCKNOW.

1-G. *Vide* reply to 1-A.—There is absolutely no compulsion in the matter, and no women are confined in hospital. They are examined and remain in hospital of their own free will. Being well treated and well fed whilst in hospital, there is no inducement whatever for them to leave; but if they should wish to do so, there is nothing to hinder them.

1-H.—No tickets or licenses of any kind are issued to the women, nor are any kept in the Cantonment Magistrate's office. The tickets were all called in and destroyed when the compulsory system was abolished two years ago.

1-K. *Vide* reply to 1-C. and 1-D.—The quarters where the women reside are not Government property, but belong to a private individual, who lets them on hire to the women the same as any other houses in the bazaar.

1-L.—Two matrons are paid by the Cantonment Fund to look after the woman and maintain order—one at the hospital and one in the prostitutes' quarters. They are not responsible in any way for the state of health of the women, but are employed to maintain order among them. It would be impossible to have male chaukidars for the maintenance of order as in other parts of the bazaar.

In conclusion, it is evident that the writers of the articles under reference can have no idea of what the old compulsory system was like, when every public prostitute within cantonments and within a radius of five miles round was compulsorily registered and licensed, and forced under heavy penalties to attend medical examinations, and rigorously confined in hospital if found diseased. This has all been swept away; the hospital is a voluntarily institution in no material way differing from the hospitals in the United Kingdom in connection with the same subject; there is no registration; there are no penalties; the women are free to attend or not as they choose.

LUCKNOW;
The 10th November 1890.

H. H. OZZARD, *Captain,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

O

Statement of Sales of Cantonment Fund chaklas at Lucknow.

Name of Chakla.	Date of Sale.	Name and Description of Purchaser.	Price Realised.	Remarks.
			Rs. A. P.	
Royal Artillery -	4th August 1888 -	Ram Lall Pundit of Royal Artillery Bazaar.	97 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Sudder Bazaar -	24th September 1888	Salig Ram and Choonee Lall, Merchants, Sudder Bazaar. (Deed of sale registered in Office of Registrar, Lucknow, on 10th December 1888.)	4,000 0 0	Still occupied by prostitutes.
European Cavalry	27th September 1888	Baij Nath Banya of Sudder Bazaar	100 0 0	Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.
Left Europenn Infantry.	3rd October 1888 -	Mooloo Jemadar, cook - -	68 0 0	Has left the station. Not occupied by prostitutes since 1888.

(Sd.) A. W. CAMPBELL, *Major,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL R. C. LOW, Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 363-C. L., "*Sanitary — Cantonment Hospitals*" dated Lucknow, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

I HAVE the honour, with reference to your No. 2747-B., to submit the attached report, which deals *seriatim* and without comment with the points noted in the printed enclosure forwarded with your letter.

I may, however, here point out that the printed paper starts with an error; it states that—

"The principal facts ascertained and verified are the following, &c., &c."

The facts are stated by two ladies on the testimony of the most vicious and degraded of the population in India, and though these statements admitted of easy proof on the reverse, at the time and on the spot, no attempt whatever was made by these ladies to verify the statements which as a matter of fact are untrue.

In cases where the facts stated were true as regards custom and procedure prior to 1888, they have been accepted as existing now, and no attempt was made by these ladies to ascertain whether they really existed now or whether the statements only referred to the past.

The question at issue is, whether the procedure and custom prior to 1888 has or has not been abolished in obedience to orders, and it is worth noticing that so anxious were these ladies to prove the former that they were unable to see ordinary people on every-day circumstances of an Indian bazaar without endeavouring to twist them into evidence in their favour.

They see a policeman.

He of course cannot be there in the usual course of police duty, he is there to guard and maintain prostitutes for the British soldier by order of the authorities!

His badge is an additional proof.

They see houses with numbers on them.

This is a proof of registration of prostitutes provided for the British soldiers, and so on to the end of the chapter.

So far as I aware, or can ascertain, the system of 1888 has been abolished at Lucknow, and the orders have been loyally carried out.

LUCKNOW CANTONMENT.

Replies to Statement in annexure to Secretary of State's No. 50 of 20th April 1893.

A.—The word chakla means "brothel"; it is applied to any place or quarter of a town or bazaar where public prostitutes reside.

The sudder bazaar is the only place where prostitutes have been permitted to reside since 1888.

Neither houses nor rooms or any special place of residence is assigned to them, but they necessarily congregate in one quarter, as if scattered amongst the respectable inhabitants, their presence would be resented.

2. Some of the prostitutes live in a large block of buildings, which formerly belonged to the Cantonment Fund, but which was sold in 1888.

Others live in adjacent houses.

The prostitutes are not reserved for British soldiers, but the fact that soldiers visited certain prostitutes might debar natives from doing so.

The women like most of their class in all countries live by prostitution.

There is no regulation preventing natives from visiting them, and they are at liberty to leave cantonments whenever they choose; in fact, they constantly do so and no steps whatever are taken to bring them back.

3. The large block of buildings was till 1888 the property of the Cantonment Fund; it was then sold.

4. Since 1888 the prostitutes have had to house themselves.

5. No guard is put over the chakla.

Military and native police visit the chakla as well as the rest of the bazaar in their rounds.

LUCKNOW—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL LOW, COMMANDING OUDH DISTRICT.

6. No register has been kept since the Lock Hospital Rules were abrogated. Where metal plates bearing numbers are placed over rooms or houses, it has been done by the owners of the houses for their own convenience.

7. There is no mahaldarni or other person in charge of the chakla who is paid by the cantonment or other fund.

8. Under the registration system (in force prior to 1888), dhais were paid for making daily inspections; some of them may hold testimonials from the medical officers under whom they performed their duties.

9. No women are authorised to perform, or are paid to perform, such duties now. 2830

10. Prostitutes who elect to reside in cantonments in preference to outside of cantonments doubtless do so in the hope of receiving visits from soldiers.

The number of such prostitutes doubtless varies with the size of a cantonment—a larger number being in a big cantonment than in a small one.

11. There may be a fixed scale of charge; if so, it has been fixed by the women themselves; the statement that charges if not paid are stopped out of a man's pay is false.

12. Prostitutes, if they get into debt, are treated by the Cantonment authorities in no way different from any other class in the bazaar.

13. If a more attractive woman comes into the bazaar and takes the custom of those who are growing old, it would not be a matter in which the Cantonment authorities 2840 would interfere.

14. Women are not allowed to accompany a regiment on the march, nor is it possible for them to obtain Government transport or money from Government to pay for hired carriage or railway fares, but no doubt they often do follow a regiment to another station; there is nothing to prevent them going by rail to the new station if they can raise the money for the fare.

It follows that the statement that they are protected by European guards on the march is false.

B.—There is no register, and women are not required to attend examinations.

There is a Cantonment General Hospital in which there is a female venereal ward; 2850 the admissions are entirely voluntary; any woman seeking relief from venereal disease would necessarily be examined, and if found diseased, would be sent to the venereal ward for treatment.

C.—No woman is compelled to attend for examination, but if they attend voluntarily and are admitted into hospital they are dieted, and the charge is defrayed from Cantonment Funds; this is the case with all patients whether suffering from venereal disease or other malady.

D.—No compulsion is used to make a woman present herself for examination.

Pressure may be brought sometimes on the women indirectly, either by their customers or by those to whom they might be in debt, but they have been repeatedly 2860 told by the authorities that they are at liberty to do as they like in the matter.

2. If a woman voluntarily presents herself for examination and is sent to the venereal ward for treatment, she is at perfect liberty to leave the hospital whenever she likes; but if she does so before she is cured, she is not allowed to live in cantonments.

3. A woman may leave the cantonments at any time, without any one's permission or any one interfering with her. Should she have permanently left and afterwards desire again to reside in cantonments, she would—like all new-comers of every class—have to obtain the permission of the Cantonment Magistrate.

No medical examination would be required.

4. Women are visited by soldiers outside as well as inside cantonment limits. 2870

As to 2.

Small-pox and infectious diseases other than venereal have been for years past at the Lucknow Cantonment Hospital.

2. There are no registered prostitutes in Lucknow Cantonments.

There is no Lock Hospital.

RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWAL PINDI DISTRICT.

From Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 171-C., dated Rawal Pindi, the 21st June 1893—"Confidential").

In compliance with your letter No. 2750-B. of 12th instant, I have the honour to
2880 furnish replies in categorical form to the allegations contained in the paper headed "East India Cantonment Acts and Regulations since 1889, Statement of Facts, &c."

3. In my former letter I furnished the additional report referred to in the concluding portion of the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, dated 12th June 1893. This report was concluded before the receipt of your letter under reply. The categorical report, however, covered wider ground, and I was unable to reply at once. I found it also necessary to proceed to Rawal Pindi, where further evidence has been taken. The minutes of this evidence will follow to-morrow, in continuation of that previously rendered.

3. The following are my categorical replies. The period of time specially referred to in these replies, unless otherwise stated, is the latter part of February 1892.

2890 4. I have enquired into the cases of all places within the Cantonment of Rawal Pindi, where public prostitutes are known to reside, and, with one exception, to be noted hereafter, I find that no provision, systematic or otherwise, is made for the residence of prostitutes, or for any woman being reserved exclusively for the use of British soldiers.

That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by, or with the consent of, the military authorities;
(A) For the residence, &c.

5. The special allegations under this head are as noted in the margin.

6. There are no assigned quarters, inasmuch as the residences of the prostitutes are hired houses, the property of private persons, for which rent is paid under arrangements between landlord and tenant, without any
2900 intervention or control by any military authority. The places where prostitutes reside are usually called 'chaklas' and the tenants of the several chaklas, other than those in the sudder, are in the habit of speaking of themselves as belonging to such and such a regiment. In the large bazaar between the cavalry and infantry in Church lines, which has been, since 1891, practically a sudder bazaar, as already explained, there are two so-called chaklas—one situated on the side near the cavalry, and the other on the infantry side. These chaklas are part and parcel of the bazaar, and are merely houses indistinguishable from other houses. If the prostitutes were replaced by other tenants, there would be no trace of the so-called chakla. In the sudder it is the same, except that the chakla consists in part of a court-yard. The exception noted above is the case of
2910 the Royal Artillery Bazaar. It appears that a portion of the deserted grass-cutters' lines (grass-cutters having been to a great extent abolished) have been allocated by authority for the use of prostitutes. These huts are situated within the regimental bazar limits. The women were free agents, and their actions were not controlled in any way. It appears that the regimental connection did not extend further than their being allowed to reside in these disused huts rent-free. This action is contrary to orders, and the irregularity is being dealt with separately. The prostitutes have been turned out of these huts.

In each cantonment there are assigned quarters, &c.

7. None of the so-called chaklas in this cantonment have any resemblance to a military building. They are indistinguishable from ordinary bazaar residences. No women
2920 are reserved for the exclusive use of either Europeans or natives. They are free to receive any persons. In the cold weather, if they could not procure houses, women sometimes occupied tents provided under their own arrangements. Under similar conditions followers of the troops use tents. The two classes of encampments would be indistinguishable. All prostitutes are free to come and go, in or out of cantonments, without permission. There is no control of any sort.

The chakla in some cases consists, &c.

8. In no case (except the Royal Artillery case stated above) are the residences of the prostitutes Government property, nor is there any trace of their ever having been Government property. The Royal Artillery huts were Government property only in
2930 the sense that they are believed to have been originally built by the followers with the help of a small allowance from Government. If the huts had remained tenantless, they would have tumbled down ere this. Their existence is therefore due to their being tenanted and to the expense of maintenance being undertaken by the occupants.

In some cases the chakla is stated, &c.

9. All prostitutes pay rent, except in the case of the Royal Artillery, as mentioned above.

In some cantonments the women live rent-free, &c.

10. In no case is there any guard within or near the prostitutes' quarters; the police supervision is the same as for bazaars generally.

In some cantonments a guard in uniform, &c.

11. There is no register of prostitutes of any kind or in any case. Mahaldarnis have lists of their own women for their own purposes, and for the purpose of examination, but this is a private arrangement. Numbers (sometimes on metal plates) are affixed to the houses occupied by prostitutes, but all other houses are distinguished in the same manner, and the metal plates and numbers have no relation to the tenants, whether prostitutes or others, and do not change with the tenants. There is only one number for each house, unless there are separate tenements separately taxable. The numbering is for the purpose of levying the general house-tax only. There is no truth in the statement that the numbering is to enable a soldier to designate a particular woman.

In each cantonment a register is kept, &c.

12. Mahaldarnis, where they exist, are in all cases maintained by the women attached to them, by mutual private arrangements. In no case has a mahaldarni been paid wholly or in part out of Cantonment Funds.

In almost every instance the chakla, with its occupants, is under the control, &c.

13. It has been ascertained that this is the case. The majority of these certificates refer to periods antecedent to the legislation of 1889. To any one who knows the importunities of natives to procure something in writing, no matter from whom, this will not be surprising. Some of these certificates appear, however, to be given out of excess of good nature where many persons would have refused them. The mahaldarni referred to in the minutes of evidence of the Secretary of State's Committee (*Q.* and *A.* 925-939) has been seen. The description there given of her certificates is correct. She has since added two to her stock, but there is no pretence that the writers of these certificates had anything further to do with her than that she and her women lived in quarters in the bazaar nearest to the lines occupied successively by the writers' regiments.

Some of the mahaldarnis possess certificates, &c.

14. The passing of the Cantonments Act and the issue of G. G. O. 617 of 1890 have made this difference that the mahaldarnis became private agents, while before they were sometimes part of the bazaar establishment and paid as such.

All their duties are the same, &c.

15. The number of women is not proportioned by any military authority, but only by the law of supply and demand.

The number of women in each chakla, &c.

16. The evidence of Alladi is instructive on this point. She is the best authority on the subject. Nothing is known as to a tariff except by those personally concerned.

A uniform low rate of pay is made, &c.

17. No such complaint is known to have been made here.

If not paid complaint was sometimes made, &c.

18. All this is very probable and scarcely requires verification.

Out of these sums thus earned the women have to pay, &c.

19. This also is unfortunately too probable.

The result is that they live in the cantonment as soldiers' prostitutes, &c.

20. These prostitutes are of all ages, but some are undoubtedly very young, according to European standards. The age of puberty in India is 12. Only one case is known of a prostitute of extreme youth, and the action then taken appears to prove the rarity of the occurrence.

The prostitutes are generally girls, &c.

21. Women do frequently follow a regiment, but so far as is known they make their own arrangements to do so. No case of provision of transport is known, or of their protection on the march, or recognition in any way by the regimental authorities.

When a regiment changes its cantonment, &c.

That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities.

(B).—For the compulsory examination of women at prescribed periods by European or Native medical officers.

22. The provision made is for the voluntary examination of women.

23. There is no register, nor has there been since 1888. As to the compulsory examination of women, all the evidence available has been taken, and it shows that no compulsion was used beyond the powers conferred by G. G. O. 617 of 1890.

Every woman entered on the register, &c.

24. The women presenting themselves were examined. In this hospital the regular day notified was Friday, but women would be received in the hospitals at any time for examination.

The examinations are usually once a week, &c.

25. The only medical officer who has had charge of the Cantonment Hospital who is available, has been examined, and he acquiesces in the description of the examination with the important exception that the speculum was never used by him for this purpose.

The examination is made individually, &c.

The women assemble at a fixed time, &c.

26. Correct.

That within each cantonment systematic provision is made by, or with the sanction of, the Cantonment authorities.

(*C*) For the compulsory detention in Hospital of any such women under the orders of the medical officers.

27. There is no such provision; the conditions of detention are such as are prescribed in G. G. O. 617 of 1890.

Upon the examination the women are either dismissed, &c.

28. Generally correct; if by "next examination" day is meant the next day they chose to come for examination.

Detention is ordered not only in cases of detected disease, &c.

29. No cases of such detention are known; the practice is denied.

During detention in Hospital, &c.

30. Generally correct; this is for subsistence in hospital, which all poor patients get in all sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.

(*D*) With penal consequences in the case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment.

31. The procedure has been in accordance with G. G. O. 617 of 1890.

32. It is possible that some medical officers may not have strictly worded their correspondence, so as to conform to the law and regulations. If so, the Hospital letter book, which has already been sent up will show. Its return was applied for, but it could not be spared, and it is now not available for further reference. The procedure of the medical officers is believed to have been substantially within the law.

In the event of a woman registered breaking the regulations, &c.

If she leave hospital before being formally discharged, &c.

33. As above.

If she leave the cantonment without a permit, &c.

34. There is no such thing as a permit to leave cantonments. The procedure described in G. G. O. 617 of 1890 is probably referred to.

35. This is very unlikely to be the case. Most of the prostitutes have their homes outside Cantonments, and there is no reason why they should not obtain a livelihood elsewhere as well as in cantonments.

The expulsion or exclusion of such a woman, &c.

2. (Page 1.) That the Hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts, and the regulations made thereunder, are systematically used, &c.

36. This charge is categorically denied.

37. This description is generally applicable to the female contagious diseases ward of the Rawal Pindi Hospital. Infectious diseases are not treated in it, because wards for infectious cases are provided elsewhere. It is only frequented by prostitutes because other women will not come to it.

It is only intended for females, because the wards and dispensary for males are provided elsewhere.

All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious or contagious diseases, &c.

In some of these Hospitals cases of secondary syphilis, &c.

38. This is not true in respect of this Hospital.

The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examination, &c.

39. This is entirely untrue, both in fact and suggestion.

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

From Major-General Viscount Frankfort, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, Army Head Quarters, Simla,—(No. 48-D.. *Cantonment—Sanitary*, dated Dalhousie, the 22nd June 1893—Confidential).

(*a*) Letter from Surgeon-Captain Trotter, Amritsar.
(*b*) Statement of patients treated in Amritsar Cantonment Hospital.
(*c*) Question and answer by Surgeon-Captain Trotter.
(*d*) Petition of prostitutes, Meean Meer.

In reply to your No. 2749-B., dated 12th June 1893, and in continuation of my telegram No. 39-D. of 15th instant, I have the honour to reply categorically to the statements made in the enclosure to Secretary of State for India's letter, No. 50-M., dated London, 20th April, in as complete a manner as the limited time at disposal for enquiries allows. This report is supplementary to my No. 38-D. of 15th instant.

2. With reference to Amritsar. The Officer Commanding in March 1892 was Captain Anderson of the Manchester Regiment. He is now on leave in Kashmir. Questions have been sent by telegram for him to reply to, and the answers will be submitted when received.

3. I enclose a letter, a statement of patients treated in the Cantonment Hospital, and replies to questions (annexures A, B, and C) furnished by Surgeon-Captain Trotter, Medical Staff, who was in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, in 1892. From this it appears—

(1) There was a voluntary inspection of women bi-monthly.

(2) There was no register of women, or issue of tickets made, to the knowledge of the Medical Officer.

(3) The Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, was, and is, used for the treatment of all classes of natives, male and female, and for female cases also other than venereal cases.

(4) No steps were taken for the punishment of women refusing to attend inspection, or leaving hospital before being regularly discharged.

(5) Women were not detained during their natural menstrual period.

(6) From Annexure A of my No. 38-D. of the 15th instant, it is also evident that the examination of women was quite voluntary; and

(7) No complaint or representation regarding the inspection was ever made of the women to the Medical Officer or the Hospital Assistant.

4. With regard to annexure B, I only called for a statement as to those months immediately preceding and following the visit of the persons whose statements are now the subject of a Committee, as being sufficient evidence as to the point at issue.
The statement of Captain Anderson will be evidence on the remaining points.

5. *Meean Meer.*—Though my information is not quite so full and so precise as I could have wished had more time been available for this enquiry, I am able to give definite replies to most of the questions raised.
One of the medical officers in charge of the Cantonment Hospital about the time at issue, Surgeon-Captain Hudson, 16th Bengal Cavalry, is now on leave at Simla. The other, Surgeon-Captain Grainger, is, it is believed, in civil employ in Tirhoot. The Hospital Assistant is giving evidence before a Committee at Rawal Pindi.

6. *Paragraph I.—(A) of Statement.*—With the sanction of the Military authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army Head Quarters, and as I understand, without the knowledge of the General Officer Commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazaars of British Infantry and Royal Artillery, for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

7. With the sanction also of the Military authorities generally, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the Sudder Bazaar. Those residing in the Sudder Bazaar were open to receive visits from Europeans or natives without restriction.

8. B.—Examination of women so far compulsory that they had the option of leaving the cantonment if they did not submit. In 1889 also the prostitutes petitioned to be inspected. (Annexure D.)

9. C.—Women were compulsorily detained in hospital under the orders of the examining officers, but see also annexure D. as to their willingness to be so detained.

10 D.—No arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from cantonments were the punishments.

11. *As to 1 (A).* There were three chaklas or brothels, 1 in Royal Artillery Bazaar, 1 in British Infantry Bazaar, 1 in Sudder Bazaar. The women residing in the two former were reserved for British soldiers. In the sudder bazaar they were open to Europeans and natives.

The chaklas in Meean Meer (and also in Amritsar) bear no resemblance to military buildings, but resemble native houses. The brothel in the sudder bazaar was specially constructed as such in 1877, but the responsibility of the Cantonment Committee for it ceased in September 1888,—see *para. 8* of my letter, No. 38. D. of 15th instant.

The women are prostitutes by trade. Public solicitation by women is not customary. Natives are allowed to resort to the brothel in the sudder bazaar.

12. None of the brothels are the property of the State or of the Cantonment; they are private property, the women do not live rent-free, but pay rent to the landlords.

No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel.

13. Registers of prostitutes were maintained in Meean Meer in March 1892, though now discontinued. See also paragraph 5 (*c*) of my No. 38-D., dated 15th instant, for particulars.

14. The prostitutes are under a mahaldarni paid by a share of the women's earnings. (See Officer Commanding Meean Meer's report under my No. 38-D. of 15th instant as to the woman conversed with by the persons who visited the brothel not being the mahaldarni of the brothel but some other woman.)

It is not known whether the mahaldarni possesses certificates signed by officers. It is believed, however, that no certificates of this nature have at any rate been granted since the Lock Hospital Rules were cancelled.

The duties of the mahaldarnis practically continue the same.

15. As regards the proportion of prostitutes to British soldiers, the number is not regulated by the State, nor fixed in any way.

16. It is believed the rates of payment made are correct, but such payment is in no way regulated by the State. It is a matter of custom.

No cases are known of the amount due to a prostitute being recovered by stoppages from a man's pay.

17. It is very probable that the keepers of the brothels are extortionate.

It does not appear that the prostitutes are obliged from poverty to reside in the cantonment until too old for their trade, especially in view of the fact stated in the following paragraph that they are generally girls and many of them very young. In Meean Meer the prostitutes vary in age up to 40 years. It is roughly estimated that 50 per cent. are of the age 14 to 16, or so. But as regards their age, it should be borne in mind that women in India live with their husbands younger than this, and are very frequently mothers at 14 and 15 years old.

I deal with these points of age, &c., as they are raised in the Statement, though they do not lie within the powers of a Commanding or other Officer to deal with officially.

18. It seems evident that prostitutes did accompany regiments marching to Meean Meer, but further specific details have not been supplied. In the experience of the officer in temporary command of the station, guards were never supplied for this purpose, though the women were usually accompanied by a mahaldarni.

19. *With reference to B.*—Registered women were required to present themselves for examination bi-monthly; the examinations were not limited to women consorting with British soldiers only. The examination was made by a British medical officer. Each medical officer had, it appears, his own way of conducting the examination. Sometimes they were made in the presence of the native medical officer, mahaldarni or dhai, and sometimes only in the presence of the mahaldarni.

20. With regard to the feeling of the women regarding this inspection, a copy of the petition referred to in paragraph 9 of my No. 38-D., dated 15th instant, is attached (annexure D). This petition was presented in 1889 to the Cantonment Magistrate by the prostitutes, and states their willingness to be inspected and detained in hospital if found diseased.

The women assembled at a fixed time.

21. *With reference to C.*—Women were dismissed, if well, or detained in hospital, if diseased.

Detention was not ordered during the natural menstrual period, without disease.

Each patient receives subsistence allowance when detained in hospital.

22. *With reference to D*—If a woman failed to present herself for examination, the medical officer reported the fact to the Cantonment Magistrate, who probably fined her for non-attendance, and ordered here to attend or leave the cantonment.

If she left the hospital before being discharged she was liable to be fined.

A woman who had left the cantonment could not practise prostitution again in it, until she had been examined. There is no evidence to show whether the expulsion or exclusion of women from cantonment is tantamount to starvation or not.

23. *As to* "2."—The hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases was formerly exclusively used, under the name of the voluntary venereal hospital and contagious diseases ward for the treatment of venereal diseases, contracted by registered prostitutes.

Other classes of natives were treated in the "Provident Dispensary," situated in the sudder bazaar,* and superintended by the medical officer in charge of the "voluntary venereal" hospital. Followers are treated in the "followers' hospital." These hospitals were amalgamated in May 1892 into the "Cantonment General Hospital," though from want of funds the original buildings have to be made use of.

* Largely patronised.

24. All registered women, whether for the use of British or native soldier, or natives generally, were periodically examined.

The examination was not confined to women reserved for the use of British troops.

25. The above "Supplementary Report" should be read in connection with the report furnished under my letter No. 38-D, dated 15th instant, addressed to the Quarter-master-General in India.

ANNEXURE A.

From SURGEON-CAPTAIN W. F. TROTTER, Army Medical Staff, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, Dalhousie,—"*Cantonment Hospitals*," —(dated Amritsar, 12th June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to forward a statement showing the number of in and out patients treated in the Cantonment Hospital, Amritsar, during the months of January, February, and March 1892.

There was a voluntary inspection of the women held on the 1st and 15th of each month.

There was never any register, nor issue of any tickets, during the time I was in medical charge of the Cantonment Hospital.

ANNEXURE B.

Statement showing the number of in and out patients treated in Cantonment Hospital at Amritsar during the months of January, February, and March 1892.

Description of patients.	MALES.		FEMALES.		TOTAL.		REMARKS.
	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	Venereal diseases.	Other diseases.	
In-patients	—	—	2	2	2	2	We also had 5 cases of itch (scabies) under treatment during January and February 1892.
Out-patients	—	39	—	15	—	54	
Total in and out patients.	—	39	2	17	2	56	

W. F. TROTTER, *Surgeon-Captain, Army Medical Staff.*

AMRITSAR AND MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.
RAWALPINDI—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., COMMANDING RAWALPINDI DISTRICT.

ANNEXURE C.

Questions.	Answers.
Telegram to Surgeon-Captain Trotter, dated 19th June 1893, from Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.	*Telegram from Surgeon-Captain Trotter, dated 20th June 1893, to Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.*
Please wire replies immediately to following queries.	Women detained in hospital for disease only.
Were women detained in hospital for disease only or during natural menstrual period?	
3210 Were any steps taken for punishment of women not presenting themselves for examination, or leaving hospital before regularly discharged?	No steps taken for the punishment of women.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3004-B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, 28th June 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 2988-B., dated the 26th instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further reports* on the subject of the working of the rules for infectious and contagious diseases issued under the Cantonment Act of 1889, at Rawal Pindi.

*I.—Rawal Pindi District No. 172-C., dated 21st June 1883, and enclosures.
3220 II.—Rawal Pindi District No. 173-C., dated 22nd June 1893, and enclosures with 1 book.

From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. K. ELLES, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 172-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 21st June 1893).

IN my letter No. 171-C. of date it is stated that certain irregularities have been found to exist in the case of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi, with reference to the location of prostitutes in the regimental lines. The continuance of this practice up to the present time appeared to me so unaccountable that I considered it necessary to hold a special inquiry.

Enclosures.

1. *Minutes of Evidence.*
Questions 294 to 315.
3230 2. Roll of officers who have commanded the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi since 1888.

2. I accordingly proceeded to the Royal Artillery lines on the morning of the 20th instant, in company with Colonel Pennington, and examined the spot. The houses formerly occupied by the women (they had then been vacated) are at one end of a double row of followers' huts, situated between the Royal Horse Artillery stables and the bazaar, disconnected from both, but within the limits of the bazaar as defined by the boundary pillars. I was at first unable to ascertain how the women had got into these lines, but Sergeant-Major Curley, in his evidence given to-day, throw some light on the subject. It would appear that in 1888 these women were turned out of the regimental
3240 bazaar, but that subsequently, by permission of Major-General Sir T. D. Baker, Colonel Ford, Commanding the Royal Artillery at this station, allowed some prostitutes to occupy these disused huts.

3. As it appeared inexplicable how, in the face of the orders on the subject, and especially Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892, this irregularity could have been allowed to continue, I went from the lines to the Royal Artillery orderly-room, and examined the registers of letters. The record is as described in Captain Leslie's evidence of to-day. There are no records of any sort in the Royal Artillery office prior to the 1st January 1890. Before the 1st April 1890 the District Artillery
3250 Commander represented the Colonel on the Staff, and the records of the Local Command were filed in his office. On that date his office became that of the Colonel on the Staff. Captain Leslie joined as Adjutant about the same time and opened a confidential register in his own handwriting, which is properly kept, but is evidently imperfect.

4. There is no record in either the Confidential or the Ordinary register of Sir James Browne's demi-official letter of the 8th November 1890, or of any reply thereto, but in this

D

(نقل درخواست) بعدالت مجسٹریٹ صاحب بہادر میانیر دام اقبالہٗ

اصل درخواست پر کورٹ فیس چسپاں ہے

از

جناب عالے

فدویان کو بطور قدیمی کہلائی پرانا منظور ہے اور تا ایام بیماری کے ہر ایک طوائف کو خوراک سرکار سالگری - خواہ سرکار سے یومی یا امدن خود کہاوی - اور بنظیران جملہ طوائفان راضی ہین کہ مسماہ جیونی محکدارنی قدیمی مقرر فرمائی جاوی - اور ہر ایک ماہ دو دفعہ یعنی یکم - اور ۱۵ تاریخ کو دکہلائی ہوا کریں -

عرضی

جملہ طوائفان چکلہ صدر بازار میانیر ۹ر اکتوبر ۱۸۸۹ء

مسماہ کبجی طوائف - مسماہ لچمیا - مسماہ الفت - مسماہ نصیبن - مسماہ جیونی - مسماہ گوری
مسماہ بیگم - مسماہ بسو - مسماہ لچمی - مسماہ صاحب جان - مسماہ جیا جان - مسماہ نکسو
مسماہ لاڈو - مسماہ نناجان - مسماہ جنڈی - مسماہ ارجن - مسماہ مہین - مسماہ سلان
مسماہ بیگم کشمیرن -

بقلم اگیارام عرائض نویس خفیفہ میانیر

حکم

کیفیت روبرو پیش ہووی -

۹ اکتوبر ۱۸۸۹ء

دستخط انگریزی صاحب مجسٹریٹ بہادر جہاوئی میانیر

We are willing to undergo inspection & to be detained in Hospital should we be found diseased.

Our dietary expenses being borne by the Cantonment fund.

A woman chosen by us one Jewuni be appointed Matron.

True copy

(Sgd) G. K. Macpherson

C. M.

connection it should be observed that the Attock Camp of Exercise was going on at the time, and that Captain Leslie was away as Staff Officer to Colonel Yeatman-Biggs, who had handed over the Artillery Command at Rawal Pindi on the 14th November 1890 to Colonel Burgers (since retired). The replies of Commanding Officers to this reference were forwarded to you in original with my letter No. 26-C. of 29th December 1890, and a reference to the enclosures of that letter will show the purport of the report received from the Officer Commanding Royal Artillery; a copy of it has not been kept in the District Offices. 3260

5. Quartermaster-General's No. 5379-B. of 31st October 1891 is entered in the Confidential register. Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson was in command at the time, but the letter, forwarding without comment the answers of Officers Commanding Batteries to a reference from the District Staff Office, is signed by Major Baldock. The replies from the district were forwarded to you with my letter No. 11-C. of 10th January 1892.

6. Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. $\frac{420\text{-B}}{\text{Camp}}$ of 21st March 1892 is entered in the Confidential register as having been received on the 7th April, and is noted as "Circulated to Batteries."

7. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892, which may be considered as one of the most important in the whole series, is not entered in the Confidential register. It was duly received on the 8th August, two days subsequent to Colonel Anderson's departure on two months' privilege leave, and while Major Coxhead was in temporary command. This latter officer had only a few days previously joined from England. Captain Leslie had proceeded on 10 days' leave of absence, and Lieutenant Pack-Beresford was acting for him. The communication is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note to the effect that it is confidential; the action taken is marked "Copy to Batteries and Companies," "Received 15-8 and copy filed." The copy was filed in the ordinary file. This is the last document which would be communicated to regiments, until the two communications of last month correcting this circular. 3270

8. Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson is not now in this district, but it is reasonable to conclude that Circular 20 did not come to his notice on his return from leave, as Captain Leslie, who had immediate charge of the office, remained in ignorance of it, though it is difficult to understand how it could have escaped this officer's attention. Major Coxhead was so new to the country and to the subject that the importance of the circular may well have passed unobserved by him, although it was incumbent upon him to have seen that its provisions were complied with; moreover, the fact of the presence of the prostitutes in the lines, though perhaps unknown to him at the time, must later on have come to his knowledge. 3280

9. It is difficult to apportion the blame, but the examination of the records shows that sufficient care was not taken systematically with confidential correspondence. Such documents are usually kept by the Commanding Officer himself in a special box, but in this case they remained in the custody of the Adjutant and were insufficiently protected. In a well-regulated office it should have been impossible for a confidential document of this kind to have escaped observation or record in the Confidential register and box, without speedy detection of the error. 3290

10. During this enquiry I have been unable to examine Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, and without hearing what he has to say I am unwilling to express a positive opinion as to his responsibility for the neglect of the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in the matter under reference. Having regard, however, to the position he has held, first in Command of the station of Campbellpore in 1891, and afterwards of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi until April last, I cannot but conclude that he must have been practically acquainted with the wishes and intentions of Government in respect of the application of the Cantonment Act and the regulations framed in accordance therewith. In this view I cannot but think that he is chiefly responsible for the perpetuation of a system which was evidently opposed to the orders of Government. Moreover, it was clearly his duty to make himself acquainted on his return from leave with the orders which had been received during his absence. 3300

11. In a secondary degree Captain Leslie, as Adjutant, cannot be absolved from sharing in the responsibility attaching to his Commanding Officer.

12. For Major Coxhead's want of action it has been shown there is some excuse, but he cannot be altogether acquitted of carelessness in passing by without notice and enquiry an order that, on the face of it, showed that it demanded the immediate and close attention of all Commanding Officers. 3310

13. This branch of the enquiry deals with a matter of discipline, but it is so closely connected with the investigation into the working of the Cantonment Act, held under orders received from you, that I have addressed it to you instead of to the Adjutant-General. The minutes of evidence attached, although numbered as part of the general inquiry, deal only with the question treated of in this letter.

Proceedings of a Special Enquiry into certain Irregularities in the Royal Artillery Bazaar.

The numbering of the questions and answers is continuous from previous enquiry.

Examination of Captain Leslie, Adjutant, Royal Artillery, re-called.

Q. 294.—Have you recorded in the Artillery Office the following Circular No. 3 of 12th May 1888?

A. 294.—No. The Royal Artillery Office, as it at present exists, was not formed until 1st April 1890. I was appointed Adjutant of the Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, on the 14th July 1890.

Q. 295. Have you anything previous to that date?

A. 295.—No.

Q. 296.—Have you any note of receipt of Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 4910-B., dated 8th November 1890?

A. 296.—No record of it or of any reply.

Q. 297.—Who was Commanding Officer, Royal Artillery, at that time?

A. 297.—Lieutenant-Colonel Burgess.

Q. 298.—Have you any note of papers received under Assistant Adjutant-General, Rawal Pindi District, No. 651-C. of the 23rd November 1891?

A. 298.—Yes.

Q. 299.—Who was Commanding Officer at that time?

A. 299.—Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson.

Q. 300.—Have you a copy of his reply?

A. 300.—Yes. Battery replies were forwarded without comment.

Q. 301.—Have you note of Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 21st March 1892?

A. 301.—Yes, I have; copy filed after circulation to Officers Commanding Batteries.

Q. 302.—Is there any need of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 11th July 1892 in the Royal Artillery Office?

A. 302.—Yes, there is; the Circular was received by Royal Artillery—Major Coxhead was Commanding on the 8th August 1892—and circulated to Officers Commanding Batteries by Lieutenant Pack-Beresford, officiating for Captain Leslie, Adjutant, who was absent on 10 days' leave. Major Coxhead had taken Command on the 6th Augnst 1892 from Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, who was on leave till 3rd October. This document is not entered in the Confidential register, which is in my handwriting, and is continuous from 3rd September 1890 to date. It is entered in the ordinary register in red ink, with a note that it is confidential. Action taken—marked as "Copy to Batteries and Companies," "Returned 15th August and copy filed." It was filed in the ordinary file. But for this, I must have seen it on my return from leave, and I should then have entered it in the Confidential file.

Q. 303.—What officers have been in Command of the Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, since 1888?

A. 303.—I hand in a nominal roll of officers who have been in Command, specifying dates.

Q. 304.—Since when have prostitutes been located in the disused syces' lines in the bazaar?

A. 304.—They were there before I became Adjutant.

Q. 305.—You are aware that these huts are within the limits of the regimental bazaar?

A. 305.—When I gave evidence at Murree on the 12th instant—and in answer to question No. 55, I replied to the best of my recollection, but under a misapprehension. I now find they are just within the bazaar boundaries.

RAWALPINDI—CAPTAIN LESLIE, ADJUTANT, ROYAL ARTILLERY—
SERGEANT-MAJOR J. CURLEY, ROYAL ARTILLERY.

ROYAL ARTILLERY, RAWAL PINDI.

RAWAL PINDI, 21ST JUNE 1893.

Nominal Roll of Officers Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi, since 1888.

NAME.	Assumed Command.	Relinquished.	REMARKS.
Colonel H. J. E. Ford	1887	31st March 1890	(Retired.)
Colonel A. G. Yeatman-Biggs	1st April 1890	13th November 1890.	
Colonel H. M. Burgess	14th November 1890	25th January 1891	(Retired.)
Lieutenant-Colonel Molesworth	26th January 1891	14th September 1891.	
Major Baldwin	15th September 1891	8th October 1891	(Retired.)
Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Anderson	9th October 1891	30th March 1893.	
Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot	5th April 1893.		

(Sd.) J. H. LESLIE, *Captain,*
Adjutant, Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

Examination of Sergeant-Major John Curley, Royal Artillery.

Q. 306.—How long have you been Sergeant-Major in Rawal Pindi? 3380

A. 306.—Since October 1887.

Q. 307.—Do you remember the new rules about prostitutes in 1888?

A. 307.—I do not remember the rules; but I recollect orders being issued in 1888 with reference to prostitutes in the regimental bazaar. Prior to that date the names of prostitutes were entered in the general register of occupants of the bazaar, their trade being entered against their names in a similar manner to that of other residents. About April 1888 they were turned out of the regimental bazaar. There had been no special register of prostitutes, nor did they receive tickets or licenses. When the orders for the expulsion of prostitutes was given, I turned out all the women who were shewn on the general register as prostitutes. 3390

Shortly after this some prostitutes encamped near the village of Adhra, which is in the vicinity of the Royal Artillery lines, but outside the cantonment boundaries.

The villagers made a complaint of their living there, and this being represented to the General Officer Commanding, the latter came round and arranged with the Officer Commanding Royal Artillery that they should occupy a portion of the disused grass-cutters' lines. The remaining huts in these lines were subsequently occupied by followers of "B" Battery, who were removed from lines which were considered to be too near the stables and which had been ordered to be destroyed.

I remember that at the time these grass-cutters' lines were considered to be outside the boundaries of the bazaar proper. The boundary pillars have since been repaired, and 3400
it appears that these grass-cutters' lines are now within the bazaar boundary pillars. But they have nothing to do with the regimental bazaar.

Q. 308.—Do you know who built these houses?

A. 308.—They were there when I came to Rawal Pindi, and I do not know by whom they were built. They were disused grass-cutters' huts and were falling into ruin. They have since been kept in repair by the occupants as is usual.

Q. 309.—Since the occupation of these huts by prostitutes has any list or register been kept of them?

A. 309.—No. No register or list has ever been made out of them. The women were free to come and go as they pleased; and I received no orders to supervise them in any way. 3410

Q. 310.—Did you ever send them up for examination?

A. 310.—No; beyond knowing that they were there, I had nothing to do with them. At times, when walking round the lines on duty, I have observed that the prostitutes' houses were empty and have been told that they had gone for examination by the doctor; this must have been an arrangement entirely among themselves and their mahaldarni.

Q. 311.—A book containing lists of prostitutes for examination has been put in; do you know anything about it?

A. 311.—I sent a native to the mahaldarni for the book, which was brought to me.

Examination of Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, Commanding Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi.

3420 *Q.* 312.—When did you assume Command of the Royal Artillery at Rawal Pindi?

A. 312.—About the 5th April 1893.

Q. 313.—Were you aware that some prostitutes were living in some disused huts within the precincts of the Royal Artillery bazaar?

A. 313.—Soon after my arrival I visited the bazaar, accompanied by the regimental Sergeant-Major, who told me that there were some prostitutes living there. I said I hoped no existing regulations were being infringed. He replied, no, the women were free to come and go as they pleased, and that we had nothing to do with them.

Q. 314.—Had you any conversation with Captain Leslie on the subject?

3430 *A.* 314.—Yes, I asked him to find out what rules existed on the subject, and to let me know. He replied that he had found out that they should not live there. Accordingly I ordered them to be turned out.

Q. 315.—Is there any connection now existing direct or indirect with the prostitutes?

A. 315.—None whatever.

From Major-General Sir W. K. Elles, K.C.B., Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 173-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 22nd June 1893).

After my letter No. 170-C. of the 14th instant was closed, Hospital Assistant Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain, who had been sent for, arrived from Meean Meer. As he is an important witness in the case, I proceeded with his examination and annex his evidence.

3440 2. Having been instructed to furnish categorical replies to all the allegations formulated in a general form in respect of Indian cantonments, I found it necessary to make further enquiry. For this purpose I proceeded to Rawal Pindi; the further examination of witnesses taken there on the 19th instant is annexed. I also, in company with Colonel Pennington, Commanding at Rawal Pindi, visited all the bazaars in Rawal Pindi, *viz.*, the Lalkurti, the Artillery, and the sudder, and inspected the quarters occupied by the prostitutes. In the case of the Artillery, the women had recently been turned out. From the information thus obtained I formulated my categorical replies. One point should be noted. It was found by personal inspection that the place where the women had been residing in the Royal Artillery lines was in fact included within the bazaar precincts and was not outside those limits, as previously stated in evidence.

3450 3. In addition to the books already sent to head-quarters, I now forward a book, called the "Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital Diary Register, from 25th October 1883." The pages of this book are loose, but the book is complete. The entries constitute the diary of the medical officer and vary in form according to the habit of noting of the particular medical officer. The record is intermittent. The book was in fact closed on 4th September 1888, when the lock hospital was abolished (*vide* entry of that date), and appears to have been taken into use again in 1891 to utilize its blank pages. Some entries which bear on the evidence are marked in red. Owing to the varying nature of the entries, no exact comparison can be made, but a perusal of the notes in 1887 and in 1891 will show that the numbers examined under the old system greatly exceed the number of examinations since 1888. In the month of April 1887 there are 510 examinations noted. When it is considered that the number of British troops quartered at Rawal Pindi has greatly
3460 increased of late years, I submit that the falling off in the number of women examined (to say 200 per month) is evidence of the voluntary nature of recent examinations as compared with the procedure before 1888.

4. I submit a letter from Colonel Pennington, C.B., now commanding this station, recording his opinion as to the state of the question at the present time. In addition to all I have already recorded, it may be considered sufficient if I state that, after personal enquiry

and inspection, I confirm all Colonel Pennington has said. The printed "Minutes of Evidence" forwarded with your No. 2572-B., dated 3rd June 1893, are herewith returned.

List of Enclosures accompanying letter No. 173-C., dated Rawal Pindi, 22nd June 1893.

I.—Minutes of Evidence, questions No. 147 to No. 293.

II.—List of officers (but whose evidence is not recorded) examined as to the state of things now obtaining at Rawal Pindi in regard to prostitutes:

III.—Letter No. 12-C.M., from Colonel C. R. Pennington, C.B., Colonel of the Staff, Commanding at Rawal Pindi.

IV.—Diary Register, Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital, from 1883.

V.—Printed "Minutes of Evidence" (five parts).

List of Officers (but whose evidence is not recorded) examined as to the state of things now obtaining at Rawal Pindi in regard to prostitutes.

1. Captain J. Walter, Commanding Wing, 1st Battalion, Devonshire Regiment.

2. Captain Gloster, Acting Adjutant and Quartermaster, Wing, 1st Battalion Devonshire Regiment.

3. Major Clerk, temporarily Commanding the Queen's Bays.

4. Lieutenant and Quartermaster Charters, Queen's Bays.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, Commanding Royal Artillery.

From COLONEL C. R. PENNINGTON, C.B., Colonel on the Staff, Commanding at Rawal Pindi, to the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Rawal Pindi District.—(No. 12-C.M., dated Rawal Pindi, 21st June 1893).

WITH reference to the part of telegram No. 2675 of the 8th instant, from the Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding the Rawal Pindi District, which directs that Officers Commanding Stations concerned in the matter under reference are to state what they consider true in the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Secretary of State's Committee, and whether the positive orders issued since 1888 have been in any way disregarded, I have the honour to state that I only took over Command of the Station of Rawal Pindi on the 6th of April last, so I do not consider it in my province to make any remarks prior to that date, the subject having been most fully enquired into, and reported on, by the Major-General Commanding.

2. During the short period I have been in Command at Rawal Pindi, I believe, with one exception, the rules and regulations published from time to time since 1888 have been most strictly attended to and carried out.

3. The exception referred to is that of the Royal Artillery, and the fact of the prostitutes being located in the regimental bazaar was not known to me.

These women have now been removed from the bazaar, and at this present time I can confidently state that in every respect, and by all corps stationed here, all orders on the subject are most punctiliously carried out.

Examination of Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain, 1st Grade Hospital Assistant.

Q. 147.—You were the Hospital Assistant of the Cantonment Hospital, Rawal Pindi, in January and February 1892?

A. 147.—Yes, I was at that hospital for about two months, from 23rd December 1891 till 14th February 1892; but I was requested to remain on duty till the 20th.

Q. 148.—Are you a graduate of Calcutta, an M.D., and do you speak English?

A. 148.—No, I am not a graduate of Calcutta, nor an M.D. I can speak English.

RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 149.—Do you remember two European ladies visiting the male ward for contagious diseases?

A. 149.—Yes. On or about the 20th February 1892 I saw one European lady and one Eurasian. The Eurasian spoke Hindustani very well and was interpreting.

Q. 150.—Were there not two European ladies?

A. 150.—No. There was only one. She was a tall thin woman; between 28 and 30 years of age. I think she said she was a doctor.

Q. 151.—Did you tell them you were an M.D. and graduate of Calcutta?

A. 151.—No, neither.

Q. 152.—You saw those ladies and conducted them into hospital, and gave them certain information?

A. 152.—No. I was in my house and was called. I found them in the hospital. They were reading the hospital books kept on the table in the verandah. I had handed over charge that morning. There was no other Native Assistant about the place.

Q. 153.—Did they ask you any questions?

A. 153.—Yes, they asked me who was in charge of the hospital; what women attended the hospital, and all sorts of questions.

Q. 154.—Did you say that only venereal cases were admitted there, or treated there, and only women?

A. 154.—Yes, that only venereal cases were treated there, and only women.

Q. 155.—Did you point to the examining room?

A. 155.—No.

Q. 156.—Did the ladies examine the medicines in the examining room?

A. 156.—No, not in my presence. They may have done so before my arrival.

Q. 157.—Have you ever known women to be treated at this hospital for any complaint except venereal?

A. 157.—They have been treated, but not in my time. The books will show.

Q. 158.—Were there other medicines besides those required for venereal diseases?

A. 158.—Yes, in the almirah.

Q. 159.—Did these ladies examine the draft report for 1891?

A. 159.—No, not in my presence.

Q. 160.—Do you know the report in question?

A. 160.—Yes.

Q. 161.—What was it like?

A. 161.—I think it was entered in the book.

Q. 162.—If it was not entered in the book, where would it have been?

A. 162.—In loose pages.

Q. 163.—Would it have been entered in the same book as the previous Annual Report?

A. 163.—It would have been.

Q. 164.—Among the records of the hospital was there any register or list of prostitutes?

A. 164.—Yes, a list was kept of those who came to be examined, but not of all the prostitutes in the sudder.

Q. 165.—Were the regiments to which they belonged specified in the hospital list?

A. 165.—No, we kept no list of any except those who came from the sudder. The mahaldarnis brought lists of regimental women, which were returned to them.

Q. 166.—By whom were the lists made out?

A. 166.—I cannot say; only two lists used to come, one from British Infantry and one from Royal Artillery; one was always in a book, and one on loose paper. I cannot say which was which. I think these were the only prostitutes that came regularly, except those from the sudder.

RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 167.—Were the regimental lists signed?

A. 167.—No, except by the medical officer, before being returned to the mahaldarnis who brought them.

Q. 168.—Then there was no general list of prostitutes, or lists by regiments, but only of those who attended from the sudder?

A. 168.—No general list, or regimental list, but only of those who attended from the sudder.

Q. 169.—Did you tell the ladies that all women consorting with Europeans must be examined and registered with the Cantonment Magistrate?

A. 169.—No; I did not tell them so.

Q. 170.—Did you say that those women who were for the European soldiers were obliged to be examined, but those for the Native soldiers came only when they pleased?

A. 170.—No; I did not tell them so.

Q. 171.—Was it a fact that all women consorting with European soldiers had to be examined and registered?

A. 171.—I know of no register of any sort.

Q. 172.—As to the examination, how many women used to come?

A. 172.—About 25 to 35, including those that came from regiments and the sudder bazaar.

Q. 173.—Did they come voluntarily?

A. 173.—I cannot say.

Q. 174.—Who brought them?

A. 174.—Those who came from the sudder came by themselves; those who came from regiments came with their mahaldarnis.

Q. 175.—Do you suppose that all women who consorted with European soldiers came for examination?

A. 175.—No, not all, but most of them.

Q. 176.—Do European soldiers consort with women in the sudder?

A. 176.—Yes, I believe so.

Q. 177.—Did all such women come up for examination?

A. 177.—No; not all of them. There are numbers of women who are in fact prostitutes, who are known under designations, such as dancing girls, kept women, &c.

Q. 178.—Do you suppose you had a list of all women known as prostitutes?

A. 178.—Yes, of most of them. The list was in existence when I came to the hospital and was corrected from time to time by me agreeably to the information brought by the dhai after her visits to the mahaldarni.

Q. 179.—If the women on the list did not come for examination, did you send for them.

A. 179.—No. The Medical Officer wrote a letter to the Cantonment Magistrate.

Q. 180.—Can you remember the form of letter?

A. 180.—Yes, sometimes it was that she was supposed to be suffering from disease; sometimes simply that she was absent, and requesting that she might be sent for examination.

Q. 181.—Who wrote these letters?

A. 181.—Sometimes the Medical Officer, and sometimes I wrote them for his signature by his order, and in all cases the information was taken from the book.

Q. 182.—When these reports were made to the Cantonment Magistrate, did the women attend?

A. 182.—Yes; they always attended except in one or two cases, in which it was reported that the women had absconded from cantonment.

RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 183.—Did they come by themselves ?

A. 183.—Sometimes they came in consequence of having been told to do so, and sometimes in custody of the police.

Q. 184.—When they were examined they were kept in hospital if found diseased ?

A. 184.—If they were found diseased, they were kept in hospital—that is, they had no option, but had to remain.

Q. 185.—If they did not wish to remain, could they go away ?

A. 185.—No, they had to remain.

Q. 186.—What was to prevent them going away ?

A. 186—The Medical Officer ordered that they were not to leave the hospital compound, and they were detained till cured. The compound door was locked, and there was a chowkidar on the gate.

Q. 187.—Did you get these orders from the Medical Officer direct ?

A. 187.—The Medical Officer ordered the women to remain until they were well. I was in subordinate medical charge of the hospital, and I saw that the Medical Officer's orders were carried out, I saw that the women were kept there.

Q. 188.—Then they never left till they were cured ?

A. 188.—No ; in some cases they were allowed to go, if they said they were leaving the cantonments for good.

Q. 189.—Who was the chowkidar, what were his duties ? Did he wear uniform ?

A. 189.—He was a hospital servant, and his duties were to prevent people from coming in and prostitutes from leaving the hospital. Females were allowed in, but no men. He did not wear uniform.

Q. 190.—Did you explain to the ladies the nature of the hospital ?

A. 190.—No ; they did not ask me any questions of this nature.

Q. 191. Did they ask you were men ever treated ?

A. 191.—No.

Q. 192.—You were aware that there was a male hospital close by ?

A. 192.—Yes ; had they asked me, I would have told them.

Q. 193.—Did you tell them that women were obliged to come up for examination ?

A. 193.—No ; I do not remember that I did tell them.

Q. 194.—Did you tell them that women who were sick were compulsorily detained in hospital ?

A. 194.—They did not ask me.

Q. 195. Did you explain to these ladies the nature of the annual report ?

A. 195.—When I arrived, the book was in their hands. They said " we have been reading these reports ; " they did not ask any questions about these reports, but simply, whom it was sent to ; and I replied to the Cantonment Magistrate, that I had prepared it this year, and in previous years my predecessor had.

Q. 196.—When women were examined were they ever detained because they were found to be in their menstrual period, but without disease ?

A. 196.—I could not say without referring to the Admission and Discharge Book. (After a pause.) Yes, I think if they said they were in their menstrual period, they were not examined, and were sent back to the bazaar.

Q. 197.—During detention in hospital what allowance did each woman receive ?

A. 197.—I forget the exact sum, I think it was from 2 to 3½ annas. It was for subsistence.

Q. 198.—Did you ever see prostitutes with Register tickets at Rawal Pindi ?

A. 198.—No.

RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT.

Q. 199.—Have you ever been to the place in the bazaar where the prostitutes reside? Is it called a chakla ?

A. 199.—I have ; it is called a chakla.

Q. 200.—What do you mean by a chakla ?

A. 200.—A place in which prostitutes are living; it may be an open street, or within an enclosure. I think the women rent the houses ; I do not know to whom they belong.

Q. 201.—Does this describe the place at Rawal Pindi, inhabited by the women frequented by European soldiers ?

A. 201.—It does.

Q. 202.—Is everybody free to come and go, both the women and others ?

A. 202. Yes, women and men of all classes come and go freely.

Q. 203.—Then the women living there may be visited by natives as well as Europeans ?

A. 203.—Yes, native soldiers as well as Europeans go there—there is no other place for them to go to.

Q. 204. Then there is absolutely no distinction between the women frequented by British soldiers and those consorted with by native soldiers ?

A. 204.—No, they are consorted with indifferently by all, British soldiers, Native soldiers, followers, and others.

Q. 205.—Then you would not say that some women were set apart for British soldiers and others for natives ?

A. 205.—No, the women used to call themselves so, but it is not so ; they receive all classes of men.

Q. 206.—Were women who were not called British soldiers' women, obliged to come to be examined ?

A. 206.—They all used to come.

Q. 207.—You say you had certain conversation with these ladies—did you say that 45 women were regularly examined, and that 35 of them were for the Europeans?

A. 207.—No ; I did not.

Q. 208.—And that these 35 were obliged to come, while with the others it was optional ?

A. 208.—No ; not at all.

Q. 209.—Did you also say that women consorting with European soldiers must be registered by the Cantonment Magistrate ?

A. 209.—No ; as a matter of fact they are not so.

Q. 210.—Did you say that they must be regularly examined, if they consorted with the European soldiers ?

A. 210.—No ; nothing about European soldiers ; they did not ask me any question of that sort ; but they asked me if the women were regularly examined, and, I think, I said yes.

Q. 211.—The European lady asked you some questions. Did she ask you why there were no cases of secondary syphilis in the hospital books.

A. 211.—No, I don't think she asked me that question.

Q. 212.—Then you did not answer to her "that they were not there because we send them out of the cantonment to the Civil Hospital."

A. 212.—No, it is not the fact ; we never send cases to the Civil Hospital."

Q. 213.—Would you deal with cases of secondary syphilis in the Cantonment Hospital ?

A. 213.—Yes, if they came there. I do not think there were any cases while I was in the hospital. But we certainly would never send them to the Civil Hospital if they had come. On secondary consideration I think there was one case of secondary syphilis during the six weeks I was in the Rawal Pindi Hospital.

RAWALPINDI—SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN, 1ST GRADE HOSPITAL ASSISTANT—CAPTAIN DENNYS, CANTONMENT MAGISTRATE—SURGEON-MAJOR MAWSON, I.M.S.

17th June 1893.

SHEIKH TAJUDDIN HUSSAIN recalled, and states that he wishes to correct some of the answers he made in his examination of the preceding day.

"With reference to my answers [18 to 21] I wish to modify the statements which I
3710 made yesterday. I have been considering what I stated, and I find that I confused in my mind the practice of Rawal Pindi Hospital with that of the hospital to which I proceeded in February of last year. I was only some six weeks at Rawal Pindi Hospital. I now wish to say that at Rawal Pindi there was no list of sudder bazaar prostitutes in the hospital; information regarding the women in the sudder was obtained from the dhai, and action taken was wholly from this source."

With reference to my answer to question 27, I wish to say—
"None came from the sudder bazaar except those sent for on a report by the dhai that they were diseased."

With reference to my answer to question 30, I wish to say—
"Only those women came who were sent for."

3720 With reference to my answer to question 31, I wish to say—
"There was no list."

With reference to my answer to question 32, I wish to say—
"I made a mistake, there was no list at Rawal Pindi Hospital; it was in another hospital."

With reference to my answers to question 33 and 34, I wish to say—
"The information of suspected disease of women in the sudder was obtained from the dhai, and without such information no action was taken. No women ever came from the sudder unless sent for through the Cantonment Magistrate or through the influence of the dhai."

3730 With reference to my answer to question 57, *see* reply to question 27 corrected.

When I answered question 61, I was not referring to the sudder bazaar.

The whole of the evidence I gave yesterday, I have had read over to me, and, except in those parts where I have made corrections, I confirm it in all particulars. I was examined about a period 16 months ago, and as I have said, I was only six weeks in the Cantonment Hospital.

Captain Dennys, Cantonment Magistrate, Rawal Pindi, recalled—

Q. 214.—Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain in his examination has made some statements which affect your procedure (read those portions); have you any thing to say?

3740 *A.* 214.—With reference to the statement of Sheikh Tajuddin regarding prostitutes being brought by the police to the hospital, this must refer, and can only refer, to women who were reported as suffering, or supposed to be suffering, from venereal disease. The only action I could take on a report from the Medical Officer of this nature would be to request the Police Inspector to give these women the prescribed option of going to hospital or leaving the cantonments within 24 hours. If these women, referred to, were seen at the hospital with the police, it must have been that they had consented to go to hospital, and that the police accompanied them to see that they fulfilled their engagements.

Surgeon Major Mawson, I.M.S., recalled—

Q. 215.—Sheikh Tajuddin Hussain in his examination has made some statements
3750 which affect your procedure (read those portions); have you anything to say?

A. 215.—His statement that diseased women were compelled to remain in hospital till cured is incorrect. Any woman found diseased was admitted into hospital unless she objected to remain; if she did so, I invariably pointed out to her the advantages of treatment in hospital, and told her that if she left she must leave cantonments, as she could not be allowed to propagate disease by continuing prostitution in cantonments. This was also my procedure with regard to women already under treatment in hospital who wished to leave before being cured. It is quite true that I gave orders that no patient was to be admitted, or allowed to leave, without my special permission. This I consider was absolutely necessary to prevent bribery. The chowkidar's duties were not only those of a
3760 durwan, but he was a general custodian of Government property. The door was kept locked to prevent loose characters from entering and consorting with the patients.

And, of course, it was his duty to see that the women did not leave the hospital without my orders. I may also state that I sometimes allowed the patients out to see their friends for a few hours, the dhai accompanying them to see that they did not consort with any men.

RAWALPINDI—SERGEANT E. WINTER, SANITARY INSPECTOR, SUDDER BAZAAR, RAWALPINDI—DAROGAH RAM-U-DIN OF THE LALKURTI BAZAAR.

Examination of Pensioned Sergeant E. Winter, Sanitary Inspector, Sudder Bazaar, Rawal Pindi, dated Rawal Pindi, 19th June 1893.

Q. 216.—What are your duties?
A. 216.—I have to look after the sanitation of the sudder bazaar.

Q. 217.—You are familiar with the localities of the sudder bazaar? 3770
A. 217.—Yes.

Q. 218.—Is there any particular place in the sudder where the prostitutes live?
A. 218.—They mostly reside together in a block of buildings which was formerly a chakla; some of them live elsewhere, wherever they please. The houses are private property, owned by natives, and the prostitutes make their own arrangements.

Q. 219.—Do they all pay rent?
A. 219.—Yes.

Q. 220.—Are any of the houses occupied by prostitutes the property of Government, or of the Cantonment authorities? 3780
A. 220.—None.

Q. 221.—Are houses occupied by prostitutes numbered?
A. 221.—Yes; all houses in the bazaar are numbered consecutively from 1 up to 2 or 3 thousand.

Q. 222.—Whether a house is occupied by prostitutes or any other persons, the number remains the same, and has no reference to the tenant?
A. 222.—The number is connected with the registry of houses, and has nothing to do with the fact of a prostitute residing their; the numbering does not change with change of tenant.

Q. 223.—Is there any case in which more than one number is assigned to a house in which prostitutes reside, that is that the rooms inside are numbered? 3790
A. 223.—No; there is only one number for each house, and it may contain any number of tenants; there are some with two, some with three and four.

Q. 224.—Are the prostitutes residing in the sudder exclusively set apart for the use of British soldiers?
A. 224.—No.

Q. 225.—Or for native soldiers?
A. 225.—No; all prostitutes are public for any one, either European or Native, who go to visit them.

Q. 226.—Have you anything whatever to do with the prostitutes living in the sudder?
A. 226.—Nothing, beyond seeing that they keep the place clean. 3800

Q. 227.—Are you the only European subordinate officer employed in the sudder bazaar?
A. 227.—Yes; I have under me a chowdry, two jemadar sweepers, one chuprassie, and one jemadar bhishty; none of these men have anything to do with prostitutes as prostitutes.

Q. 228.—Are these women free to come and go as they please, or leave the cantonments?
A. 228.—Yes; they can come and go in or out of cantonments as they please. At this time of year there are comparatively few in the sudder, many of them having gone to the hills, but they get no permission to go. 3810

Q. 229.—Are there any police or guard specially told off to look after the prostitutes?
A. 229.—No.

Q. 230.—The answers you have given now apply to the present time; do they apply equally to last year, say, in February 1892?
A. 230.—Yes; ever since I came here, about June 1891, there has been no change; they are now as when I found them.

Examination of Darogah Ran-u-din of the Lalkurti Bazaar.

Q. 231.—You are in charge of the Lalkurti Bazaar?
A. 231.—Yes; I have charge of all the cantonments outside the sudder bazaar.

Q. 232.—What establishment have you under you? 3820
A. 232.—For the Lalkurti Bazaar I have one Police Serjeant, and menial establishment.

Q. 233.—Is there any particular place in the Lalkurti Bazaar where the prostitutes live?

A. 233.—Before 1888 there was a street where they were obliged to live, and they live there still of their own free will. The houses are the property of bunniahs, and they pay rent for them.

Q. 234.—Do any live rent free?

A. 234.—The owners take good care to make them pay in advanre ever since about a year ago, when the Cantonment Magistrate refused to entertain a suit for non-payment of rent, on the grounds that the tenant was a prostitute, a decision that was upheld by the Chief Court of the Punjab.

Q. 235.—Are any of the houses occupied by prostitutes the property of Government, or of the Cantonment authorities?

A. 235.—No.

Q. 236.—Are houses occupied by prostitutes numbered?

A. 236.—Yes; all houses in the bazaar are numbered; those occupied by the prostitutes are not specially numbered.

Q. 237.—Whether a house is occupied by prostitutes or any other persons, the number remains the same, and has no reference to the tenant?

A. 237.—The number of the house has no connection with the tenant.

Q. 238.—Are the women distinguished by any number? or are they registered?

A. 238.—They are not numbered. There is no registry.

Q. 239.—Are the prostitutes residing in the Lalkurti Bazaar set exclusevely apart for the use of British soldiers?

A. 239.—No; they are for all classes alike.

Q. 240.—Are the women free to come and go as they please, or to leave the cantonments?

A. 240.—Yes; they come and go as they please, without asking leave.

Q. 241.—Are there any police or guards specially told off to look after the prostitutes?

A. 241.—No; there are no special guards; the police are only in the bazaar generally to keep order.

Q. 242.—Have you anything to do with the prostitutes going up for medical examination?

A. 242.—No, nothing whatever; they go or not as they please.

Q. 243.—Are the women under mahaldarnis?

A. 243.—Yes; there are two mahaldarnis—one resides with the prostitutes in the Cavalry side, and one on the Infantry side. It is a relic of the old system, but the women and mahaldarnis are entirely free agents. They are supported by the prostitutes, to whom they are attached; they are not paid by regiment, nor of course by Government, or the Cantonment authorities; the women support them.

Q. 244.—The answers you have given, now apply to the present time. Do they apply equally to last year—say in February 1892?

A. 244.—Yes; there has been no change so far as the prostitutes are concerned, but the bazaar used to be in regimental charge; since about two years ago it has been under the Cantonment Magistrate.

Examination of Amir Chand, Chowdry.

Q. 245.—How long have you been chowdry of the sudder bazaar?

A. 245.—For about thirteen years.

Q. 246.—Where do the prostitutes reside?

A. 246.—They reside in what was formerly a chakla, and which they call one still, though it is not so. However, they do not exclusively live there, but in other places as well.

Q. 247.—Whose property is this so-called chakla?

A. 247.—There are various owners; some own two houses, some four, some more—none are the property of Government. The women all pay rent by private arrangement with the owners.

Q. 248.—Are there any women exclusively set apart for British soldiers?

A. 248.—No; they are all for the world in general.

Q. 249.—Are there any set apart for sepoys?

A. 249.—No; they do entirely as they please.

Q. 250.—Are the houses of prostitutes numbered in any distinguishing manner?

A. 250.—Every taxable tenant has a number, for taxation purposes, throughout the bazaar. There is no distinction between those of prostitutes and others.

Q. 251.—Are the prostitutes under any control?

A. 251.—No one has anything to say to them; they come and go as they please.

Q. 252.—For how long has the state of affairs that you have explained existed?

A. 252.—This state of affairs has obtained since 1888, when the lock hospitals were abolished; since then there has been no change.

Examination of Mulraj.

Q. 253. Are you a house-holder in the Lalkurti Bazaar, and do you own any house occupied by prostitutes.

A. 253.—I am a house-holder in the Lalkurti Bazaar, and my houses were occupied by prostitutes up to recently. They are empty now as the women have gone to the hills. Last year the same thing happened. I have also four houses on the side of the cavalry 3890 which are occupied.

Q. 254.—Do all the prostitutes in the Lalkurti Bazaar occupy houses and pay rent in the same manner as they do to you?

A. 254.—Yes. They all rent from house-holders, and pay rent like other tenants.

Q. 255.—Does Government or do the Cantonment authorities own any of the houses in which prostitutes live?

A. 255.—There are no Government houses in the bazaar, all are private property.

Q. 256.—Can you rent the houses you own to any one you like?

A. 256.—Yes, there is no restriction. I can let to whom I please.

Q. 257.—Can you eject a prostitute tenant or recover arrears of rent from her? 3900

A. 257.—No. The court will not recognise my suit for recovery of arrears of rent from a prostitute. I have never filed a suit for ejectment. When the Rifles occupied these lines I obtained my rent, for all my eight houses, in advance from the mahaldarni.

Examination of Rahim Baksh.

Q. 258.—Are you a house-holder in the sudder bazaar? Do you own any houses in which prostitutes live?

A. 258.—Yes; I own several houses in the bazaar, and prostitutes reside in 7 or 8 of them.

Q. 259.—How long have these houses, which are occupied by prostitutes, been in your possession?

A. 259.—About two months, but my father owned them for twelve or fourteen years. 3910

Q. 260.—Who owns other houses lived in by prostitutes? Are any of them the property of the State or of the Cantonment fund?

A. 260.—They belong to various people (naming seven or eight). None belong to Government or to the Cantonment authorities.

Q. 261.—Who pays the rent of such house, and do they all pay rent?

A. 261.—The 'Kunja tog' (*i.e.*, males and females of the prostitute class); they all pay rent.

Q. 262.—Are the houses in which prostitutes live distingushed by any special mark?

A. 262.—No; they bear the same kind of numbers as other houses do.

Surgeon-Major Mawson, recalled. 3920

Q. 263.—When women were detained in hospital, was it ever merely on account of their being in their natural menstrual period?

A. 263. No. They were, in such case, allowed to go back to the bazaar, and I usually recommended such a woman to come and be looked at as soon as she was well, but she very rarely did so.

Captain C. Dennys, recalled.

Q. 264.—Are the houses in the bazaar numbered?

A. 264.—Yes; all are numbered, and in 1891 were re-numbered on account of the census.

Q. 265.—How are they numbered?

A. 265.—By metal plates (tin) fastened over the entrance by a nail. 3930

Q. 266.—Is there any distinction between the numbering of the houses of prostitutes and those of other people?

A. 266.—None whatever.

Q. 267.—If a woman leave the cantonment without a permit from the Cantonment Magistrate, is she precluded from re-entering the cantonment?

A. 267.—No. I give no permits; they are free to come and go, except in the case of their having been expelled under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890.

Statement.—I hand in a roll of women who have made application in my court for permission to carry on prostitution in cantonments, and my procedure in each case.

List showing the application presented by women for prostitution from the year 1888 *up to* 1893.

Serial No.	Name of Applicant.	For what purpose.	Orders of the Magistrate.	Date of Order.	Name of Magistrate.	Year.
1	Musammat Karam Núr	Prostitution	The Court cannot give any orders in the matter; application to be filed.	24th December 1888	Captain R. C. S. Macausland	1888
2	Musammat Begam	Ditto	Ditto ditto	16th October 1889	Ditto	1889
3	Musammat Hyat Núr	Ditto	Ditto ditto	22nd September 1890	Captain C. J. Dennys	1890
4	Musammat Nasiban	Ditto	Ditto ditto	28th November 1890	Ditto	1890
5	Musammat Dali	Ditto	Ditto ditto	21st May 1891	Ditto	1891
6	Musammat Roopan	Ditto	Ditto ditto	26th May 1891	Ditto	1891
7	Musammat Azizo	Ditto	Ditto ditto	1st June 1891	Ditto	1891
8	Musammat Rahiman	Ditto	Ditto ditto	14th July 1891	Lieutenant H. A. M. Tighe	1891
9	Musammat Jewan	Ditto	Ditto ditto	21st August 1891	Captain C. J. Dennys	1891
10	Musammat Karam Bibi	Ditto	Ditto ditto	12th April 1892	Ditto	1892
11	Musammat Fattan	Ditto	Ditto ditto	6th May 1892	Ditto	1892
12	Musammat Peari	Ditto	Ditto ditto	20th June 1892	Captain T. H. Bairnsfathers	1892
13	Musammat Hyat Núr	Ditto	Ditto ditto	24th June 1892	Ditto	1892
14	Musammat Karam Bibi	Ditto	Ditto ditto	19th August 1892	Captain C. J. Dennys	1892
15	Musammat Sahib Zadi	Ditto	Ditto ditto	14th September 1892	Ditto	1892
16	Musammat Miran	Ditto	Ditto ditto	6th January 1893	Ditto	1893
17	Musammat Sahib Jan	Ditto	Ditto ditto	26th January 1893	Ditto	1893
18	Musammat Pindo	Ditto	Ditto ditto	16th February 1893	Ditto	1893
19	Musammat Fatto	Ditto	Ditto ditto	14th March 1893	Ditto	1893
20	Musammat Hashim Bi	Ditto	Ditto ditto	4th April 1893	Ditto	1893

MEMO.—This is a list showing the numbers of applications presented by women who wished to become prostitutes. The fact of their submitting these applications shows that these women were evidently under the impression that the old Lock Hospital Rules were still in force. In each case which came under my notice, I explained to the applicants that prostitution in India could not be recognised by Government, and that since the abolition of the Lock Hospital Rules there was no such thing as registration.

RAWAL PINDI;
The 26th June 1893.

C. DENNYS, *Captain, I. S. C.,*
Cantonment Magistrate.

Examination of Alladi, Mahaldarni. 3940

Q. 268.—Are you a mahaldarni?

A. 268.—No; I am not now, but I have been. I was with the Rifle Brigade for 12 years until 1888. I received Rs. 6 a month pay; since then I have received no pay, except when I was dhai of the Lock Hospital. Since 1888 I have been for three years in the Cavalry Bazaar.

Q. 269.—Since the abolition of the old Lock Hospital Rules in 1888, has the examination of prostitutes at the Cantonment Hospital by the doctor been compulsory or of a woman's free will?

A. 269.—No. There has been no compulsion; the women go if they wish. If you don't believe me, you can ask them.

Q. 270.—If any woman became diseased and refused to go to hospital for examination what did you do? 3950

A. 270.—She remained in the lines and treated herself, and then she went to be examined as soon as she was well.

Q. 271.—If a woman on examination by a doctor was found to be diseased, was she obliged to remain in hospital?

A. 271.—She was told to go and get her bedding and then to come back to hospital; she had to remain there.

Q. 272.—If a woman left the hospital without having been discharged by the doctor how would she be punished?

A. 272.—If a woman left the hospital without leave, I believe she would be fined. 3960

Q. 273.—Can you recall to memory any instance of a woman having been fined.

A. 273.—Yes. When Colonel Stewart was Cantonment Magistrate women were fined up to Rs. 50 (Colonel Stewart was Cantonment Magistrate about 10 years ago).

Q. 274.—Since Colonel Stewart's time do you remember any other case of fining?

A. 274.—After Colonel Stewart's time I went away, but since I have been in the Lalkurti Bazaar in the last 3 or 4 years there have been no cases of fining.

Q. 275.—Since the year 1888 how have you been paid?

A. 275.—I have been paid two pice out of four annas by the women.

Q. 276.—You say you got two pice in four annas; then four annas was, we presume, the price paid by a soldier to the women. 3970

A. 276.—The privates paid four annas, corporals six annas, sergeants one rupee.

Q. 277.—Who settled these prices?

A. 277.—I do not know (after pressure) it has been the custom since the English came to the country and cantonments were formed.

Q. 278.—How did you obtain certificates of service from the Quarter Master of the 3rd Dragoon Guards?

A. 278.—I asked the Quarter Master for it. I said—"You are going away; please give me a certificate."

Q. 279.—And how did you get a certificate from the 11th Hussars?

A. 279.—The Regiment had only been here two months, but I went to the Quarter Master and said—"You are going away; leave a blessing behind you, and give me a certificate." 3980

Q. 280.—If a man did not pay a woman, was a complaint ever made against him?

A. 280.—In the old days it used to be so—the women reported to the Kotwal, who told the Quarter Master, who brought the matter to the Colonel, who ordered the money to be paid. Under the new rules no complaints are made.

Q. 281.—Why do they not complain now?

A. 281.—Because it is of no use—to whom should they complain? We have no one to complain to. We are not under the Quarter-Master.

Q. 282.—Are the women in debt to you?

A. 282.—No, when they want money they get it from the bunniah. 3990

Q. 283.—Did you see two ladies a little more than a year ago, who came up to the Cavalry Bazaar?

A. 283.—Yes; they were talking to women, were telling them it was a bad life they were leading, and that they ought to go and sit by a fakir and say prayers and earn an honest livelihood. They asked the women if they had a mahaldarni, and they called me. I showed my certificates, and they wanted to take away one, but I would not give it. I told them that we did not want to be Christians, and that we preferred our own means of getting our living.

Q. 284.—Did you say that the regiment was going away soon, and then you would relinquish your style of life?

A. 284.—No; I never said so. Karnnisha may have said so; she accompanied the ladies for three days. She is a Pathan woman.

Q. 285.—What is your work now?

A. 285.—I live in the Cavalry Bazaar, and the women say "stay and doctor us," and I am doing so now, but do not much care for the work.

Examination of Dhai Tábi.

Q. 286.—What has been your employment in this cantonment?

A. 286.—I was dhai of the Cantonment Hospital, and was discharged ten months ago. I received Rs. 12 a month. I am now a milk-seller to sweetmeat-makers.

Q. 287.—When the prostitutes were brought up for examination before the doctor, and found to be diseased, were they obliged to remain in hospital till cured?

A. 287.—No. If diseased, a woman remained willingly as a rule, as she got food, clothing, and medicine; if she wished not to stay, the doctor asked where she was going; and if she said "to the city," she was allowed to go.

Q. 288.—Were women who were only suffering from their usual monthly ailments obliged to stop in hospital?

A. 288.—No, nothing of the kind. I have heard of such a thing, but not here.

Q. 289.—Were you present at the examinations of women by the doctor?

A. 289.—No, I never was, but Meha Nisha, the former dhai, was. She used to go inside the room, and I used to remain outside.

Q. 290.—Did women ever make objection to being examined?

A. 290.—Very few; those who did had the option of going out of cantonments (literally to the city).

Q. 291.—When they went to the city, what did they do? Did they starve?

A. 291. Not at all. They carried on their trade and did a profitable business there, although they were diseased.

Q. 292.—Do you recollect any girl coming up for examination who had not reached the years of puberty?

A. 292.—I know of one, she was sent up by the Cantonment Magistrate and found diseased.

Q. 293.—If a woman who came to hospital for examination was found to be suffering from disease other than venereal, was she treated?

A. 293.—Yes, as an out-patient.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3015-B—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,*" dated Simla, the 28th June 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3004-B., dated 28th June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports* from the General Officers Commanding Meerut and Sirhind Districts as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations regarding Meerut and Umballa contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee at the India Office, on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules in India.

* (1) Sirhind District No. 30-C, dated 27th June 1893, and enclosures.
(2) Meerut District No. 9-C.-D., dated 26th June 1893, and enclosure.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

From BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. T. PRETYMAN., Commanding Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 30-C—"*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*,"—dated Simla, the 27th June 1893).

Reference Quartermaster-General's telegram No. 2678-B. of 1893.

As directed in your telegram No. 2678-B., dated 9th June 1893, I have the honour to report that I have carefully perused the circulars and letters specified therein, and, after consultation with the Officers Commanding Corps and Stations concerned, beg to submit the statement called for as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations relating to the Sirhind District which are contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated 10th and 13th June 1893, respectively.

1. Statement A.
2. do. B.
3. do. C.
4. Printed Minutes of Evidence taken before the Departmental Committee in London in April 1893. The five first days. (Returned.)

2. I assumed command of the Sirhind District in 1891, and I had every reason to believe that the various orders and regulations contained in the circulars and demi-official letters from head-quarters, relating to the Cantonment Act of 1889, and specified in your telegram now under reply, were duly observed.

3. It appears, however, that through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, these orders were not conveyed to the Officers Commanding the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Gordon Highlanders, on their arrival in Umballa in December 1891 and January 1892.

4. I am unable to say how this oversight arose; it was probably due to the constant changing of Staff Officers in the district, and to the fact that all the orders on the subject—being marked 'strictly confidential'—were, after having been passed round to all concerned, locked away in a confidential box in the office of the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General.

5. Regiments and Corps, who were already in the command, or indeed, in India, when the earlier orders of 1888 and 1890 (Quartermaster-General's circulars and demi-official letters addressed to General Officers Commanding by name) had been circulated for information, were of course aware of the new order of things necessitated by the Resolution of the House of Commons; but regiments since landed in the country required to be informed of all that had gone on previously.

6. In the case of the two Highland Battalions, it is to be regretted that their Commanding Officers were not shown the back orders.

7. It is true that Colonel Trotter, whose battalion arrived in Umballa in December 1891, had some idea of the recent legislation, and no doubt learnt from other Commanding Officers in Umballa that the old arrangements for registered prostitutes, and their compulsory examination, had been forbidden, but Colonel Gildea, who arrived in India a month later, states that he had no information on the subject, and had no reason to believe that any change had taken place since he last served in India in the old 72nd Highlanders.

8. I beg to enclose the replies these officers have made to the various allegations of the American Missionaries.

9. My attention was drawn to the subject by a demi-official letter from the Quartermaster-General, dated 21st March 1892, by which time the Highland Battalions had left Umballa for their respective hill stations.

10. I at once sent this round to the Officers Commanding at Sabathu and Dagshai, as well as to all other hill stations in my command.

Their attention was directed to the proper working of the Cantonment Act, and to the various orders which had emanated from head-quarters on the subject, and I have the word of the Officers Commanding the two Highland Battalions that, from the time of the receipt of the above-mentioned communication, these orders have been strictly observed, not only at their hill stations, but also during the cold weather, when their battalions were again encamped in Umballa.

11. Lieutenant-Colonel Gildea informs me that when the prostitutes who had attached themselves to his regiment were informed that they must in future shift entirely for themselves, they petitioned him repeatedly to be allowed to live under regimental protection and under arrangements such as, unfortunately, had been allowed at Umballa.

12. Colonel Trotter also informs me that women came to his battalion on its arrival at Umballa from England, and begged to be allowed to attach themselves to it.

13. No doubt Colonel Gildea, being ignorant of recent legislation and orders, acted in perfect good faith in allowing women to encamp near his bazaar, and in making it a condition that they would allow themselves to be examined periodically; and I am quite sure that, had he been aware of the orders on the subject, they would have been strictly carried out.

14. I would here remark that the very secrecy entailed by the strictly confidential nature of the various orders and regulations appears to me to have defeated the object in view, and I cannot but think that it would have been better had all circulars and orders been given out to Officers Commanding Corps, as well as to Cantonment authorities generally.

15. As regards the allegations contained in the printed Minutes of Evidence forwarded to me with your Nos. 2716-B. and 2768-B., dated the 10th and 13th June 1893, I have the honour to say that I have dealt with these allegations *seriatim*, and with this object, I have attached statements containing extracts of the evidence that concerns the district under my command, with remarks thereon as follows:—

Statement (A).—Allegations relating to the 2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with replies in original, by the Officer Commanding that Battalion.

Statement (B).—Allegations relating to the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, with reply attached, in better form, from the Officer Commanding the Battalion.

Statement (C).—Allegations relating to the management of the Umballa Cantonment General Hospital, with my remarks.

16. These three statements deal quite fully with the whole of the allegations made.

It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that has already been referred to by Colonel Trotter, in Statement (A), that although a certain amount of truth exists in the evidence, yet the '*suggestio falsi*' which runs through the whole of it tends to detract from its value.

17. I return the printed Minutes of Evidence, as requested.

STATEMENT (A).

2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London, April 1893.

348. Did you find one chakla at the Camp of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders?—We did.	*Correct.* These women were told that I would not interfere with them, provided— (*a*) they kept outside the limits over which I had any jurisdiction, (*b*) that I did not find the men contracting venereal from them, (*c*) that decency and order were observed, (*d*) that they availed themselves of any medical aid attainable.
349. Did that consist of tents? Yes; that was the first we visited.	
350. What did the mahaldarni tell you here? She told us to what regiment they belonged.	
351–2. Did she tell you from whom she hired the tents? I do not remember from whom. I think it was a native merchant.	I know nothing of this, nor can I say how many tents there were.
353. Did she tell you how many girls there were there? She said there were 11.	I cannot say; I had hoped there were more.
354. Did she say anything about there being a guard there? She and the girls corroborated each other, that there was a guard there till midnight, and that the guard was relieved every six hours.	This is false, and it is improbable any such statement was made; the regimental police who patrolled the bazaar to preserve order and prevent squabbles between men and bunniahs had orders to prevent disturbances in the women's camp. The police are frequently visited by the Provost Sergeant; and on pay nights are increased in numbers.
360. How far from the military tents were these chaklas? They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with these women, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.	The Provost Sergeant thinks about 300 yards from the camp and about 200 yards from the bazaar. I cannot, personally, speak with certainty, but he should know. The public road ran between my camp and the others.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

544. You were at Umballa on the 2nd March 1892, and saw some of the prostitutes?

Yes: of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. This was at their chakla. They said that if they were cheated out of their pay they complained to the mahaldarni, and the mahaldarni reported to the guard, who, they said was a European soldier, and his tent was there inside the chakla.

They started to call him, but we would not let them because it would have interrupted what we wished to learn from them.

The mahaldarni reported to the guard, and if that did not do, the mahaldarni appealed to the Colonel.

634. At Umballa, at the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders' chakla the women and the mahaldarni stated that they would be going to the hills about 15th March (1892) to Dagshai, and that there was a lock hospital there which they would attend.

They said that themselves and their tents would be taken in bullock carts, and that European soldiers would take care of them. They would pay their own expenses on the journey.

1351. When we visited the tents with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, we found a small book in the hands of the mahaldarni. She brought it to us and asked if we wished to see it.

It was the registration of the girls in charge of the mahaldarni of the chakla. Entries of dates of their examination, &c.

I cannot say what complaints were made to the mahaldarni; the remainder of the statement is absolutely false, as also that regarding the tent.

Correct, as calling in the police, if it had not led to the removal of the European women, would have interrupted the collection of what they, probably, knew to be false evidence.

Entirely without foundation; and it is improbable the mahaldarni made any such statement as she would have known that any such action on her part might have led to my putting her camp out of bounds.

Natives suffering from any complaint are treated in the bazaar hospital. If of an infectious nature, and they refuse to be treated. I have them ejected from cantonments.

This is false if intended to convey the idea that the regiment or any regimental authority provided transport. I cannot say what "care" was bestowed on them by the soldiers, but it must have been infinitesimal. Their society was so unobtrusive on the march that I was only once or twice made aware of their existence, but I believe they followed as far as Kalka.

My orders on the march and in the station were identical, as regards their exclusion from my camp. I imagine where they must have located themselves was Native territory.

I am unaware of what books the mahaldarni may have had in her possession; she was not in the habit of submitting them to me.

Though unaware when I came to India in 1892 of the provisions of the Cantonment Act I do not consider that there has been anything approaching to "Licensed prostitution" as regards my regiment. Consideration of decency and, if possible, the health and the welfare of the men prompt me always to encourage them to devote their attentions to women who can, if they wish it, obtain medical aid instead of having promiscuous intercourse with diseased villagers and city prostitutes. Even those whose acts tend to the spread of disease and the moral and physical ruin of the soldier can hardly compare such a system, if system it can be called, to that of the repealed C. D. Act, and the *suggestio falsi* which runs through a great part of their evidence throws discredit on the rest.

DAGSHAI;
24th June 1893.

P. D. TROTTER, *Colonel*,
Commanding 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

STATEMENT (B).

1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders.

Statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell before a Commission in London, April 1893.

We visited 3 "chaklas" at Umballa. There were two tent chaklas, and the other was in the Sudder Bazaar.

355. What did you see at the Camp of the Gordon Highlanders?

There we saw tents also. In both cases the tents were enclosed with native matting.

357. How many tents were there?

There were 10.

358. How many girls did you see?

We interviewed six girls and the mahaldarni.

360. At what part of cantonments were these chaklas; how far from the military tents?

They were about 100 yards from the encampment. We saw the soldiers in their evolutions as we were talking with the women.

361. While you were at the chakla a the camp of the 2nd Gordon Highlanders, did any English soldier come near where you were?

Several English soldiers came, and one came inside and came up to the door of the tent in which we were sitting with the women. He had a strap on his shoulder with "2nd G." on it.

From Lieutenant-Colonel S. L. Gildea, Officer Commanding 1st Gordon Highlanders, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Sirhind District,—(dated Simla, the 24th June 1893).

With reference to the statements made by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell regarding the battalion under my command, I have the honour to report for the information of the Brigadier-General Commanding the Sirhind District.

In reply to paragraph 1 of statement, there was one enclosure containing prostitutes near my camp with tents inside. I do not know anything of any other enclosure or of a "chakla" in the Sudder Bazaar.

No. 355.—There were tents enclosed with matting, for the sake of privacy.

No. 357.—As far as I can remember the number of tents is correct, each woman had a tent to herself.

No. 358.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

No. 360.—The enclosure was about 100 yards from the rear guard of my camp.

No. 361.—Have no reason to doubt this statement.

My explanation for having this enclosure near my camp is as follows:—

I arrived in Umballa from Ceylon with my battalion on 24th January 1892, and moved into a standing camp there. I was not informed that the practice of keeping women attached to regiments was done away with, so little was I aware that I was acting against any orders issued on the subject, that I placed my women's enclosure within 100 yards of my rear guard, in open ground, as forming with my regimental bazaar part of my standing camp.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

My first intimation that it was against the regulations to keep women for the use of soldiers in India was in a demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, received by me on 30th March 1892. I immediately on receipt of this dismissed the women attached to my battalion, and have not since in any way recognised them.

STATEMENT (C).

Extracts from the printed Minutes of Evidence given by Mrs. Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell, before a Commission in London in April 1893.

Questions 176—178 and 180—183.

At Umballa we saw the women in different 'chaklas' in the same cantonment.

Correct so far as the replies in statements (A) and (B) give information.

They seemed to be apportioned to a regiment.

Incorrectly stated, as the implication is that women were officially allotted to corps, which was not the case.

There seemed to be regimental chaklas as well as the Sudder Bazaar chakla.

See Statements (A) and (B).

Questions 435—439 and 701—705.

At Umballa we saw in the correspondence book certain letters from the Surgeon in charge (of the Lock Hospital). They were copies oi letters to the Cantonment Magistrate, and they were dated.

This is correct, and further appears to have been quite correct procedure on the part of the medical officer, acting according to the powers given him by the Cantonment Act of 1889, and subsequent orders.

I think that the letters referred to were all included between January and February 1892, declaring that certain soldiers had reported themselves to be diseased, and certain women had been indicated in those letters.

The English Surgeon included the names of those women, and requested the Cantonment Magistrate to send them for examination.

The mere wording of the letters appears in this case to be a minor point. The difference between a request to have the women warned that they must either submit to treatment or expulsion from cantonment, and a request to have certain women, believed to be diseased, sent for treatment. is slight, and the difference in practical effect may be said to be *nil.*

Questions 641 and 715—716.

Regular examination by medical officer, which was compulsory.

The statement that a regular compulsory examination took place is absolutely false.

A compiled table showing periodical examination of women by regiments,

e. g.,

Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

Every 4th day by mahaldarni.

„ 8th „ Surgeon.

Gordon Highlanders.

Every Tuesday (weekly) by medical officer.

A regular day was appointed by the medical officer in charge of the Cantonment Hospital, and on that day all might be examined who wished to attend.

Tuesday was the day. This examination was in every way voluntary, and even this was stopped on the receipt of Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.

Questions 706—711 and 714.

Paper picked up containing description of two women inhabiting certain tents, and this paper, coupled with the copies of letters from the medical officer to the Cantonment Magistrate, appears to refer to the same women as those mentioned by him in his letters.

The descriptions given point to the exact place in each tent where these women live, to assist in identifying them.

This may be perfectly true. There is nothing to show whether it is true or not, but if true, it appears unimportant from the point of view of the witnesses, though it shows that no registration existed, as otherwise a written description would have been unnecessary, and, so far as the written description goes, there is nothing contrary to orders (but the reverse) in helping to identify any person suspected of disease.

So far as this evidence goes to prove the existence of regimental women, that is dealt with in statement (A) and (B) attached.

UMBALLA—REPORT BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL PRETYMAN, COMMANDING SIRHIND DISTRICT.

STATEMENT (C)—*continued.*

Questions. 749—751. 1346—1350.

The women of the Argyll and Sutherland chakla said that they would be turned out of cantonments unless they submitted to the examination, and fined if they left hospital before being discharged as cured, and imprisoned if the fine were not paid. The Gordon Highlanders women said the same, and said that if they were not examined they would be taken before the Cantonment Magistrate and be compelled to be examined.

If they left hospital before being discharged, they would be imprisoned.

But they stated this had never happened, because they always went to the examination.

See Statements (A) and (B), and information given above as to compulsory examination.

Questions 775—776.

At Umballa we saw the registration list, and it was headed.

There were six regimental lists of women who came to be examined regularly.

There were lists of prostitutes under the headings of various regiments.

Six lists. Each containing from five to 14 women, and at the head of every page of this registration book were these words—

"Prostitutes attending voluntary inspections."

It appears that the book used in the days of registered prostitutes had been kept going for the convenience of the medical officer in showing work done.

This was purely for his own information as a record of diseases treated, and was never looked upon in any way as an official registration of prostitutes.

I learn, on inquiry from the medical officer, that prossitutes presenting themselves for voluntary examination are in the habit of grouping themselves as belonging to certain regiments.

This is easily understood, and is evidently a relic of the old system, any departure from which natives of this class would be utterly unable to understand.

Questions 1325—1350.

We saw the register of the prostitutes. There were six lists of them—of the women coming up for periodical examination.

There were six lists. Each headed with the name of their regiment. There were from five to 14 in each list.

See replies to questions 775—776 and 435—439 and 701—705.

The daily journal recorded the numbers of the last examination on the 28th February 1892. It recorded that 28 women were examined on that date.

We saw a copy of a letter from the Surgeon to the Cantonment Magistrate, dated 21st December 1891, naming six girls supposed to be diseased, and requesting the Cantonment Magistrate to order them for inspection.

Another letter, dated 18th January 1892, requesting that a woman who had been indicted by a soldier as being diseased might be sent for inspection on a certain fixed day.

No cases treated in hospital except venereal.

This, of course, is absolutely false. The venereal section of the hospital being very small, as compared with the other sections of the Cantonment General Hospital.

MEERUT—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL NAIRNE, COMMANDING MEERUT DISTRICT.

From MAJOR-GENERAL C. E. NAIRNE, C.B., Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

IN acknowledging receipt of your telegram No. 2677-B, 8th instant, calling on me to state positively and of my own knowledge what is, and what is not, true in the allegations contained in the printed minutes of evidence given before a Committee of the House of Commons regarding the working, in Meerut, of the Cantonment Act of 1889, and whether the positive instructions issued have been disregarded, and to what extent, since the orders were issued in 1888, I have the honour to report that I only took command of the Meerut District on 30th March 1892, subsequent, that is, to the visit of the two American ladies; and that I immediately proceeded to Delhi, Roorkee, Dehra Dun, and Chakrata, on inspection duty, and did not return to Meerut until August 1892.

It was not until sometime in June that I became aware that there had been any special legislation on the subject. Since then, I have gone into the matter carefully, and am of opinion that practically all the instructions contained in the various orders issued have been carried out.

I can say positively that no prostitutes are permitted to live in the regimental bazars in Meerut, no regimental registers of such are kept, and no separate register of them in the Sadar bazaar, though of course a general register of all inhabitants and their occupation must be maintained at Meerut as in every city in the civilised world. The women have repeatedly been told that there is no compulsory examination except as laid down in the Cantonment Act of 1889 under which any person suspected of any disease may be sent to hospital voluntarily, or if declining to go there for treatment may be removed from cantonments altogether. I am informed that no such case of such removal has taken place, and whatever the women may have said to the ladies or to Mr. Hyslop Bell, I attribute to the known fact that any native in conversation or evidence will invariably say what he or she thinks the questioner wishes to hear. Regarding this matter it must be remembered that no Doctor, either Native or English, can take any pleasure in such a revolting occupation as the medical examination of prostitutes; while on the other hand, whenever really diseased, all women are only too grateful to be detained and cured.

At Meerut there are two recognized places for residence of prostitutes both in the Sadr Bazaar, but it must be remembered that both the British Infantry and Cavalry Bazaars join on to the Sadr, and it is easy for a stranger to miss seeing the boundaries of the regimental bazaars, which, indeed, are not well defined except on paper. The Artillery Bazaar is just outside my own quarters, I very frequently ride through it, and I can state positively that no professional prostitutes have lived there since I have been at Meerut. The keeping up by the women themselves and occasionally by the Native Doctors of their separation into corps is, I presume, another instance of the extreme difficulty of breaking through old associations and names so constantly met with in this country, and which will equally account for the survival of the name "Lock" Hospital long after such had ceased to exist. Another instance of this is well illustrated by the use, even to this day, of the name "Company Bagh," for the public cantonment garden, more than 30 years after the abolition of the East India Company. It must also be remembered that the one desire of all natives, whether men or women, is to be considered as specially in the service of "the Sirkar," and as these women have always associated themselves more with one regiment than another, they probably will continue to do so to the end of the chapter, legislation to the contrary notwithstanding.

Regarding the actual facts, at the time when Meerut was visited by Mrs. Andrews and Doctor Bushnell, I cannot therefore speak of my own knowledge, but perusal of all the instructions issued from time to time, and the well known strictness of my predecessor, the late Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, in carrying out most literally all and every order received, enables me to state positively that strict compliance with the Act has been the rule at Meerut for some years past.

Mr. Hyslop Bell's visit occurred during my tenure of command, and I can speak of my own knowledge positively regarding evidence given by him. The answers to questions 1534, 1543, are incorrect. The cantonment hospital was open to all that came to it, every disease and both sexes. But though this is the literal fact, it is equally true that hardly any but prostitutes do come, owing to the fact that the money required for the cantonment hospital buildings as sanctioned, has never yet been allotted, and the present buildings are only those of the original Lock Hospital; it is unlikely therefore that many other than those of the prostitute class would yet avail themselves of treatment. The answer to 1550, 1552, is incorrect as no regiment had been away in camp and had recently returned to quarters. But regarding the general question of prostitutes accompanying regiments on the line of march or in camp, I am informed that no regimental arrangements are made in any instance since the prohibition came out, but that all prostitutes accompanying a regiment do so on their own private account, and I have no reason to doubt this. Commanding Officers have no power to prevent such movement, neither have I. The mere fact of removing all authority over such women from Commanding Officers prevents them from interfering with their movements, and the well-known axiom that when there is a demand supply is sure to follow is true of sexual intercourse between man and woman as of every thing else in a free country.

MEERUT—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL NAIRNE, COMMANDING MEERUT DISTRICT.

The rest of the evidence tendered to Mr. Bell appears to me to accord with regulations, except as to compulsory examination of women, concerning which I have already given my opinion, moreover Mr. Bell's answers to questions 1595, 1596 and 1597, point to the Act having been complied with.

Regarding the instructions issued from time to time, I can say of my own knowledge that all have been complied with since I have been at Meerut, except as regards prostitutes accompanying a regiment on the line of march, regarding which the wording of last paragraph of demi-official letter from Sir James Browne, Quartermaster-General, No. 4907-B, dated 8th November 1890, to Sir John Hudson, appears to me to be so peremptory as to be impossible to carry out without infringing the law of the land regarding the liberty of the subject. I must explain that no copy of this letter existed in my office and I only received it on 17th instant after application to Simla.

No sanction, or approval, or assistance, is given by regiments when in camp or on the march, to prostitutes accompanying them, and they do not reside in the camp bazars, but they have not been forcibly prevented. For instance, in Chakrata there is one British Regiment, and no doubt, whether the Officer Commanding likes it or not, the women, whose only object in living there is to ply their trade with that regiment, will manage to move somewhere in their vicinity whenever the regiment moves down to the plains, and if my knowledge of the law of the land is correct, the Commanding Officer cannot prevent them.

Reverting to Mr. Hyslop Bell's evidence and that of the two American ladies that the cantonment hospital is only used for venereal cases, I would beg to add to Mr. Bell's answer to question 1697, that the English gentleman referred to was an officer who is now staying with me. He tells me that it was his dogcart wheel that ran over a man's foot; he had only recently gone to Meerut and did not know where to take the man to the nearest hospital, but was directed to the cantonment hospital by a bystander; so it is obvious that the people do know that the hospital is for all cases and diseases.

I regret the delay in answering your telegram, but as above stated many of the demi-official notes were not in existence in my office; I had to refer to Simla for them and then to send the correspondence to Meerut for the letter from Officer Commanding the station attached.

It will be in the knowledge of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that Colonel Plowden who had been Cantonment Magistrate at Meerut for many years only left on 31st December last.

He is now in England and can be examined as to the extraordinary allegations in the answer to questions 484–485, should those answers be considered credible.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. J. F. REID, Officer Commanding at Meerut, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut and Landour,—(No. 153-C, dated Meerut the 23rd June 1893).

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 20-C-R, of 20th instant, with its enclosures, all of which are herewith returned.

I have the honour to report as follows:—

I.—I took over command at Meerut on the 15th April last.

II.—Minutes of Evidence question 177. I have no knowledge of what took place in camp, but there are no regimental chaklas in Meerut. When the women were ejected from the regimental bazars, on the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act, they migrated to the Sadar Bazaar, there to live together, and form a sort of colony, which was known by the name of the regiment wherefrom the women came, although such colony had nothing further to do with such regiment.

III.—There is no order forbidding native soldiers from visiting the two chaklas in Meerut, that is the women who live in two different parts of the Meerut Sadar bazaar. Nor is there any order of any sort on the subject.

IV.—All cantonment hospital books and papers bearing on the subject of the foregoing have been sent to the Secretary of the Cantonment Rules Commission.

V.—The matter of the observance of the rules seems to me to turn on the question of compulsion. In Meerut the women are under no compulsion to attend the cantonment hospital for inspection, and they have often been told so. Those I have asked said they went there voluntarily and remained there voluntarily. But closer enquiry shows that many have attended in order to avoid the suspicion of disease which would bring them under the provisions of G. G. O. No. 617 of 1890. In so far then the women seem to think themselves compelled to go.

Endorsement by the General Officer Commanding Meerut District,—(No. 25-C-R, dated Landour, the 26th June 1893).

FORWARDED to Quartermaster-General in India, in accordance with your telegram No. 2677-B, dated 8th June 1893.

SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3101-B., *Sanitary —Cantonment Hospitals*; dated Simla, 1st July 1893.—Confidential).

IN continuation of this office No. 3015-B., dated 28th June 1893, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further reports regarding the working of the Cantonment Hospital rules at Sitapur.

(1) Oudh District No. C. L. 366, dated 28th June 1893, and enclosures.
(2) Oudh District No. C. L. 367, dated 28th June 1893, and enclosures.

Memo. from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 366-C.L., dated Lucknow, 28th June 1893).

Forwarded in continuation of this office No. 361-C.L., of 13th June 1893, and Officer Commanding, Sitapur's No. 23-C.L.

From LIEUT-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh District,—(No. 28-C.L., dated Sitapur, 26th June 1893—Confidential).

WITH reference to my report forwarded with my No. 23-C.L., dated 13th June 1893, giving answers to certain allegations contained in the "Minutes of Evidence" with regard to the station of Sitapur, I have the honour to forward enclosure containing corrections to certain answers therein given, and to request that the answers as they appear in the Report may be cancelled, and those as shown in the enclosure may be substituted.

This has been rendered necessary by personal inspection of the documents at the hospital and others at the Station Staff Office, which was brought to my notice, and which I regret had previously escaped observation.

Q. 528.—A.—The register of prostitutes, with numbers assigned to each, and the women apportioned to each quarter, was closed on the 8th August 1888, and is still at the hospital. The only other description or list of women in Cantonments is in a part of the Hospital Admission and Discharge Book, and contains the names, without numbers, apparently of such women who presented themselves for examination generally weekly, and were entered apparently as they came; the names of those who attended later inspections being added to the bottom of the list. The number of women attending varied from 18 to 13 to 7. This list appears to have commenced from the 12th May 1891.

Q. 641.—A.—It appears from the documents at the hospital that after the passing of Act of 1889 in general, weekly inspections of women continued to be held. But from the entries in the hospital Letter Book of 1890, they appear clearly to have been considered as voluntary ones. In the Annual Report of 1890 the Medical Officer in charge writes as follows: "This is now a voluntary hospital; no tickets are issued; no register of prostitutes is kept, and no compulsory examinations allowed." There are other letters to the same effect.

In the Hospital Diary the women are entered apparently as "attending for medicine and advice." Some of the returns are headed as "Voluntary venereal hospital" in that year; and weekly returns appear to have been made out of the number of women attending voluntarily the weekly inspections in 1890.

Some of the women say the inspections were voluntary, some that they were compulsory. The native officials of the Bazaar say that they were voluntary, but had been compulsory some years before, when tickets were issued. The last reference to the hospital as one for registered prostitutes is dated 9th July 1888. No woman was ever punished for having absented herself from these examinations. They were discontinued after the 12th July 1892.

Q. 754.—A.—See answer to 741.

Q. 1076.—A.—These were generally periodical weekly examinations, but it appears that they were considered not compulsory.

Q. 1395.—A.—Any resident in cantonment would be by the regulations admitted, but it appears that only one case, not venereal, was admitted as an in-patient in the year 1892, but 191 cases, not venereal, were treated in 1892 as out-patients. In 1892 all the in-patients were prostitutes; but it is not known whether the one case mentioned was or was not. The Annual Report for 1891 is not available.

Q. 1413.—A.—See answer 528.

SITAPORE—REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NOYES, COMMANDING AT SITAPORE.

Memo. from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 367-C.L., dated Lucknow, the 28th June 1893).

FORWARDED with reference to your Circular No. 2747-B.

From LIEUT.-COLONEL A. W. NOYES, Commanding at Sitapur, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 29-C.L., "*Sanitary*,' dated Sitapur, the 26th June 1893, Confidential).

IN compliance with your No. 2854-B, dated 17th June 1893, forwarding copy of Quartermaster-General's No. 2747, dated 12th June 1893, to the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, with enclosures, I have the honor to submit the report therein called for with regard to the station of Sitapur.

I.—(A).

There is in in each cantonment a "Chukla," a single building having series of small rooms, &c., occupied by native women and used to receive the visits of British soldiers.

A. 1.—There was a "Chukla" in the Suddur Bazzar, having twenty small rooms, in which the women lived. It is a long low building. The prostitutes living there carried on prostituuion on their own responsibility, and it was not recognised nor authorized in cantonment.

The Chukla was used for the visits of British soldiers only, no natives being allowed to resort to them there.

A. 2.—There was no order to that effect. It appears it was the case some years ago. The women said they were not allowed to receive them, but could not say who told them.

Natives did sometimes visit them there.

The women did no other work and lived for no other purpose.

A. 3.—This was the case as far as I can ascertain.

The women never solicit.

A. 4.—They do not "walk the streets," as it is never done in India; but they sometimes solicit their own friends.

They could not leave cantonments without permission.

A. 5.—They were at perfect liberty to leave without permission. The women say that five did leave in the year 1892, and none of them got or asked for permission.

The Chukla belonged to Government, &c.

A. 6.—This was the case to May 1892, when it was sold. After the passing of the Act, 1889, that it was the property of Government probably escaped notice, and steps to get rid of it were omitted to be taken.

The women paid rent or did not.

A. 7.—The women lived in the "Chukla" rent-free.

There is a guard in uniform on the Chukla.

A. 8.—There was no guard of any sort on the Chukla.

There is a register of the "Chukla women" kept in each Cantonment.

A. 9.—The register of the "Chukla-women," or prostitutes, kept in the authorised form with numbers assigned to the women and the women allotted to certain quarters, is still to be seen at the Cantonment Hospital and was closed on the 8th August 1888.

A list is found in the Admission and Discharge Book of the hospital, apparently of the names of women who presented themselves for examination each week. There is no other description of register to be found in cantonments.

These names appear to have been entered as the women came: some who came to later inspections had their names added at the bottom of the list. Each page contained about four inspections. These inspections ceased after the 12th July 1892.

There are metal plates on the doors of the "Chukla" with numbers, so that soldiers can indicate any woman.

A. 10.—In the Chukla at present there is one room with a tin plate on which is a number. There are also three other rooms with old tin plates, the numbers on which are nearly obliterated. It appears that in former years there was a number to each room, but they have long been disused and only those above mentioned remain. There is no sign of any having been recently removed.

There is in almost every instance a woman Superintendent of the Chukla called "Mahaldarni" whose wages are paid out of Cantonment funds, &c.?

Some of these Mahaldarnis possess certificates given by British Officers, &c, all their duties are the same as before the passing of the resolution of the "House of Commons," &c.

A. 11.—There was no Mahaldarni at Sitapur.

The number of women in the Chukla was proportioned to the number of soldiers, averaging from 12 to 15 for each regiment, &c., &c.

A. 12.—There was no number of women allotted to the soldiers at Sitapur. Nor were any steps taken to provide them with any.

The uniform rate of pay was—

Private - - -	4 Annas.
Corporal - - -	8 „
Sergeant - - -	1 Rupee.

A. 13.—There was no fixed rate ordered or established. Nor does there ever seem to have been one. It appears to have been the usual custom before the passing of the Cantonment Act, 1889, and to probably have continued since.

If these sums were not paid complaint was made to the authorities and the amount was stopped from the man's pay.

A. 14.—There was neither order nor custom to this effect. No complaint was ever made. Nor would it have been recognised had it been made.

Extortionate demands are sometimes made on the women.

A. 15.—The women say that no extortionate demands were made on them, and they only paid the proper prices for what they bought.

That the women live in abject poverty.

A. 16.—Most of the women confess that they are poor, other women say that they are not so. There is no evidence to show they were in abject poverty, nor did they appear to be so.

That they get into debt to the Mahaldarni or some other creditor.

A. 17.—Most of the women say that they are not in debt to any one; a few say they are in debt.

That the women cannot leave cantonments because of their debts.

A. 18.—A few women say they cannot. Most of them say they are not kept there by debt.

They live in cantonments as soldiers' prostitutes, unless they sooner die, until too old for the purpose intended, when they are replaced by more attractive women.

A. 19.—No woman was turned out of cantonments because she was too old for prostitution and replaced by a more attractive one. They stayed or left as they pleased,—this the women say themselves. On giving up the Chukla life they get domestic work or go to their parents; so it is reported.

The prostitutes are all girls and sometimes very young girls.

A. 20.—The majority are full grown women. There were no very young girls. The women say there were never very young girls except in one instance many years ago.

When a regiment changes cantonments, the women associated with that regiment accompany it in carts provided for them or are sent by rail.

A. 21.—No prostitutes accompanied the troops when they changed cantonments either in carts or any other manner, nor were they sent by railway, nor any arrangements made for them.

During their progress they are protected by European guards, &c.

A. 22.—No guards of any description were provided for them.

B

Every woman entered on the register is required to present herself for periodical examination by the appointed Medical Officer at the hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

A. 23.—There is no regular register of women to be found in cantonments since 1888. But it appears from the documents at the Cantonment Hospital and other evidence that weekly examinations were held at the hospital, which most of the women in the Chukla appear to have attended; their names being apparently entered in a part of the Admission and Discharge Book kept at the hospital, as they presented themselves for examination; the names of those who attended later inspections, being added to the bottom of the list. These inspections appear to have been held regularly since the 1889 Act. There are entries in the Letter Book of 1890 clearly showing that these inspections, although generally periodical and regular, were apparently considered voluntary, which the women could attend or not as they pleased. The hospital returns of that year are sometimes headed "Voluntary Venereal Hospital." Weekly returns were made out of the number of women who voluntarily attended the weekly inspections.

The last reference to the hospital as one for registered prostitutes is dated 9th July 1888.

The entries in the hospital "Diary" show these women "as attending for medicine and advice." The numbers attending varied from 18 to 13 and 7.

No woman was ever punished, as far as I can ascertain, for absenting herself, nor was any one reported for having done so, except in one instance.

The women themselves appear to be uncertain about the matter. Some say they were voluntary examinations, others that they were compulsory.

In one instance the majority absented themselves, showing apparently that they knew they had a right to do so, in 1892.

The native officials say that these inspections were voluntary, but were compulsory some years before.

These inspections ceased after 12th July 1892.

There was no authority for not carrying out the orders of Government in the cantonment.

The hospital established in each cantonment for the treatment of these particular diseases.

A. 24.—The hospital in 1892 was not established for the treatment of any particular disease, but for all diseases.

The inspections were limited to the women consorting with British soldiers.

A. 25.—There was no order or rule to this effect. The few prostitutes, if any, who consort with natives and soldiers are reported not to have attended these examinations.

The examination was made individually by the British Medical Officer and is stated to have been done in the presence of the Native Doctor and the "Dhai."

A. 26.—This seems to have been usually the case.

The examination is made on a special table with speculum, &c.

A. 27.—There is in the examination room at the hospital only an ordinary office table, which I understand was used for the purpose. A speculum would, it is reported, be used if necessary.

The women object very much to the inspection; even the Mahaldarni speaks of it with abhorrence.

A. 28.—The women say they did not object to the inspection. There was no Mahaldarni.

The women assemble at a fixed time either by walking or riding in carts or cabs.

A. 29.—The women walked to the hospital.

C

Upon examination the women were dismissed to pursue their shameful trade or were detained in hospital if diseased.

A. 30.—They were taken into hospital if diseased, or they returned to the chakla.

Detention is ordered not only in case of disease, but even during the natural menstrual period.

A. 31.—This appears to have been the case.

During detention in hospital each woman receives an allowance from the Cantonment funds of 2 or 3 annas per diem.

A. 32.—The women received no allowance from any source.

D

In the event of a registered woman not presenting herself for examination on the prescribed day, the Medical Officer sends the native police to her;

A. 33.—There was no register for women beyond what has already been explained. The Medical Officer was not authorised to send the police to any woman who absented herself from examination, nor was it done as far as I can ascertain.

or reports her to the Cantonment Magistrate,

A. 34.—This was done in one case only.

who orders her up for examination.

A. 35.—This was not done. The Cantonment Magistrate on receiving the above report replied that "the women had a perfect right to absent themselves from examination if they pleased, and no pressure whatever was to be brought upon them in order to compel then to attend."

If she disobeys, she is threatened by the police with arrest and that she may be fined, imprisoned or expelled from cantonments.

A. 36.—No woman received any such order from the Cantonment Magistrate, and the police never threatened her.

If a woman left the hospital before being formally discharged, she was liable to the same penalties.

A. 37.—This was not the case.

If she leave the cantonment without a permit by the Cantonment Magistrate, which is given only after Medical examination,

A. 38.—No permission to leave cantonments was neeessary, nor was any asked from, or given by, the Cantonment Magistrate, nor was any medical examination required.

She is precluded from re-entering the cantonment absolutely, or only on undergoing medical examination at the hospital.

A. 39.—She was not precluded from re-entering cantonments when she pleased. No medical examination was necessary.

The expulsion or exclusion from cantonments is tantamount to starvation.

A. 40.—The women say that if turned out of cantonments they would go to some other cantonment, or perhaps get work such as cooking, grinding corn, or would go to their parents or beg. The native officials say this also.

All the hospitals for the treatment of infectious and contagious diseases are used almost exclusively for the treatment of venereal diseases contracted by registered prostitutes.

A. 41.—Diseases of all descriptions would be treated in the hospital, either as in-door or out-door cases. But in 1892 the cases admitted as in-patients were practically all venereal or diseases of the female generative organs. One other case was admitted as an in-patient, but 191 cases were treated as out-patients in the year 1892.

No infectious diseases were treated in them.

A. 42.—No infectious diseases were treated in the year 1892.

In only one or two hospitals were diseases of any other contagious kind ever admitted.

A. 43.—No other contagious diseases were treated in the year 1892.

Very rarely are patients other than prostitutes admitted.

A. 44.—Patients of all descriptions would be admitted.

One case of dysentery was admitted in 1892, but it is not known whether the patient was a prostitute or not. All the other in-patients were prostitutes, but about 200 out-patients were treated who were not prostitutes.

In some hospitals cases of secondary syphilis are not treated, all such cases being sent out of cantonments.

A. 45.—No cases of secondary syphilis appeared among the in-patients in the year 1892, but there were four cases amongst the out-patients.

No case of secondary syphilis has ever been known to have been turned out of cantonments.

The only women compelled to submit to the periodical examinations were the registered women reserved for British soldiers.

A. 46.—The examinations appear to have been considered voluntary.

There was no regular register kept, as explained above. The few women who are stated to consort with soldiers and natives are reported not to have attended the examinations.

A few other women used by native soldiers are occasionally sent to the Lock Hospital for treatment.

A. 47.—There are no native troops at Sitapur, nor was there a Lock Hospital there in 1892.

A. W. NOYES, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*

2nd West Yorkshire Regiment,

Commanding at Sitapur.

ACTION TAKEN BY GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED ORDERS ISSUED BY THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, REGARDING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF REGISTRATION, &c., OF PROSTITUTES.

From MAJOR-GENERAL E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3102 B.,—*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals,* dated Simla, 1st July 1893—Confidential).

I AM directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying reports, showing the action taken by General Officers Commanding Districts in this Presidency to communicate to all concerned the orders contained in this office circulars * marginally noted, regarding the discontinuance of the registration and compulsory examination of prostitutes in Cantonments, their expulsion from regimental bazaars and prohibition from accompanying regiments on the march, &c.

1. Copy of Quartermaster General's No. 2963-74-B., dated 23rd June 1893.
2. Presidency District No. 14-C.A., dated 29th June 1893.
3. Allahabad District No. 140-G.F., dated 24th June 1893.
4. Rawal Pindi District No. 2736-B., dated 24th June 1893.
5. Rawal Pindi District No. 2757, dated 26th June 1893.
6. Bundelkhand District No. 642, dated 24th June 1893.
7. Peshawar District, dated 24th June 1893.
8. Nerbudda District No 48-C.R., dated 24th June 1893.
9. Rohilcund District No. 3807, dated 24th June 1893.
10. Quetta District No. 4193, dated 26th June 1893.
11. Meerut District No. 10-C.D., dated 26th June 1893.
12. Oudh District No. 860, dated 26th June 1893.
13. Lahore District No. 284-L., dated 27th June 1893.
14. Sirhind District No. 32-C., dated 27th June 1893.

* Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888.
Demi official, dated 13th July 1888.
Circular No. 12, dated 6th August 1888.
Demi-official, dated 8th November 1890.
Demi-official, dated 21st March 1892.
Circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892.
Circular No. 21, dated 13th July 1892.

Telegrams from the Quartermaster-General in India, to General Officers Commanding Districts (No. 2963-B. to No. 2973-B., dated 23rd June 1893).

Please wire steps taken to communicate to those concerned the orders conveyed in Quartermaster-General's Circulars 3 and 12 of 1888, and 20 and 21 of 1892, also in demi-official letters of 13th July 1888, 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892.

Information required by Government.

Memo. from the Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding Sirhind District,—(No. 2974-B., dated 23rd June 1893).

Copy forwarded by post for favour of early submission of the required information.

From the General Officer Commanding, Presidency District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 14-C.A., dated Jalapahar, 29th June 1893).

Your 2963-B. Circular 3 of 1888, circulated stations concerned, 6th June 1888. Circular 12, circulated stations concerned, 23rd August 1888. Revised Circular 20 of 1892, circulated stations and regiments in district, 29th May 1893. Former Circular 20, circulated stations, 11th August 1892. Your demi-official 2992-B., dated 13th July 1888, circulated stations concerned; your demi-official 4901-B.,—Camp, 8th November 1890, also circulated stations concerned; your 411-B.—Camp, 21st March 1892, circulated stations concerned, 27th March 1892. All above were circulated confidentially by a staff officer. Circular 21 of 1892, circulated Principal Medical Officers and stations concerned on 23rd July 1892. Also see my 104-C., dated 9th December 1891.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Allahabad District, to the Quartermaster-General in India—(No. 140-G.-F., dated Allahabad, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2964-B. The several circulars have, according to office records, been communicated.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster General in India—(No. 2736-B., dated Murree, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2971-B. Circulars 3 and 12 of 1888 were circulated to Officers Commanding all stations in the district, and in addition a special copy of the former to each Lock Hospital, and of the latter to Rawal Pindi Lock Hospital. Circular 20 of 1892 was circulated to all Officers Commanding stations; acknowledgments from Corps at Rawal Pindi are to hand, and in the case of out stations can be obtained from station offices if required. Circular 21 of 1892 was forwarded to Officers Commanding stations for communication to medical officers concerned. There is no record in the District Office of the circulation of demi-official of 13th July 1888, but as Circular 5 of that year was sent to all stations it is reasonable to presume that it was similarly disposed of. Enquiries on this point are being made, and report will follow. On receipt of demi-official of 8th November 1890, categorical questions were sent to all Officers Commanding stations, regiments, and batteries direct from District Staff office, and their replies forwarded to you under my 26-C. of 9th December 1890. Demi-official of 21st March 1892 was circulated to all stations with orders that all British Corps were to be specially warned to carry out instructions both in the letter and in the spirit.

ACTION TAKEN BY GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED ORDERS ISSUED BY THE QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL IN INDIA, REGARDING THE DISCONTINUANCE OF REGISTRATION, &c., OF PROSTITUTES.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rawal Pindi District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 2757, dated Murree, the 26th June 1893).

Continuation my 2736 Sanitary. Although no record is forthcoming of the circulation of Quartermaster-General's demi-official 3001-B., of 13th July 1888, it is clear from the correspondence of that period that steps were taken to carry out its provision.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Bundelkhand District, to the Quarter-
4920 master-General in India,—(No. 642, dated Agra, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2966-B. The Quartermaster-General's orders and instructions were circulated to Officers Commanding Corps, heads of departments, Cantonment Magistrates, and medical officers concerned. The General Officer Commanding by frequent enquiries and personal inspections has ascertained that the orders and instructions are carried out precisely and thoroughly.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Peshawar District, to the Quartermaster-General in India, dated the 24th June 1893.

Your telegram 2972-B. Only records in Peshawar District Office regarding communication of orders referred to are :—No. 3 of 1888 was circulated to Officers Commanding British regiments on 5th December 1891, Nos. 20 and 21 of 1892, to Officers
4930 Commanding at Nowshera and Cherat and Cantonment Magistrate, Peshawar, on 23rd July 1892. Demi-official of 21st March 1892, sent to Officers Commanding at Nowshera and Cherat on 26th and 30th March 1892, respectively. With regard to Allababad District, I can distinctly state that all orders received during my tenure of command were circulated to all concerned, and that contents of demi-official of 21st March 1892 were personally communicated by me confidentially and demi-officially to all Commanding Officers, and also, as far as I can recollect, to all Cantonment Magistrates and medical officers concerned.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Nerbudda District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 48-C.R., dated Pachmarhi, the 24th June 1893).

Your 3541-B. The greatest care was taken to communicate the orders given in the
4940 Circulars and demi-official letters referred to, and to ascertain that they were obeyed I was in personal communication with the officers concerned, and personally ascertained that orders were obeyed.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Rohilcund District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 3807, dated Ranikhet, the 24th June 1893).

Your 2968-B. All Circulars referred to were circulated to Officers Commanding stations where Cantonment Hospitals existed. Demi-official of 1889 cannot be traced, but it is believed was circulated 8th November 1890, and 21st March 1892 circulated confidentially to all concerned.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Quetta District, to the Quartermaster-
4950 General in India,—(No. 4193, dated Quetta, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2973-B. Quartermaster-General's Circular 3 of 1888 circulated to Officers Commanding British Corps then in station; 12 of 1888 to Officers Commanding stations, Principal Medical Officer, Cantonment Magistrate, 20 and 21 of 1892 to Principal Medical Officer; demi-official letters to Cantonment Magistrate and Principal Medical Officer. There is no Cantonment Hospital at Quetta, nor are there any regimental bazaars in Cantonments.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Meerut District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 10-C.D., dated Mussoorie, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2969-B. The office records show that all the orders contained in Circulars and letters quoted were communicated to Officers Commanding stations.

4960 Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Oudh District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 8061, dated Lucknow, the 26th June 1893).

Your 2967-B. There is record of all Circulars and letters quoted having been communicated to all concerned, except demi-official, 13th July 1888; of this no record.

Telegram from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 284-T., dated Dalhousie, the 27th June 1893).

Your 2970-B., 23rd instant. Orders conveyed in Circulars and letters quoted were transmitted to Officers Commanding stations, without delay, through District Staff Officers in each case. The only possible exception is demi-official letter of 8th November 1890, which does not appear to have been registered, though its purport was

communicated and acknowledged by some stations. A statement follows in few days showing number and date of Despatch and full particulars of District Staff Officers' communication forwarding each letter or circular to stations.

From—Brigadier-General G. T. PRETYMAN, General Officer Commanding, Sirhind District, to the Quartermaster-General in India. No. 32-C., *Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*, dated Simla, the 27th June 1893.

Reference.—Quartermaster-General's No. 2974-B., dated 23rd June 1893.

In accordance with the orders contained in your telegram, No. 2963-B. to No. 2973-B., dated 23rd June 1893, I have the honour to report as follows for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief:—

I took over command of the Sirhind District in March 1891. I am unaware what steps were taken by my predecessors in the Command to communicate the orders contained in Quartermaster-General's Circulars, Nos. 3 and 12 of 1888, and demi-official letters, dated 13th July 1888 and 8th November 1890, as no record has been left to show the manner in which these orders were communicated to those concerned, though the papers themselves are filed confidentially in the office.

As regards Quartermaster-General's demi-official letter, dated 21st March 1892, and Circulars Nos. 20 and 21 of 1892, I have the honour to report, that, on the receipt of the demi-official letter referred to, I at once circulated it together with the demi-official letters from Major-General Collen, which were attached, to the Officers Commanding at all stations in the District; and with these letters I sent, at the same time, a Circular demi-official letter in which I drew attention to the existing regulations, and explained fully the proper method of working of the Cantonment Act of 1889.

A copy of Quartermaster-General's Circulars, Nos. 20 and 21 respectively was supplied to Officers Commanding all stations.

As a rule, 8 copies of Circulars affecting Cantonment Hospitals are received by me, and are distributed as follows:—

One copy to the Cantonment Magistrate, Umballa, who communicates the orders to the Medical Officer in charge of the Cantonment General Hospital.

1 copy to the Principal Medical Officer of the District.

1 copy to the Officer Commanding at Kasauli.

1 „ „ „ Subathu.

1 „ „ „ Dagshai.

1 „ „ „ Solon.

1 „ „ „ Jutogh.

1 „ filed in the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General's Office.

Occasionally as many as 12 copies of Circulars have been received, but this has only been during the present year, and with reference to the administration of Cantonment Hospitals, such as were the orders contained in Quartermaster-General's No. $\frac{742-66.}{B.}$, dated 23rd February 1893 and subsequent orders.

In these cases the distribution has included additional copies for the Principal Medical Officer of the District, and for the Cantonment Magistrates of Umballa and Kasauli, the latter being also Cantonment Magistrate for all hill stations in the District except Jutogh.

The number of copies of Circulars supplied from the Quartermaster-General's Office varies; and lately, when a revised Circular, No. 20 of 1892, was issued, it was found necessary to apply for additional copies.

From March 1892, and during 1893, the greatest care has been exercised in communicating to all concerned the orders received from time to time, relative to the working of the Cantonment Act of 1889: and the distribution of these orders is very clearly shown in the Confidential Register kept by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the District.

The above shows the general routine, but I have to observe that unfortunately, through an oversight in my office, and in that of the Cantonment Magistrate of Umballa, the orders and Circulars of 1888-90 were not shown to the Officers Commanding the 2nd Battalion, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and the 1st Battalion, Gordon Highlanders, on their first arrival in India.

REPORT BY THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT, REGARDING THE ACTION TAKEN TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED THE ORDERS ISSUED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE SUBJECT OF THE NON-REGISTRATION OF PROSTITUTES, &c.

From Major-General E. STEDMAN, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—No. 3129-B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 4th July 1893.

In continuation of this office, No. 3102-B., dated the 1st instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying letter* and enclosures, from the General Officer Commanding, Lahore District, regarding the action taken to communicate to all concerned the orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of the non-registration of prostitutes, discontinuance of compulsory examinations, &c.

* No. 1327-128-B., dated 1st July 1893.

From Major-General Viscount FRANKFORT, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 1327—128-B., "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 1st July 1893).

In continuation of my telegram, No. 284-T., dated 27th June 1893, I have the honour to enclose a statement in tabular form showing from reference to the records of the District Staff Office what steps were taken to communicate the orders quoted in your telegram, No. 2970-B., to those concerned, together with copies of the forwarding memoranda when such were sent.

2. With reference to Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 8th November 1890, the original letter does not appear to have been registered or filed in the District Staff Office, the correspondence having been treated throughout as strictly demi-official only.

Its purport seems, however, to have been communicated and, as far as can be recollected, was so communicated to all concerned and reports called for (*see* Annexure V). Satisfactory replies were, there is every reason to believe, duly received, and a report made accordingly which may be on record at Army Head Quarters.

3. It is much to be regretted now that a more careful record of the demi-official correspondence in this case was not kept, but I am informed it was considered at the time that the intentions of Army Head Quarters as regards the demi-official nature of the correspondence would be more strictly observed by no official record being retained in the Staff Office.

Statement showing how documents mentioned in Quartermaster-General in India's No. 2970-B., dated 23rd June 1893, were acted on by the General Officer Commanding Lahore District.

Document.	How disposed of.	Evidence of action.	REMARKS.
1. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3 of 1888.	Sent out to Officers Commanding Meean Meer Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala, and Deputy Surgeon General, Lahore District.	This office No. 1684, dated 4th June, 1888 (also *see* attached, marked No. I.)	Jullundur then in Sirhind District, but has circular on record.
2. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 12 of 1888.	Sent out to Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala, and Deputy Surgeon General, Lahore District.	This office No. 68-C., dated 22nd August 1888 (marked No. II. on attached).	Jullundur then in Sirhind District, but has circular on record.
3. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20 of 1892.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmsala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 98-S., dated 12th May 1893 (revised copy), and this office, No. 22-D., dated 25th July 1892 (original copy).	Forwarded one copy to each station named.
4. Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 21 of 1892.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmsala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 6552-R., dated 23rd July 1892.	
5. Quartermaster-General's demi-official No. 3000-B., dated 13th July 1888.	Sent out to Officer Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dharmsala, and Dalhousie.	This office No. 58-C., dated 18th July 1888 (marked No. III. attached).	Jullundur then in Sirhind District.
6. Quartermaster-General's demi-official, dated 8th November 1890.	Purport communicated to stations demi-officially, and confidentially, and reports called for.	Letter dated 10th November 1890 (unnumbered) (marked No. IV. attached).	Original not registered or filed.
7. Quartermaster-General's demi-official dated 21st March 1892.	Forwarded with annexures under covering letter to Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Dharmsala, Dalhousie.	This office No. 627-B.-C., dated 28th March 1892 (marked V. on attached).	

REPORT BY THE GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT REGARDING THE ACTION TAKEN TO COMMUNICATE TO ALL CONCERNED THE ORDERS ISSUED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE SUBJECT ON THE NON-REGISTRATION OF PROSTITUTES, &C.

I.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District, to Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala, and Deputy Surgeon General,—(No, 48-C. "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, the 5th June 1888).

FORWARDING Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 5, dated 28th May 1888, *re* residence of women who register their names under Rule VI, Lock Hospital Rules in Sadr Bazaars.

Forwarded in continuation of this Office No. 1684, dated 4th June 1888.

II.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lahore District, to the Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Ferozepore, Mooltan, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala, and Deputy Surgeon General,—(No. 68-C, "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, 22nd August 1888). 5090

Forwarding Quarter Master General's Circular Memorandum No. 12, dated 6th August 1888, Revision of Lock Hospital Rules, Register of public prostitutes, &c.

For Information and compliance.

III.

Memo. from Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, Lahore District, to the Officer-Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dalhousie, Dharmsala,—(No. 58-C, "*Lock Hospitals*," dated Dalhousie, 18th July 1888).

Forwarding Quarter Master General's No. 3000-B, dated 13th July 1888, *re* bazaar women's residence.

For information and record.

IV.

Demi-official from CAPTAIN W. J. HAMILTON, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General Lahore District, to Officer Commanding Jullundur,*—(dated Meean Meer, the 10th November 1890). 5100

ENQUIRIES having been made by the Quarter Master General and reports called for, will you please report to me as under, at a very early date, the correspondence being regarded strictly confidential and demi-official only :—

Are the Regulations contained in Quarter Master General's Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888, and in Quarter Master General's Circular No. 12, of 6th August 1888, strictly carried out in your Command, that is to say :—

(1) Is the residence of registered prostitutes in bazaars of British Corps in Cantonments strictly prohibited and the rule enforced? 5110
(2) Are public prostitutes strictly prohibited from accompanying regiments or corps on the march, or to standing camps?
(3) Are the regulations prohibiting the registration of prostitutes, issue of tickets, or compulsory examination of women strictly observed?
(4) Is the Cantonment Lock Hospital a purely voluntary institution?

V.

From COLONEL T. G. CRAWLEY, Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, to Officers Commanding Meean Meer, Mooltan, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Dharmsala, and Dalhousie, No. 627-B.C.,—(dated Meean Meer, 28th March 1892).

† Demi-official from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, dated 11th March 1892, to Quarter Master General.

The enclosed correspondence† received from the Quarter Master-General in India, is forwarded for your perusal, for favour of return, 5120 and acknowledgment.

I am directed to warn you to carry out both in the letter and in the spirit, the intention of the Resolution (quoted in one of the accompanying letters) of the House of Commons, dated 5th June 1888, and the provisions of the Cantonment Act and the rules which have received the approval of the Secretary of State.

The correspondence is forwarded in continuation of Sir James Browne's demi-official letter No. 4909-B, dated 8th November 1890, regarding the question of prostitutes in Cantonments.

* Officer Commanding, Ferozepore, received an identical letter at same time.

SUMMARY of Reports by General Officers Commanding regarding the allegations made by Messrs. Stansfeld and Stuart on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at the stations of Benares, Sitapur, Bareilly, Meean Meer, Armitsar, Rawal Pindi, and Peshawar.

Charges.

1. That within the above-mentioned cantonments systematic provision is made by, or with the sanction of, the military authorities—

(*a*) For the residence therein of Native women as prostitutes for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

Benares.—(P. ii, line 105; p. v, line 242; p. iii, line 118.) The Cantonment General Hospital was not used for maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution. Nothing warrants the assumption that women are reserved for British soldiers.

Sitapur.—(P. vi, line 296.) Formerly women were set apart, but the order ceased on passing of the Cantonment Act of 1889. It is possible that the soldiers through ignorance or the desire to keep the women to themselves may have kept up the idea. (P. vii, line 316.) Prostitution is not recognised in the cantonment, but (p. x, line 500, p. vii, line 318) the chakla was Government property on the 5th March 1892 and the women were in occupation.

Bareilly.—(P. xi, line 567; p. xiii, line 662; p. xvi, line 756.) There is no chakla officially recognised or in any way paid for by Government, but (p. xii, line 596, p. xiv, line 710) no doubt the bawdy-house keeper tried to reserve her prostitutes for British soldiers, but she has had no assistance in so doing. There is no chakla or house in which women are reserved for European soldiers.

Meean Meer.—(P. xviii, line 892.) It is admitted that prostitutes have been allowed to reside in regimental bazars; that there were three chaklas, and that the women were registered contrary to orders from Army Headquarters (p. lix, line 3088) in two of these for the exclusive use of British soldiers.

Amritsar.—(P. xviii, line 858.) A small brothel exists in the Sadr Bazar. It is not stated whether it is officially recognised or whether women are "reserved."

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxiii, line 1169; p. xxiii, line 1150; p. xxiv, line 1230; p. xxxvii, lines 1902 and 1922.) No chaklas exist in regimental bazars, nor are the women reserved in any way. (P. lvi, line 2921.) The women are free to reside anywhere and to receive any persons.

Peshawar.—(P. xlii, line 2177.) Prostitutes mostly resort to one quarter of the Sadr Bazar; (p. xliv, line 2253), chiefly in two streets according to ancient custom; (p. xlii, line 2165), there is no rule by which any are reserved for British soldiers; they may receive whom they like.

(*b*) For the compulsory examination of such women at prescribed periods by European or Native Medical Officers.

Benares.—(P. iii, line 110.) No compulsory examination at prescribed periods since October 1891.

Sitapur.—(P. viii, line 383; p. ix, line 421.) No compulsory or periodical examinations since passing of Act of 1889.

Bareilly.—(P. xii, line 590; p. xiv, line 697; p. xvii, line 797.) No compulsory examination held. A date for voluntary inspection was fixed.

Meean Meer.—(P. xx, line 980; p. lx, line 3141.) Admitted.

Amritsar.—(P. xviii, lines 865 and 873.) Examination was voluntary, not compulsory.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xl, line 2073; p. xxiii, line 1173; p. xxxiii, line 1702; p. xxxvi, line 1871; p. lxxvii, line 3948; p. lxix, line 3601; p. lxx, line 3610; p. lxxii, line 3740.) There has been no compulsion of any kind except in the case of persons suffering or supposed to be suffering from any infectious or contagious disorder. (P. lvii, line 2987.) The pro-

vision made is for the voluntary examination of women. (P. xxxvii, line 1880; p. xxxvii, line 1926.) The examination is purely voluntary.

Peshawar.—(P. xlii, line 2168; p. xliii, line 2202 p. xlv, line 2291.) There is no compulsory examination of women.

(*c*) For the compulsory detention in hospital of any of such women under the orders of the examining officers.

Benares.—(P. iii. line 112.) No compulsory detention of any women was carried out by the orders of a medical officer.

Sitapur.—Not referred to.

Bareilly.—(P. xvi, line 752; p. xvii, line 810.) Women found diseased are detained in hospital or expelled from cantonments.

Meean Meer.—(P. xx, line 986.) Admitted.

Amritsar.—(P. lix, line 3068.) Women not detained during the regular monthly period.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxxiv, line 1764; p. xl, line 2074; p. lviii, line 3002; p. lxxvii, line 3954; p. lxx, line 3618; p. lxxii, line 3751.) No woman was compulsorily detained.

Peshawar.—(P. xlii, line 2169; p. xliii, line 2210.) There is no compulsory detention in hospital.

(*d*) With penal consequences, in case of disobedience of such orders, of arrest, fines, or imprisonment, or of expulsion from the cantonment.

Benares.—(P. iii, line 114.) No arrest, fine, or imprisonment inflicted, but any patients suffering from any contagious disease had to remain in hospital or leave the cantonment.

Sitapur.—Not replied to.

Bareilly.—(P. xiv, lines 684 and 706; p. xvii, line 809.) There being no compulsory examination, the statement is untrue.

Meean Meer.—(P. lix, line 3097.) No arrest or imprisonment. Fines or expulsion from cantonment were the punishment.

Amritsar.—(P. lix, line 3066.) No steps were taken for the punishment of women refusing to attend inspection.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxxvii, line 1897; p. lviii, line 3013; p. lxxvii, line 3965.) None have been expelled or imprisoned. In one case a fine was inflicted for breach of rules.

Peshawar.—(P. xlii, line 2172; p. xliii, line 2213.) There is no punishment for non-attendance at hospital, except that any person certified to be suffering from any contagious disease may be expelled from cantonments, if he or she refuses to submit to treatment.

2. That the hospitals established under the above-mentioned Acts and Regulations made thereunder are systematically used for the purpose of maintaining an established system of licensed prostitution and the compulsory examination of registered prostitutes within the limits of the cantonment.

(ii) That these hospitals are used exclusively for the treatment of venereal cases, no other medicines being kept there or other cases treated.

Benares.—(P. iii, line 118.) It is denied that the hospital was so used or that there were any registered prostitutes. (P. iv, line 163.) Infectious diseases are treated in the cholera and small-pox wards and diseases other than contagious have an equal claim to admission.

Sitapur.—(P. ix, line 434; p. ix, line 444.) Cases other than venereal are shown in the periodical returns as having been admitted. There are other medicines than those used for venereal in possession.

Bareilly.—(P. xvi, line 754.) The Cantonment Hospital is not so used. (P. xvii, line 815.) Many cases of secondary syphilis have been treated in the Cantonment Hospital. (P. xi, line 564; p. xiv, line 690.) The statement that there are no cholera or small-pox wards in the Cantonment Hospital is absolutely false.

Meean Meer.—(P. lxi, line 3162.) Practically admitted.

Amritsar.—(P. lix, line 3063; p. xviii, line 881.) The Cantonment Hospital was and is used for the treatment of all classes of natives, male and female.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxxiii, line 1676.) Cases other than venereal were treated, but only prostitutes attended as in-patients. (P. xxxiii, line 1689, p. lxviii. line 3539.) Other medicines were kept.

Peshawar.—(P. xliv, line 2275.) The hospital was not set apart for venereal diseases.

3. That in each cantonment a register of chakla women is kept, in some places the women's rooms bearing their register number—

(ii) that the chakla is in some places guarded;

(iii) that the chakla is, in almost every instance, in charge of a mahaldarni, whose wages in some cases are paid from cantonment funds.

Benares.—(P. iv, line 174; p. iii, lines 148 and 131.) There is no register kept. (P. iii, line 129.) The chakla is not guarded. (P. iii, line 132.) No plates or distinctive marks to distinguish the women are affixed to their rooms. The dhai of the Cantonment General Hospital is paid Rs. 10 per mensem from cantonment funds for charge of the female ward, but her duties are distinct from those of a mahaldarni.

Sitapur.—(P. x, line 485; p. vii, line 331.) There is no such register kept. The prostitutes are under no special police supervision.

Bareilly.—(P. xiv, line 725; p. xiv, line 736.) There is no register or list kept: (p. xiv, line 722; p. xvi, line 770) there is no guard over any house; (p. xiv, line 723; p. xvi, line 775) there is no mahaldarni, and consequently no pay; (p. xiv, line 733; p. xvi, line 772) the number had no reference to any registration of women; the large number was the number of the "block" in the bazar.

Meean Meer.—(P. xx, line 958.) A register was kept. The mahaldarni had no connection with the Cantonment Hospital, nor was she paid by Government. (P. lx, line 3110.) No guard in uniform is placed in or near the brothel.

Amritsar.—(P. xviii, line 863.) A mahaldarni was maintained and paid by the women.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxxiii, line 1671; p. xxxvi, line 1860; p. xxx, line 1545; p. xxix, line 1503; p. xxvii, line 1362; p. lxix, line 3577). There was no register of prostitutes of any sort kept since 1889. (P. lxxiv, line 3852). Mahaldarnis were kept by the women, but in no way recognised or paid by Government; they are entirely free agents. (P. lvi, line 2936; p. lxxiv, line 3847.) In no case is there any guard within or near the prostitutes' quarters. (P. lxxv, lines 3931 and 3919; p. lxxiv, line 3877; p. lvii, line 2941.) Numbers are affixed to the houses occupied by prostitutes for purposes of the general house tax and have no relation to the tenant, nor is the numbering to enable a soldier to designate a particular woman.

Peshawar.—(P. xlv, line 2317.) No register has been kept, or tickets issued, since April 1891; (p. xliv, line 2262) the large numbers on the houses were put up under the old rules, they correspond to no register of women; (p. xliii, line 2180) there are no guards in uniform, but military police visit the bazar to keep order; (p. xliv, line 2278) no mahaldarni exists or is recognised.

4. That there is a low tariff paid by the men, which in case of non-payment is stopped from the men's pay.

Benares.—(P. iv, line 195; p. iii, line 144.) No knowledge of the existence of such tariff.

Sitapur.—(P. vii, line 349.) No record of any such fixed rates.

Bareilly.—(P. xiii, line 676.) There was a tariff, but what it was is not known. (P. xvi, line 784.) The amount is never stopped out of men's pay.

Meean Meer.—(P. lx, line 3123.) Such payment is in no way regulated by the State, it is a matter of custom. No cases of recovering by stoppage of a man's pay is known.

Amritsar.—Not referred to.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxix, line 1514; p. xxv, line 1258; p. xxxvii, line 1930; p. xxvii, line 1375; p. xxviii, line 1454; p. lxxvii, line 3973.) The rates may be fixed by custom, but there is no official cognisance of these. (P. lvii, line 2972.) Nothing is known as to a tariff except except by those personally concerned.

Peshawar.—(P. xliii, line 2189.) No rate of pay is or could be fixed. Never heard of a man's pay being stopped on such an account.

5. That when a regiment changes its station, the women associated with that regiment accompany it.

Benares.—Not referred to.

Sitapur.—(P. viii, line 377.) On the march to Dagshai in March 1891 the women were strictly forbidden to accompany the troops.

Bareilly.—(P. xiii, line 680; p. xvi, line 790.) They do not march with the soldiers, nor are they recognised.

Meean Meer.—(P. xviii, line 896; p. lx, line 3137.) Prostitutes have been allowed to accompany troops on the march.

Amritsar.—Not referred to.

Rawal Pindi.—(P. xxv, line 1283; p. xxvii, line 1408; p. xxvii, line 1389; p. xxviii, line 1457.) Women no doubt follow the regiment on the march, none are allowed to accompany the troops; (p. lvii, line 2983) no case of provision of transport, of protection on the march, or of recognition in any way by regimental authorities is known.

Peshawar.—(P. xliv, line 2280.) Women may follow the troops to the hills, but there is no proof that they accompanied them.

6. In each cantonment there are assigned quarters for prostitutes styled "chaklas," in appearance similar to military buildings. In some cases the "chaklas" are owned by Government. In some cases the women live rent-free, in others they pay rent.

The facts of the case appear to be as follows:—

Benares.
iii, line 122.
iv, line 170.
v, line 239.

Bareilly.
xi, line 567.
xiv, line 710.
xvi, line 756.
xvi, line 766.
xvi, line 774.

Meean Meer.
xix, line 949.
xix, line 942.
xx, line 960.
lx, line 3102.

Peshawar.
xlii, line 2177.
xliv, lines 2256, 2278.

Sitapur.
vii, line 314.
x, line 500.

Amritsar.
xviii, line 859.
xix, line 918.

Rawal Pindi.
xxiii, line 1168.
xxvii, line 1389.
xxviii, line 1440.
xxix, line 1504.
xxx, line 1547.
xxxii, line 1622.
xxxvi, line 1866.
xxxvii, line 1901.
xxxvii, lines 1902, 1914, 1923.
xxxviii, line 1962.
xxxix, line 2037.
xl, line 2041.
lvi, line 2897.

In accordance with custom and inclination, prostitutes congregate in one quarter of the bazar, living in one or more chaklas, which in most cases are of the ordinary type of native houses. With the exception of the chakla at Sitapur, which has since been sold (page lvi, line 2926), and certain disused grasscutter's lines at Rawal Pindi in the Royal Artillery Bazar in which the women were allowed to settle rent-free (see also pages lxii to lxvi), none of the chaklas at the stations named belonged to Government in March 1892. They usually belong to natives, who charge rent for them. In some cases they are owned by a mahaldar or mahaldarni, who keeps the women and takes a portion of their earnings in return.

MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3188–B., "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 6th July 1893.)

WITH reference to this office Nos. 2959–B., and 2988–B., dated 23rd and 26th June 1893, respectively, with which were submitted reports* from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, relative to the working of the Cantonment Hospital Rules at Meean Meer, and in which it was stated that the orders issued by the Commander-in-Chief regarding the prohibition of the registration and residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars, and their accompanying corps on the march, had not been obeyed at Meean Meer, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying correspondence † which has taken place on the subject.

* No. 38–D, dated 15th June 1893.
No. 48–D, dated 2nd June 1893.

† (1) Copy of Quartermaster-General's No. 2975–D, dated 24th June 1893.
(2) Lahore District No. 287–I, dated 3rd July 1893.
(3) Lahore District No. 1336–B, dated 3rd July 1893, and enclosures.
(4) Lahore District No. 289–T, dated 6th July 1893.

2. It will be observed that the Officer Commanding the British Infantry denies that prostitutes were at the time under reference allowed to reside in the regimental bazar or to accompany the battalion in the line of march.

The Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, while denying all registration and all compulsory examination, states that five women were residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar at the time under reference, but that they have now left and that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the line of march. The Cantonment Magistrate at that station submits an explanation of the reasons which led him to re-introduce the registration of prostitutes, from which it will be seen that he acted under a misconception in doing so.

3. I am also to forward copy of Quartermaster-General's No. 283–B., dated 28th January 1890, which he states that he misconstrued. It will be seen from the letter in question that the Cantonment Magistrate had no grounds whatever for the interpretation which he placed on it.

4. I am to state that the Commander-in-Chief will call upon the General Officer Commanding Lahore District for an explanation of the cause of the very contradictory statements which have been submitted regarding the working of the rules at Meean Meer, and he will be asked to report in what way the Officer Commanding at that station proposes to account for these contradictions.

From Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officer Commanding Lahore District,—(No. 2975–B., dated the 24th June 1893).

WITH reference to the extract from your letter No. 48–D., dated 22nd June 1893, transcribed on the margin, I am desired by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to ask that you will be so good as to furnish me with the names of the Military authorities in question.

Meean Meer. * * "Paragraph 6.
Paragraph I. (A) of statement. With the sanction of the Military Authorities most immediately concerned, though contrary to the orders of Army Head-Quarters, and, as I understood, without the knowledge of the General Officer Commanding, prostitutes have been allowed to reside in the regimental bazars of British Infantry and Royal Artillery, for the exclusive use of British soldiers."

2. Your letter No. 38–D of the 15th instant, having been submitted to Government, is not available for reference.

Telegram from General Officer Commanding Lahore District, to Quartermaster-General in India,—No. 287–I., dated Dalhousie, the 3rd July 1893).

287–I. Reference your 2975–B, dated 24th ultimo, and my reports 33–D, of 15th ultimo, and 48–D of 22nd ultimo. The Officer Commanding King's Own Scottish Borderers states, absolutely, that no prostitutes have been recognised in any way whatever in the regimental bazar of the battalion, or allowed to live there, nor, as far as he can ascertain, have they accompanied the battalion on the line of march, and they most certainly have not been recognised. The Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, states positively that no prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the march. The above reports have been forwarded me by Officer Commanding Meean Meer, without remarks, though they are diametrically opposed to his previous reports to me, which, therefore, I must believe were founded on wrong information, and I desire therefore that my reports may be modified accordingly. Further inquiries are being made. Letter follows.

MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

From Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quarter-Master General in India,—(No. 1336–B,—"*Sanitary*,"—dated Dalhousie, the 3rd July 1893).

WITH reference to paragraphs 5 and 6 of my 38–D, dated 15th June, I have the honour to enclose herewith the explanatory reports called for, and referred to therein, regarding the statements made by General Officer Commanding, Meean Meer, that prostitutes had resided in the British Infantry and Royal Artillery Bazars, with the sanction of the Military authorities, and had accompanied batteries and corps on the march. Also the explanation from the Cantonment Magistrate regarding the re-introduction of registration, &c., after its discontinuance.

A.—No. 101–A. dated 26th June 1893, from Officer Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer.
B.—Letter dated 3rd July 1893, from Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, 2nd Battalion, King's Own Scottish Borderers.
C.—Letter dated 23rd June 1893, from Officer Commanding Wing, King's Own Scotish Borderers.
D.—No. 1–Confidential, dated 28th January 1893, from Medical Officer in charge Station Hospital.
E.—Letter dated 24th June 1893, from Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer.

2. With regard to the two former statements, they are directly traversed by Officer Commanding in two matters—

1*st*—It is denied that the batteries were ever accompanied by women on the march.

2*nd*—It is denied that prostitutes, recognised as such, resided in the British Infantry bazar, nor was it known if prostitutes accompanied the battalion on the march.

3. I forward these statements on, as received by me from the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer, who makes no comment thereon, although they contradict his statements already reported.

I have called for a further report by telegram as to what the actual facts of the case are, and how the contradictions are explained.

4. I may add that whether prostitutes have or have not resided in the British Infantry and Royal Artillery Bazar, or accompanied regiments and batteries on the march, that the fact has not been known, directly or indirectly, to the General Officer Commanding or Staff of the District, as far as I can ascertain.

5. The action of the Cantonment Magistrate in re-introducing registration, &c., is still, in spite of the explanation forwarded, inexplicable. He appears to have entirely misconceived the orders on the subject, and to have interpreted them in a manner different from every other station in the Command.

From Captain *A. Goff*, Commanding Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, to the Station Staff Officer, Meean Meer,—(No. 101–A, dated 26th June 1893).

WITH reference to your No. 29–C, of 19th June 1893, forwarding Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General's No. 45–1, of 17th June 1893, I have the honour to report as follows :—

(1) No registration of prostitutes or issue of tickets to prostitutes in any form whatever has ever been carried out by the Royal Artillery since the present batteries came to the station (February 1891).

(2) No recognised prostitutes, *viz.*, no women whose profession is prostitution, are at present residing in the Royal Artillery Bazar; five women who resided there until the present month have now left.

(3) No prostitutes have been allowed to accompany batteries on the march.

I know of no instances of any woman being compulsorily examined by the orders of the Royal Artillery authorities.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *J. Lieth Ross*, Commanding 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers, to the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District,—(dated 3rd July 1893).

IN answer to your confidential letter No. 49–D, returned herewith, I have the honour to inform you, for the information of the General Officer Commanding, that—

1*st*—Since the arrival of the battalion at Meean Meer prostitutes have *not* been permitted to reside in the British Infantry Bazar, nor have been in any way recognised.

It is true that from time to time sundry women have been found in the regimental bazar, as is likely to occur wherever a large number of native followers reside, but these prostitutes have had no permission to reside in the bazar, they have not been in any way registered, nor has anything whatever in the way of a medical examination taken place.

Last year on receipt of confidential No. 20, from the Quartermaster-General in India, dated 11th July 1892, I caused a searching examination to be made, and finding there were some women in the bazar (although not recognised), I immediately ordered them to be removed; subsequently, in December last the Acting Quartermaster came to me and reported officially that he had discovered some women in the bazar. I immediately ordered him to have them turned out, which was done at once.

(2) Certainly not. My orders on the subject have been perfectly clear and consistent' and I beg to refer you to paragraph 1 for the steps taken on the discovery of women in the bazar.

(3) None except as in paragraph 1.

(4) I consider no one responsible for the women referred to in paragraph 1, who found their way in the bazar entirely "*subrosâ.*"

I may say in conclusion that, owing to the absence on leave of the Quartermaster at the end of the year, and his subsequent retirement from the service, the duties of the Quartermaster have been performed by several different officers, who, through ignorance of the bazar routine, may have failed to discover that anything was going on contrary to my orders.

From Major *G. J. W. Hewat*, Commanding Wing, 2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers, to the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer,—(dated Dalhousie, the 30th June 1893).

In reply to your memorandum No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, and attached correspondence, I have the honor to report that after careful enquiry, I find that no prostitutes are, or have been recognised in any way whatever in the regimental bazar of this battalion, since the issue of the order forbidding it.

As regards the three particulars in which complaint is made of now, compliance with the order in question—

(1) No registration of prostitutes has taken place nor have any tickets been issued.

(2) No prostitutes have been allowed to live in the regimental bazar.

(3) Prostitutes have not, so far *as I can find out,* accompanied this battalion on the line of march, and they most certainly have not been recognised.

I have issued orders that any one found harbouring prostitutes in the regimental bazaar will be at once turned out.

From Surgeon-Captain *W. H. B. Robinson*, M.S., Officiating Medical Officer, Cantonment General Hospital, to the Station Staff Officer,—(No. 1-C, dated 28th January 1893).

In reply to confidential circular No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, I have the honor to report that I am only temporarily holding medical charge of the hospital, and that no medical examinations of women have taken place since I have been in charge; and that in all respects the orders of Government are being literally carried out.

From Lieutenant-Colonel *A. Macpherson*, Cantonment Magistrate, Meean Meer, to the Officer Commanding Meean Meer,—(dated Dalhousie, the 24th June 1893).

With reference to Station Staff Office, No. 29-C, dated 19th June 1893, *Confidential,* I have the honour, with reference to paragraphs 2 and 3 of its enclosure, to state that the construction placed on the Quartermaster-General's letter, was that sanction having been obtained for the establishment of a first class Lock Hospital it would of course be worked on former lines. There was no intention whatever of overlooking or disobeying any orders that had been passed: they were simply not thought of.

I beg to point out that when sanction was received to increasing the establishment of the Lock Hospital, thereby making it a first class one, no caution or warning whatever was given to be careful that the rules as to registration, &c., must be implicitly adhered to.

It fell to the Cantonment Magistrate, as Secretary to the Cantonment Committee, to make arrangements for the registration of prostitutes willing to attend and be inspected at the Lock Hospital as heretofore.

MEEAN MEER—REPORT BY MAJOR-GENERAL VISCOUNT FRANKFORT, COMMANDING LAHORE DISTRICT.

With reference to paragraph V (1) and (2) I would beg to state that no official recognition of prostitutes in any form whatever is taken in this cantonment.

No woman has appeared for examination since August 1892.

Telegram from General Officer Commanding Lahore District, to Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 289-T, dated Dalhousie, the 6th July 1893).

In continuation my telegram 287, and letter 1336-B of third instant, Officer Commanding Meean Meer, now withdraws entirely statement made that prostitute resided in regimental bazars of British Infantry, and accompanied corps on the march, and states the report was based on former customs, not on actual facts at the time under reference.

From the Quartermaster General in India, to the General Officer Commanding Lahore District,—(No. 283-B, dated the 28th January 1890).

With reference to Lahore District Nos. 10287-R, and 212-R, dated 7th December 1889 and 8th January 1890, respectively, I am desired to say that, under the circumstances represented, the Commander-in-Chief sanctions the following increase to the establishment* of the Meean Meer Lock Hospital, with effect from 10th October 1889, *viz.*:—

	Rs.
* 1 Medical Warrant Officer	20
1 Metherani	5
1 Sweeper	4

	Rs. per mensem.
1 Matron	10
1 Bhistie	5
1 Cook	5

2. His Excellency sanctions the employment of a Medical Officer on Rs. 50 per mensem, and a Native Doctor (Hospital Assistant) in lieu of the Medical Warrant Officer on Rs. 20 per mensem, with effect from 1st January 1890.

† *From* 10*th October* 1889 *to* 28*th February* 1890—

	Rs.	A.	P.
1 Matron at Rs. 10	47	1	7
1 Bhistie „ „ 5	23	8	9
1 Cook „ „ 5	23	8	9
From 1*st January to* 28*th February* 1890—			
1 Medical Officer at Rs. 50	100	0	0
Total	194	3	1

3. I am to express a hope that you will be able to suggest a reappropriation of funds in the Budget Estimate for 1889-90, in order to admit of the small increased charge† which the above measures involve being met, and thus obviate the necessity for an application being made to Government for an increased grant-in-aid in the current financial year.

4. The pay of the Native Doctor for the current year should be drawn against the grant-in-aid in lieu of that of the Medical Warrant Officer, and as pointed out in paragraph 3 of Quartermaster-General's No. 5196-B, dated 26th December 1889, efforts made to obtain the services of a man who will perform the Lock Hospital duties, in addition to those of his own appointment, and who will therefore only be entitled to Rs. 10 per mensem from the Cantonment Fund.

5. I am in conclusion to point out that the pay of establishments for the month of March 1890 is a charge against the Budget Estimate for 1890–91.

DESPATCH from Government of India to Secretary of State for India,—No. 160 (Military), dated 25th July 1893.—(Received 15 August 1893).

My Lord,

IN continuation of our Military despatch No. 148, dated the 11th July 1893, we have the honour to forward, for Your Lordship's information, copies of correspondence from the Quartermaster-General in India as noted in the accompanying schedule, submitting further reports from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Lansdowne.*
G. S. White.
P. P. Hutchins.
D. Barbour.
A. E. Miller.
H. Brackenbury.
C. C. Pritchard.

LIST of enclosures of Despatch No. 160 (Military), dated the 25th July 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and date of paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	No. 3316-B. dated the 12th July 1893, and enclosure.	From the Quartermaster-General in India.	Report from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.
2	No. 3381-B. dated the 15th July 1893, and enclosures.	Ditto - - - -	Report from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District regarding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer.

(Sd) M. J. KING-HARMAN,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Military Department.

Enclosure to Despatch No. 160, dated 25th July 1893.

Enclosure No. 1.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department,—(No. 3316-B, "*Sonitary—Cantonment Hospitals*," dated Simla, the 12th July 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3188-B, dated the 6th instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further report* from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazar of the British Infantry regiment at Meean Meer.

* No. 140-A, dated 6th July 1893.

From the Officer Commanding Wing 2nd Battalion, King's Own Scottish Borderers, Meean Meer, to the Officer Commanding at Meean Meer,—dated 3rd July 1893.

I WRITE to add to my report lately sent in as to recognition of prostitutes, as, since making it, I find that on some occasions they have been in the regimental bazar, but without any permission or recognition whatever.

They were turned out when found there,—on one occasion, last November, by Acting Quartermaster, and lately when three women were found to have got in.

Memo. from Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India,—(No. 140-A, "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 6th July 1893).

TRUE copy forwarded, for information, in continuation of my Telegram No. 289-T of date.

Enclosure No. 2.

From Major-General *E. Stedman*, C.B., Quartermaster-General in India, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department—(No. 3381-B, "*Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals*", dated Simla, the 15th July 1893).

IN continuation of this office No. 3316 B, dated the 12th instant, I am directed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying further report† from the General Officer Commanding Lahore District, regarding the residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars at Meean Meer.

† Lahore District, No. 1395-B, dated 9th July 1893, and enclosure.

From Major-General Viscount *Frankfort*, Commanding Lahore District, to the Quartermaster-General in India.—(No. 1395-B, "*Sanitary*," dated Dalhousie, the 9th July 1893).

IN reply to your No. 2975-B of the 24th June 1893, enquiring who were the officers responsible for the residence of prostitutes in the regimental bazars at Meean Meer, I have the honour to report that, from the correspondence recently forwarded,‡ it is now clear that no prostitutes were allowed to reside in the British Infantry bazar at Meean Meer by any authority.

‡ My numbers—
287-T, dated 3rd July 1893.
1336-B, dated 3rd July 1893.

There seems no doubt that occasionally women of bad character resided there, though, whenever discovered, they were turned out by the regimental authorities.

2. As regards the Royal Artillery bazar, it appears that, in 1889, permission was given by the Officer then Commanding Royal Artillery§ for prostitutes to return to the bazar, from which they had been ejected. The sanction was permissive only, and the same countenance and protection only are extended to them as to the other inhabitants of the bazar. They were not registered, nor was any issue of tickets or other recognition made by the Officers Commanding Royal Artillery.

§ This Officer is dead.

3. As I have been called upon to report the names of responsible officers, I enclose a list of officers who have been in command of the Royal Artillery, and so *ex-officio* in charge of the Artillery bazar since April 1890. It is more than probable, however, that many of these officers had no knowledge that women who were prostitutes resided in the Royal Artillery bazar, since the women were not registered or recorded as such; nor did they reside in any houses or buildings different from the ordinary bazar houses.

4. The Officer Commanding Meean Meer withdraws entirely his statement that women accompanied batteries on the march to Meean Meer, or the King's Own Scottish Borderers, unless indeed they did so strictly privately and without the knowledge of the regimental authorities.

He explains that he took the statements of the Cantonment Magistrate only, and did not inquire further, the Cantonment Magistrate reporting only from what he believed to be the custom from his personal knowledge, and not with special reference to the facts as regards the corps in Meean Meer.

5. Considering the importance of the enquiry, it does not seem that the report, as submitted from Meean Meer, was as sufficiently careful and explicit as was to be desired; but in this respect, I would beg to mention that the time available for a thorough and careful enquiry was extremely short, and to this alone the deficiencies in the report are, I think, to be ascribed.

(A.)

Names of Officers who commanded the Royal Artillery, Meean Meer, from 1st April 1890, and dates of their holding the appointment.

Retired	Colonel Pitt, Commanding Royal Artillery, Lahore District, during 1889 to 1st April 1890.
	Major Leach. 1st April 1890 to 28th April 1890.
Died	Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrie, 27th March 1890 (died before he took over).
	Major Frith, 29th April 1890 to 16th July 1890.
Temporary	Captain Beatson, 17th July 1890 to 29th July 1890.
Retired	Major Murray Graham, 30th July 1890 to 11th August 1890.
England	Lieutenant-Colonel Molesworth, 12th August 1890 to 25th January 1891.
	Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, 26th January 1891 to 6th February 1891.
Temporary	Captain Lawless, 7th February 1891 to 11th March 1891.
	„ Nelson, 12th March 1891 to 30th March 1891.
Retired	Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge, 1st April 1891 to 19th May 1892.
Temporary	Captain Nelson, 20th May 1892 to 23rd June 1892.
	Major Hawkins, 24th June 1892 to 15th Ocober 1892.
	„ Baker, 16th October 1892 to 31st October 1892.
	Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot, 1st November 1892 to 1st April 1893
	Do. Do. Douglas, 1st April 1893 to date.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pemberton was in command of Royal Artillery at station from January 1889 to time of his death in September 1889. The officers who succeeded him were the Majors or Captains who happened to be senior at the station, and were naturally appointed by the Lahore District Commanding Royal Artillery, Colonel Pitt. Under the new organisation of 1st April 1890, the District Royal Artillery Command was abolished, and Major Leach was the first officer who held the station command under orders from Army Head-Quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrie having died before he took over command, no responsible lieutenant-colonel occurs till Lieutenal-Colonel Molesworth (now, Royal Horse Artillery, Newbridge).

Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, now Assistant Adjutant-General, Lahore District, appears to have left the command in about ten days.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge, who held the command during the period which is to be specially reported on, has left the service, and his address is unknown.

Lieutenant-Colonel Broadfoot is Commanding Royal Artillery, Rawal Pindi.

COPIES

OF

RECENT CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN THE

INDIA OFFICE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ON THE

SUBJECT OF THE CANTONMENTS ACT AND REGULATIONS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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EAST INDIA (CANTONMENTS ACT).

Copies of recent Correspondence between the India Office and the Government of India on the Subject of the Cantonments Act and Regulations.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY TO SECRETARY OF STATE, DATED 14th SEPTEMBER 1893.

Reuter announces that majority of Russell's Committee have reported that system prevailing is not in accordance with House of Commons Resolution.

We earnestly trust that we may be given opportunity of considering the Report and your views before any further action is taken. Question is too important to be dealt with precipitately. Meanwhile we believe our recent orders have effectually dealt with irregularities brought to light and that Resolution is now being strictly carried out.

TELEGRAM FROM SECRETARY OF STATE TO VICEROY, 29th SEPTEMBER 1893.

Your telegram, 14th. Cantonments. Report of Committee sent by mail of 15th September. Majority, including Under Secretary, recommend legislation as only effective method of preventing practices inconsistent with Resolution of House of Commons. In this view I am disposed to concur, but proposal requires careful examination, and I request that you will take Report into your immediate consideration, and telegraph to me before House of Commons re-assemble in November what measures you are prepared to adopt. You will doubtless call to account all officers concerned who are proved to have allowed practices inconsistent with the Resolution above referred to in contravention of your orders.

MILITARY DESPATCH FROM GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO SECRETARY OF STATE, No. 209, DATED 4th OCTOBER 1893.

(Received 24th October 1893.)

MY LORD,

WE have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a Circular issued by the Quartermaster-General in India, in connection with the working of the Cantonment Regulations in regard to infectious and contagious diseases.

2. It will be observed that the instructions contained in the Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20, dated the 11th July 1892, have been reiterated, and that the necessity for the most rigid observance of the regulations against prostitutes living in regimental bazars, or accompanying troops to camps of exercise or on the line of march, has been impressed on all concerned.

3. General Officers commanding Districts have been directed to submit periodical reports stating whether the regulations on the matter under reference have been strictly observed throughout their commands.

We have the honour to be,
MY LORD,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,
(Signed) LANSDOWNE.
" G. S. WHITE.
" P. P. HUTCHINS.
" D. BARBOUR.
" A. E. MILLER.
" H. BRACKENBURY.
" C. B. PRITCHARD.

LIST of ENCLOSURES of Despatch No. 209 (Military), dated the 4th October 1893, from the Government of India in the Military Department to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Serial No.	Number and Date of Paper.	From whom or to whom.	Subject.
1	Circular No. 11, dated the 18th July 1893, and enclosures.	From Quartermaster-General in India.	Instructions issued by the Quartermaster-General in India on the subject of the working of the Cantonment Regulations in regard to infectious and contagious diseases.

(Signed) M. J. KING-HARMAN,
Depy. Secy. to the Govt. of India,
Military Department.

Enclosure to Despatch No. 209, dated 4th October 1893.

Enclosure No. 1.

CIRCULAR MEMO. from Major-General E. Stedman, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officers Commanding Districts.—(No. 11 "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, the 18th July 1893.)

The orders issued by the Government of India and his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in connection with the working of the Cantonment Regulations in regard to infectious and contagious diseases having in various instances been misinterpreted or disregarded, attention is called to Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 20, dated 11th July 1892, as explained by Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 9, of 8th July 1893, copies annexed for easy reference, and his Excellency desires to enjoin the most rigid observance of the orders on the subject. The neglect of these rules and regulations, viewed apart from discipline, is short-sighted and harmful, as it tends to throw discredit on the system in force to prevent the spread of disease amongst the troops.

2. The departures from existing regulations fall chiefly under the following headings :—

(i.) Residence of prostitutes in regimental bazars.
(ii.) Compulsory examination of women, or any pressure that can be interpreted as compulsion, directly or indirectly.
(iii.) Women accompanying regiments on line of march and to standing camps.
(iv.) Penalties for non-attendance at examinations.

3. His Excellency directs that General Officers commanding Districts will submit to this office, on the 1st January and 1st of July of each year, a report stating whether the regulations on the matter under reference have been observed both in the spirit and in the letter.

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General Officer commanding Presidency District	11
,, ,, ,, Assam ,,	6
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No. 3541–B.

Submitted* for the information of the Government of India, with reference to Military Department No. 3118–D, dated 10th July 1893.

(Signed) GEORGE F. YOUNG, Colonel,
Simla, 25th July 1893. for Quartermaster-General in India.

No. B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) GEORGE F. YOUNG, Colonel,
for Quartermaster-General in India.

	No. of Copies.
To the Principal Medical Officer, Her Majesty's Forces in India	15
,, ,, Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India	10
,, ,, Adjutant-General in India	2
,, ,, Military Secretary to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief	2
,, ,, Principal Veterinary Officer in India	2

No. B.

Forwarded for information.

(Signed) GEORGE F. YOUNG, Colonel,
for Quartermaster-General in India.

	No. of Copies.
To the Quartermaster-General, Madras Army	2
,, ,, ,, ,, Bombay ,,	2

CIRCULAR MEMO. from Quartermaster-General in India to the General Officers commanding Districts.—(No. 20 "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, the 11th July 1892.)

With regard to the observance, in so far as concerns venereal diseases, of the rules† issued under the Cantonment Act, the Quartermaster-General is directed to state that

* Ten copies.

† G. G. O. No. 617, dated 4th July 1890.

the Government of India desire particular stress to be laid on the following points, viz. :—

(*a.*) That venereal disease is not to be treated by station or regimental authorities in any way differently from any other contagious disease.

(*b.*) That on a medical authority certifying that a person is suffering, or supposed by such medical officer to be suffering, from a contagious disease, that person has the option of either (i.) going to hospital, or of (ii.) leaving the cantonment. But (iii.) such a person cannot be compulsorily sent to hospital.

(*c.*) That prostitutes are not allowed to reside in regimental bazars, or to accompany regiments on the march.

(*d.*) That no separate register or list of prostitutes is allowed to be kept in station bazars, nor any special examination of them to be permitted, other than would take place in the case of any other contagious diseases; nor any other action to be taken tending to convey the idea that they are in any way licensed or countenanced by Government.

2. The Commander-in-Chief accordingly directs that the attention of all station and regimental authorities may be drawn to the above instructions, with a request that their observance be most carefully and strictly attended to by all concerned.

CIRCULAR MEMO. from Major-General E. Stedman, Quartermaster-General in India, to the General Officers commanding Districts.—(No. 9 "Sanitary—Cantonment Hospitals," dated Simla, the 8th July 1893.)

As there appears to have been a misapprehension on the part of some local military authorities as to the extent to which the orders prohibiting prostitutes from residing in regimental bazars or accompanying troops on the march are applicable, owing to the words "registered prostitutes" having been entered in the Circular marginally cited, it is notified, for general information and guidance, that registration of prostitutes was abolished by Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 12 of 1888, and that the orders contained in Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 10, dated 11th July, 1892, refer to prostitutes generally.

Quartermaster-General's Circular No. 3, dated 12th May 1888.

TELEGRAM FROM VICEROY TO SECRETARY OF STATE, DATED 31ST OCTOBER 1893.

Your telegram, 29th September. Cantonments. We are sending by this mail drafts of three Bills and of Regulations to show how effect might be given to intentions of majority report, as we understand them. We think your Lordship should see our Despatch and these drafts before deciding whether legislation is indispensable, or what form it might take. Officers concerned have been called to account, and we shall inform your Lordship of result.

GENERAL REPORT

ON THE

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1891.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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PREFACE.

Some portions of the materials for this work were so late in their arrival that advantage was taken of the delay to compress as far as possible the review of the rest to within moderate dimensions. I have thus deprived myself of the opportunity, of which my predecessor, Sir William Plowden, so freely and gracefully availed himself, of showing my appreciation of the work of my colleagues, the Superintendents of the provincial census, by incorporating in my own review copious extracts from theirs. I am none the less under obligations to them for the help they have given me throughout the operations, and for which I now tender my best thanks. Rather than draw comparisons here, I prefer to leave their work to be judged by those who are in a position to view it from a standpoint less partial than that of one who has had so strong and intimate an interest in it and its authors as I have had during the last two years. I may nevertheless be allowed the personal gratification of summarising, in a few instances, what will be found expressed in a more diffuse form in the review to which these lines are a prelude.

Mr. O'Donnell's work stands by itself, as in no other case has so large a population been enumerated in such detail on the responsibility of a single and practically unaided Superintendent. That his administration was statistically and financially successful is greatly due to the unsparing personal supervision he exercised on the operations from first to last. His analysis of the movement of the population, district by district, is very valuable, and his interesting iconoclastic excursions into the domain of ethnology are by no means without justification in the information he collected. Mr. Stuart was equally successful in his handling of the Madras census, and his review of the results shows a specially keen statistical scent, if the expression be allowed, in following certain paths where one has to walk circumspectly amongst dangerously fragile premises. Messrs. Gait and Maclagan have shown throughout their work the best characteristics of that most valuable speciality of India, the district officer, namely, tact, energy and knowledge of the people. Their returns were the first to be completed, and their review, especially where they respectively tread on fresh ground, which both had good opportunities of doing, are full of remarks worth reading. Mr. Eales, too, has written a very valuable account of the census of one of the most interesting portions of the Empire, the two divisions of Burma. Mr. Drew shares with Messrs. Gait and Maclagan the honours of punctuality, and his work on Bombay was the first to reach me in its completed form. As I superintended the Bombay census of 1881, I naturally feel more than ordinary interest in this part of the operations, and must frankly acknowledge that, in my opinion, Mr. Drew managed his tabulation better than I did, though in the matter of the review, I confess a preference for my own bantling. The Central Provinces were enumerated by a Superintendent who, before he went to take up the census work, had never set foot in the Province in his life. The great reduction in the cost, and the amount of information collected in the review, speak for themselves in Mr. Robertson's favour, both as administrator and reporter. Messrs. Egerton and Hastings, too, worked well in Ajmér and Berar. Among the pleasant recollections of the census, is the cordial co-operation of the officials of some of the native States, and I must specially mention the names of Mr. V. Narsinghayangar, the Superintendent of the Mysore census, whose work was one of the first to be received by me in the Simla office, and the late Mr. Bhatwádekar, and his successor, Mr. Mulshankar, in Baroda. I have also to thank, for their interest in getting the preliminary arrangements set in proper train, Mr. Tucker,

of the Central India Agency, and Mr. Erskine, in Rájputána, as well as Mr. Gunion. in the former, and Colonel Abbot in the latter, for their work in connection with the operations subsequent to the enumeration.

On the other side of the account, I must express my regret at the absence of any review of the operations and results in the second province in the country in population. Whether the omission is due to Mr. Baillie or his printer I am unable to say, as I have failed in extracting any explanation of this abnormal procrastination. The reports on the census of Central India, Baroda, and Haidrabád have not been received, but the delay has in each case been explained.

I do not like to conclude this long list of those directly concerned in the operations, without mentioning the aid in connection with the arrangement and printing of forms and tables which I received from Mr. Woollam, in Simla, and Mr. Lewis in the Bengal office, at Calcutta; and also that given me personally by Mr. E. F. Augustin, whose services were lent me by the Military Department of the Government of India, and who, as head of my establishment, acquitted himself so efficiently that I felt entitled to specially refer to his services when replacing them at the disposal of the above Department.

I must acknowledge my obligations, again, to many others, not in any way connected with the operations, of whose studies and experience I have taken advantage. The census deals with so many subjects, each of which, in the present day, falls within the province of a specialist, that no single individual can safely trust to his own unaided capacity in reviewing them, but is forced, like Molière, à prendre son bien où il le trouve, and I have done my best to acknowledge such depredations at the time I have found it convenient to make them. The field covered, however, is so wide, that, in order to bring out the review before the information on which it is based is out of date, a mode of treatment in some degree superficial, cannot be avoided. On this occasion, moreover, my time has been specially absorbed by work connected with the reprint of some of the tables, and with the caste returns, which could not be completed till data had been incorporated which only reached me in the middle of May. It was only for four or five months, accordingly, that I was able to concentrate my attention on the statistics, and the amount of ground to be traversed is so vast, that I was too often reminded of the question asked of a late Laureate by his Quaker friend:—"Prythee, friend Southey, with all this writing, when do'st thou find time to think?"

For such views as I have been able to express, I am alone responsible. The work is, it is true, the review of a State operation, by a State official, but it is written at a distance from India, beyond reach of consultation with other branches of the administration. A good deal has been added, too, in explanation of the statistics, that would have been deemed unnecessary had the work been written for official readers only, but which becomes advisable as soon as a public is approached that has no experience of what is to us in India a matter of everyday observation. Whether these explanations fulfil their object, and how far we of the Census have succeeded in adequately dealing with the many important and interesting subjects thus placed within our reach, are questions that we now submit to our readers:—

Nam cœnæ fercula nostræ
Malim convivis quam placuisse coquis.

J. A. BAINES,
Census Commissioner for India.

India Office, London,
19th July, 1893.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory and Descriptive.

. . . . Magna modis multis miranda videtur
Gentibus humanis regio, visenda que fertur,
Rebus opima bonis, multâ munita virûm vi.—*Lucretius.*

Selection of date.

The second general census of India was taken on the night of the 26th of February 1891, as nearly as possible 10 years after the first, which took place on the 17th of February 1881. Closer correspondence in date between the two could not be obtained, by reason of the difference in the date of the full moon, which is a factor of considerable importance in connection with an Indian census. It is essential, in the first place, that the enumerator should have moonlight to guide him round his beat, which includes, in the rural tracts, a comparatively large area; for his duties are not confined to the mere collection by day of a schedule which has been prepared for him by the householder, as in a European country. In India, the population to be enumerated contains no more than about 6 in the 100 who can read and write, so that the whole of the census record has to be prepared by special agency. As it is impossible to provide enough people of the necessary qualifications to do this in the course of a single night, the census is divided into two sections. First, the enumerator fills up the schedules of his beat with the required information for all the habitual residents therein, before the census. Then, on the appointed night, he brings this up to date by a second round, during which he strikes out all who have died or are found absent, and enters all found on the premises who were not there when the preliminary visit was paid, such as travellers, guests, and the newly born. As he is bound to visit all the outlying parts of his beat, wherever casual sojourners are likely to be found, efficient inspection is ensured and the cost of lighting saved, by the selection of a moonlight night for the operation. But, unfortunately, the night of full moon itself cannot be fixed for the census, as it is the occasion when all the principal religious gatherings of India at shrines, temples, and bathing places are held, so that a very considerable portion of the population is absent on that night from its native place. It is a matter of uncertainty how long beforehand it is the custom to start on such excursions, which constitute one of the chief pleasures, as well as the main ceremonial observance, in the life of the masses, but, as a rule, there is a tendency to return home with greater expedition than marks the journey out. It is found, accordingly, that what with the number of festivals that are purely local in their attractions, and the facilities now available for visiting the places of wider renown by rail, the third day after the auspicious occurrence will generally find the bulk of the pilgrims back in their villages, and it was on this consideration that the census night was fixed, both in 1881 and on the last occasion. A suggestion was made, again, that the census of India should be taken synchronously with that of the United Kingdom, in order to emphasize the imperial character of the operations. The conditions of India, however, rendered it impossible to fall in with this proposal. By the beginning of April, when it was understood that the census would be taken in the mother country, the hot season has set in in India, and the inspection of what has been above called the preliminary record, and also of the more general preparations for the census, could not be conducted, compatibly with other work, so efficiently as during the season when the supervising officials of the tract in question are on tour in the ordinary course of their duties, and it is to this inspection that the accuracy of the enumeration is mainly due.

Population enumerated.

The results, showing a total of about 287,000,000 persons, were compiled at various offices in the different Provinces and States with such expedition and accuracy that they were published within five weeks from the census, with a difference of only five persons in every 1,000, or $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., from the finally corrected returns.

Diversity of circumstances in India.

The figure quoted above bears a ratio to the population of the world, as at present computed, of about one-fifth, and is the largest appertaining to any single country with the exception of China. On the other hand, a map of the world on a

plane projection shows that of the great promontories that taper from the north down into the southern seas, India is by far the smallest. It contains, in fact, but 3 per cent. of the estimated land-surface of the globe. But in spite of its political unity and comparatively small area, India, with all the diversity of its conditions, has a good claim to be considered less as a country than as a collection of countries, or a continent. In connection with an operation like the census, this will undoubtedly be conceded. In discussing the statistics of Europe, we distinguish, as a matter of course, those of Greece from those of Holland, and Spain from Germany. Even in the case of a single empire like Russia, the circumstances of Irkutsk are not confounded with those of Kiew or Warsaw. It is equally rational, then, to discriminate between Assam and Sindh, Madras and the Panjab, to say nothing of Burma, which has so few points of contact with the rest of this great dependency. In reviewing the results of the census, therefore, it may appear that comparatively little is said of India, as a whole, for the reasons just presented, but in all cases the remarkably large numbers involved are of pre-eminent use as a centre line, from which to measure the variations of the different component parts.

Uniformity in religion and occupation.

But two of the facts that appear prominently in the returns indicate, on the surface, a significant degree of uniformity throughout the country, so it is best to bring these to notice at once. The first, then, is that nearly three-fourths of the population is returned under one religious denomination. This matter will have to be discussed in detail in its proper sequence, but, in the meanwhile, it should be understood that the apparent uniformity is little more than a concession to conventional nomenclature, and the title covers creeds as well as races as fundamentally differing from each other as any in Europe. The second point to be noticed here, is the very high proportion in all parts of the country of the population living by agriculture. Taking it as a whole, about two-thirds, and indirectly perhaps nearly three-fourths, of the community are wholly or partially dedicated to Mother Earth, and in this case the uniformity is real, not merely nominal. But it is also one which serves to throw into greater prominence the extraordinary diversity of the physical conditions under which the cultivation of the soil has to be conducted in India.

Importance and variety of physical conditions.

We have thus to look upon the great geographic and climatic features of the country in their direct and intimate connection with the predominating means of subsistence, and therefore with the distribution and circumstances of the population now existing. They have to be considered, again, historically, in their capacity of determining factors in the ethnology of that population, helping to explain the variety and fusion of the elements of which it is probably composed. Some description of the principal physical divisions of the country is accordingly necessary as a preface to the discussion of the results of their influence on its ethnology, and also on the more general subject that precedes it, namely, the ratio between population and area.

Geographical Divisions.

The Ocean, and the Himálaya.

Considering for the present India proper, excluding, that is, Burma, we find ourselves face to face with two main geographical facts, the ocean to the south, and the great mountain barrier to the north. Of the former it is enough to say that, until the arrival of the European adventurers of the 16th century, it plays little part in the history of the population, and the settlers who came by sea are scattered and insignificant. Whether it always ebbed and flowed in its present bed, or whether India is but the remnant of the submerged continent of Lemuria, it is not necessary for the present purpose to determine. The question is of great ethnological moment, especially in connection with the population of the peninsular tracts of India, but the evidence is of a sort that must be left to be sifted by specialists like Messrs. Wallace and Peschl. As regards the great mountain system of the north there is no such difficulty. As far back as there is occasion to look, they have stood between India and its neighbours, more or less of a barrier to free intercourse and colonisation. Flanked by ranges of less height, indeed, but still difficult to traverse, and backed by miles of bleak table-land and inhospitable desert, the Himálaya and its sister systems afford means of access only with great toil and hardship to comparatively small bodies

of men at a time. In the extreme north-west the way is less arduous, and has been used by all the invaders of India who were able, like Alexander and his 40,000 men, to establish, as a preliminary step, their footing in the country to the west of the ranges flanking the Indus. Through these last the passes are few and narrow, so much so, that it is said that even in the present day, a body of 100,000 men moving on India from Jelálabád, through the Khaibar Pass, would find its vanguard on the Plain of Pesháwar before the rear had left the starting point. Yet it is by this route and its neighbours to the north that Irán and Turán have entered India from time immemorial, except in the few instances when the mountain range was turned altogether, and an advance in force made up or across the Indus. At the extreme east the mean elevation is less, but on passing the range, the alternative is presented of a comparatively easier progress down the valleys of the main rivers of the Burma and Siam peninsula, so that much of the immigration from the north-east has probably been deflected from India to the Golden Chersonese, by the Irrawadi and Mekong. Throughout the central Himálayan system the passes are few and of great height, and it is probable that they were not attempted until after the occupation of the Gangetic basin in force by those who had found their way thither by easier routes. So far as the census is concerned, the Himálaya and its neighbours are of little importance, since, with the exception of the Kashmér State and the southern slopes, little of the mountain tract was brought under the operations. The direct connection of the system with the present subject lies in its influence on the climatic and agricultural circumstances of the country immediately at its base, and historically, again, in its capacity of impediment to the free overflow of population from the tracts lying beyond it in the north. The former point will be noticed shortly in the course of this introduction. Regarding the latter, all that need be said is, that though the colonisation of Upper India from abroad may have been started by bodies of immigrants reaching the plains through the mountains of the Himálaya and Hindu Kush, the subsequent recruitment from that direction has been, so to speak, insignificant, and the expansion of the foreign communities thus settled in India has been due to causes arising within the country itself.

The great rivers.

The second of the main geographical divisions of India is the great river system, which covers the whole of the northern portion of the continent. The chief arteries are the Indus and the Ganges, with their tributaries, and the lower course of the stream we know as the Bráhmaputra. The last is not, however, to be compared in importance, in connection with the present subject, to the two others, firstly, because of the competition of the great rivers of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, of which mention has already been made, and, again, because the upper portion of its south Himálayan course lies in a comparatively narrow valley, cut off from the rest of the country by an intervening range of considerable elevation and width. In fact, in common parlance amongst the residents of this tract, India is held to be a foreign country. As soon as the Bráhmapútra emerges from its valley it becomes almost inextricably mixed up with the Ganges, forming one vast network of deltaic outlets. In Upper India the case is very different. Here the streams, which would naturally direct the course of the immigrants through the mountains, debouch at once into open country, affording the means of uninterrupted progress either south-east or south-west, for the watershed between the Panjab and the Gangetic system, once the Himalaya is left behind, is of insignificant height. The submontane tracts of the Panjab, with their continuation down the rich alluvial plain of the Jamna and Ganges, present the obvious outlet of a community disposed to agriculture, whilst the vast grazing grounds of the Indus valley are equally attractive to those of pastoral proclivities. Geographically, this belt of level country stretches all across India at its greatest breadth from west to east. Climatically, and from an ethnological point of view, it is by no means uniform, though for perhaps two-thirds of its extent the differences are in degree only, not in kind.

The Central ranges.

The third division is hardly as well defined as those already described. It consists of what may be called the second line of defence of peninsular India, that is, the belt of table-land and hilly country that separates the Gangetic basin from the Deccan, or great plateau of the south. Its western limits are the Aravalli hills and the rainless portion of the Indus valley. On the north it rises more or less gradually from the Ganges. It is buttressed on the south by the Vindhya and Sátpura hills, below which to the south, again, lies the tongue of flat country separating it from

the Deccan. The whole of the eastern portion is a series of broken hills from the Delta and the Orissa coast line to the central plain. Strictly speaking, the western portion, or the Central India plateau, should be distinguished from the eastern, which comprises the Chútia-Nágpúr and Central Province hill tracts, at the Kaimúr range, but the line of separation is narrow and indistinct. One of the most important features of this division is its ethnological relation to the Ganges valley, on the one hand, and the plains of the south on the other, for it undoubtedly served to keep the stream of expansion of the north-western colonies within the valley, and direct it to the south-eastwards, instead of allowing its direct extension into the peninsula. So long as the fat plains along the river were available, there was no inducement to leave them in order to tempt the hardships and dangers of a trespass across the dividing ranges, so these last were left to the wild tribes, descendants of those which had been forced off the plains by the advance of the foreigner, and here they are to be found in the present day.

The central plain and Deccan table-land.

From the central plain, which comprises the valleys of the Narmada and Tápti, with what is known as the Chattisgarh tract, rises the Deccan. This title is correctly restricted to the plateau rising more or less abruptly from the Tápti Valley, on the north-west; from the western coast and from the southern plains, whilst it slopes upwards much more gradually from the eastern coast. The boundaries on both east and west used to be called the Ghâts, or steps, but this term is now confined by geographers to the chain on the west, because the formation to the east consists of groups of hills more or less isolated from each other, though sufficiently in line to demarcate the table-land from the plains below and along the coast: they cannot, therefore, be called a continuous range. There is thus a very gradual transition from the conditions of the latter tract to those of the uplands, a fact in strong contradistinction to the remarkable influence exercised by the western range on the climate and rain-distribution on each side of it.

The eastern peninsular coast.

There remain to be described the strips of country along the coast, east and west. These vary in character very considerably. On the east, the upper portion is more or less an offshoot of the Ganges delta, but as the strip widens out from about the mouths of the Godávari, the country acquires a special character of its own, both climatic and ethnic. The name Carnatic formerly given to it, apparently by the early European settlers, is a misnomer, not recognised in philology or by the people. The derivation of the term has been often discussed, and, may, perhaps, be found in two words, received through the Telugu, meaning "black" and "country," or tract, a title very likely to be given by the denizens of the light soil of the eastern peninsula when introduced to the rich dark soil so characteristic of the western table-land. In the present day, the name is only given to a small strip along the western coast, and is scarcely recognised, even there, by the people, but owes its currency chiefly to official convention.

The western coast.

The western coast-line is, as before mentioned, of a very different character from the east. For the greater portion of its length it consists of a narrow strip of level land immediately by the shore, rising by broken ranges to the foot of the Ghâts. At the extreme south it may be taken to include the ranges of higher hills broken off at the Pálghât, from the main line which supports the table-land. Towards the north, the strip widens out and becomes a tract resembling in general features the central plains, gradually giving way to the conditions peculiar to the lower Indus valley. The central part of this coast-line is almost devoid of the long-shore strip, and the hills rise from the sea with but little intervening level ground, and that of comparatively low agricultural quality.

Burma.

The existing administrative division of Burma into Upper and Lower serves well enough for the present introduction. If the whole of the hilly country to the north had been included in the census operations, it would have been advisable to demarcate the province more minutely, and to distinguish the circumstances of the settled portions of the country, in the plains and valleys, from the hill tracts, which differ from the rest in both climate and population.

Summary of geographical divisions.

The following table summarises the distribution of area and population which has been attempted above, and as the administrative boundaries recognised in the census

returns coincide fairly well with the geographical, the results are generally speaking accurate.

DIVISION.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Population per Square Mile.	Per-centage on total of	
				Area.	Population.
A. Himálaya and Eastern Hills	150,570	6,542,650	43	9·68	2·28
B. Northern Plains	537,209	151,689,676	282	34·43	52·83
(a) *Gangetic System*	291,266	126,627,305	435	18·67	44·10
(b) *Indus* „	245,943	25,062,371	102	15·76	8·73
C. Central Hills	220,431	24,680,661	112	14·12	8·60
(a) *Eastern Group*	139,426	13,971,529	102	8·94	4·87
(b) *Western* „	81,005	10,709,132	132	5·19	3·73
D. Central Plain	97,390	13,738,362	141	6·22	4·77
E. Deccan Plateau	193,104	30,148,802	156	12·37	10·50
F. Southern Plain	62,494	19,862,376	318	4·00	6·92
G. N.E. Littoral	30,871	11,217,209	363	2·00	3·91
H. Western Littoral	96,581	21,648,185	224	6·22	7·54
J. Burma	171,430	7,605,560	44	10·96	2·65
(a) *Upper*	83,473	2,946,933	35	5·35	1·03
(b) *Lower*	87,957	4,658,627	53	5·61	1·62
Total, Continental India	**1,560,080**	**287,133,481**	**184**	—	—
Detached Settlements (*Aden, Quettah, Andamans, &c.*)	80	89,950	—	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	**1,560,160**	**287,223,431**	**184**	—	—

It will be seen from this table that, speaking roughly, Upper India contains 44 per cent. of the area and 55 per cent. of the population with which the census is concerned. Southern, or peninsular India, returns $24\frac{2}{3}$ and 29, and the intervening belt, $20\frac{1}{3}$ and $13\frac{1}{3}$. The rest, 11 per cent. of the area and $2\frac{2}{3}$ of the population, is found in Burma.

Meteorological variety.

Before entering further into the details of the distribution thus given, some description has to be added of their climatic conditions, for without these the geographical outlines serve to denote facts mainly historical in their interest, such as the probable direction of colonising streams, and the demarcating lines of the ethnic divisions, which have to be discussed later. But on the climatic conditions, taken along with the general character of the tract, depends the ratio subsisting in the present day between the land and its population, since, as originally stated, the bulk of the latter lives by the cultivation of the former. The meteorology of India has occupied the attention of eminent specialists for a considerable number of years, and of late the area of observation has been widely extended by the establishment of new stations under efficient inspection, with an increase in the scope of record. There are six series of data available in connection with the present purpose, but most of them, for a period that is sufficient to afford trustworthy standards, are based on the observations of only a few of the principal meteorological stations. We can make use, for instance, of the record of annual rainfall, of which the data are full, whilst setting aside those of the number of rainy days, the relative humidity and aqueous vapour-tension, which are available for the principal stations only. But as regards temperature, the returns alone, without the supplement of the figures of, say, the mean

monthly range, are of little value in connection with the subject in hand. In the course of time means will be found, no doubt, to elaborate something of the nature of a "figure of merit," meteorologically speaking, for all the most typical centres of observation in India, in which attempt every one of the above data will be given its proportional weight, but in the meanwhile the annual rainfall will suffice for the general indications which are alone relevant to the question with which this chapter is concerned.

General character of the rainfall.

With respect to this rainfall, it must first be understood that though the mean for India of 42 inches, or thereabouts, is more or less what is to be expected in the tropics, the variations in its local distribution are so great that they are said by good authorities to be unparallelled in any other part of the known world, not excepting the British Islands, which boast a high rank in this respect. There is found, for example, a fall of less than five inches in the central portion of the Indus plain, and one of over 600 on a buttress of the Khási hills, in Assam. In the peninsula, too, along the west coast, as much as 200 inches falls 40 miles from the sea, whilst at a distance of, say, 80 miles there is only a precarious sprinkling of 20. In connection with this variability there are two points that may be noted here. First, that the rainfall is subject to much variation periodically, as well as locally, and that from year to year the range of variation is in inverse ratio to the average amount, that is to say, the uncertainty, so to speak, is greater as the rainfall is less. Where an inch or two makes little or no difference to the agricultural outlook of the year, the chances of a normal fall are greatest, but in the tracts where the said amount bears a far higher proportion to the annual total, it is most likely to be in excess or defect. The second point is that, according to the observations hitherto worked up, the same feature in the rainfall does not extend over more than two-thirds of the area under record, so that, as a rule, a deficiency in one-third of India is likely to be accompanied by a fall above the average in the rest of the country. It is not to be understood that failure of the rain to the extent of causing a famine is here meant, but merely the tendency, in one or other direction, of a variation from the annual mean fall. These are both important features in regard to the numerical development of the population, a subject which occupies a later chapter.

Distribution of the rainfall, seasonal and geographic.

But for the moment, it has to be shown how far the general distribution of the rainfall corresponds to the geographical or orographic conformation of the country. This correspondence will be found to be, in the main, very close. The rainfall in India is, it need hardly be said, periodic, throughout the country, and not liable to be irregularly distributed over the year. Some tracts enjoy the advantage of two seasons of rain, but for the most part the fall for the year is concentrated into one.

Winter and spring rain.

In north-western India the season begins with the winter rains, which pass along the base of the Himálaya from west to east, getting lighter as they advance, till they cease on the confines of Bengal. Their extension southwards, too, is confined to the submontane region, and, on the whole, the advantage from them is reaped in a comparatively small tract. Megasthenes, however, judging of India from the portion of it which came most under his observation, extends the operation of this season to the whole continent as then known. It is interesting, we may remark cursorily, to find that in his time, as at present, wheat was the crop sown at this season. Before the winter rains have ceased in the north, the spring storms have gathered in the Bay of Bengal, so that the Delta of the Ganges and Bráhmapútra has the benefit of them. Their influence extends, too, though lightly, down the coast, as far as the southernmost point of India, but they do not reach the western portion of the peninsula. In their turn, they give way to the cyclonic storms so well known in the Bay of Bengal, which precede the great event of the meteorological year, the south-western rain.

Summer rain or S.W. monsoon.

This sets in about the end of May or beginning of June, in two main branches. The more important sweeps up the western coast till it fades away towards the upper portion of the north-western plain. In its course it encounters the obstacle of the Ghát line, which impedes its progress over the Deccan, whilst in the north, the hot and dry tracts of the lower Indus induce a current from the west, which is strong enough to overpower a weak one from the coast, and deflect it eastwards, thus depriving the upper Indus of its due rain. Moreover, it is almost certain that the

coast current is affected unfavourably by a heavy snowfall during the winter, on the nucleus of the mountains we know as the Himálaya and Hindu Kush, so that political troubles are not the only ones in India that have their origin in the north-west. The second branch of the south-west current sets up the Bay of Bengal, and after irrigating Burma and the Gangetic Delta is deflected westward by the Himálayas. About the centre of the great valley it meets the other current from the west, so that when both are strong the fall is abundant, but if either, especially that from the west, is at all weak, it is only the south of the valley and the central belt, hills and plains, that receive their average amount of rain.

Autumn rain or N.E. monsoon.

Scarcely has the south-west current ceased in the eastern portion of India, than the rain-bearing current from the north-east sets in, across the Delta and the east coast. Through this the southern plain, which receives but little rain from the south-west, and that precariously, expects its main supply for the year, but the current is by no means as strong as that from the Indian Ocean, and as the latter ceases in southern India some time before the commencement of the other rain, the earth has begun to get heated again, so the extremity of the current is weakened and the fall rendered uncertain in amount.

Zones of uncertain fall.

Setting aside the extreme west of India, which lies within the influence of the dry winds of the desert beyond the frontier, the minimum fall is found in the zone immediately adjacent to that region, known as the Indian Desert. But the zones of uncertainty are to be looked for round the meeting points of the main currents, at the extremities of their respective courses. The most extensive of these lies in the centre and south of the peninsula. Here the south-western current is stopped, as has been already pointed out, by the line of Ghâts, so that comparatively little rain-bearing vapour escapes across the Deccan plateau. Again, though the current from the opposite quarter meets with scarcely any opposition of this sort, its direction lies more in line with the coast, so that only its skirts reach the high-lying land in the interior. Further south, again, this current has spent its force before it reaches the plain, and has but a small area of sea from which to replenish its moisture-bearing vapour. The fall is plentiful enough, when it comes, but it is wont to fail to a far greater extent than in most parts of India. The second of these unfortunate zones lies within the Gangetic valley, of which it includes the portion, roughly speaking, between the Indian Desert on the west and the Gandak on the east, situated mostly to the north of the main stream. In the tract under the influence of the same currents, but a little further south, the precipitation of rain, though not heavy, is remarkably regular. This is due, possibly, to the dampness of the land to the east, and to the shortness of the distance to the ocean on the west, at the point where the current catches the hills of the central belt.

Limit of security of season.

In connection with the relative uncertainty of the rainfall, it has been estimated from the available observations that the tracts receiving a fall averaging less than 50 inches, and with a mean deviation of about 12 per cent. above or below that average, all lie within the danger of famine. In the southern plain and the portion of the Gangetic valley that has just been described, the falls varies between 30 and 40 inches, whilst the mean range of the annual fluctuations is from 15 to 23 per cent. either above or below, or, from 30 to 46 per cent., taking both chances together.

Summary of agricultural conditions.

Combining the two features, geographical and hydrographic, the variety of conditions under which the Indian agriculturist has to labour can be appreciated. In the first place, we find in the lower course of the Ganges and Bráhmaputra an alluvial plain, abundantly watered by the fall of two rainy seasons. Higher up the valley of the former the soil is still of the same description and the country equally open and level, but the rainfall is uncertain. Keeping on towards the north-west, we enter a sub-montane plain, open and fertile, with the chance of two falls of rain in the twelvemonth, one of which is fairly certain. Here we meet the Indus valley, and the circumstances are greatly changed. The country is still for the most part level, but the rainfall rapidly diminishes as the west is approached, so that the cultivation has to be to a great extent independent of it. The substitute in this case, as in that of Egypt, is the rise of a mighty river, which annually inundates the country for miles on each side. Beyond that range, again, and here the advantage is on the side of India, the five great tributaries of the Indus, supply the necessary irrigation wherever the level admits of canals. Further to the south-west, throughout the lower course of the

Indus, the rainfall is insignificant, but wherever water can be conducted, cultivation is possible, as the soil is naturally deep and fertile. To the south of the desert lies the tract above called the Western Litoral. The upper portion partakes of the character of the Tápti basin, in the central plain, except where it rises amongst low hills and broken ground to the central belt. But going south again, the level ground is found to be confined to the immediate coast, and inland, the country consists of series of hills trending downwards from the Ghâts. The arable land, therefore, is either on the slopes of these hills, or in the depressions between them. In the former case it is shallow in soil, in the latter, small in extent. The rainfall, however, is plentiful, though confined to a single season. In the extreme south of this strip, the arable area expands, and the rain is distributed over two seasons, so that its agricultural advantages are far greater.

In the southern plain there is abundance of arable land, and the soil is, on the whole, good, though it varies much from tract to tract. But the rainfall, as has been already observed, is very uncertain. In some measure, too, the Deccan plateau resembles its neighbour. It contains a large area of light, shallow soil in the east, where the season is proverbially fickle, since this tract lies on the border-line of the two main currents affecting the peninsula. On the other hand, the Deccan has in its west and central portions considerable tracts of the disintegrated basalt now called the "black cotton soil," of great depth and fertility, with a remarkable power of retaining moisture, said to be due to the amount of alumina amongst its component elements, without which it is probable that much of the land would not be cultivable at all. Adjacent to the Deccan on the north, lies the central plain, of great fertility, but liable in its western portion to the same uncertainty of rainfall, though in far less degree, as the north-western Deccan. The hills by which it is bounded on the other sides receive, in like manner, a plentiful rain supply from both branches of the south-west current. They contain, however, but a scanty area of level ground, so that agriculture has to be carried on in more or less of a primitive scale at present, and the collection of forest produce competes with it in favour as a means of subsistence amongst the wild tribes that form the bulk of the population of this tract. The western portion of the central hill-country forms a plateau sloping in most of its extent so gradually towards the north-east that it is almost impossible to draw the line between it and the Gangetic basin. The strip of coast land connecting the Gangetic delta with the southern plain contains a fair extent of flat country, and as it shares with its northern neighbour the benefits of both the spring and autumn rain, in fertility it is little behind that favoured tract. The greater portion of the Himálayan tracts that come within the scope of the census operations lie beyond the region of periodic rains. The southern slopes and subsidiary ranges, receive, as rule, a good fall, though in the north-western direction they are liable to the same weakness in the summer current as the region immediately below them, in the Indus valley. Further north, the Vale of Kashmér, which is the only extensive tract of arable ground in that State, has the reputation of good and certain rain, though it is not without its experience of famine within the present generation. The country surrounding it on the west and north consists of ranges of hills and mountains, where cultivation is restricted to the valleys or the portions of the lower slopes that can be terraced for irrigation. The high plateau on the east resembles its neighbour Thibet in sterility and the absence of rain. In estimating the average fall on the Himálayan tract, the whole of this portion, Kashmer, Gilgit, and Ladákh, has been omitted, as the observations have not been carried on long enough as yet to afford trustworthy returns on which to work.

Burma.

Such are the circumstances of India proper, and Burma alone now remains to be described. It has been already stated that, for general purposes, the political distinction of Upper and Lower will suffice, but it may as well be mentioned here that, so far as the rainfall is concerned, there is a further and a most important distinction to be drawn between the litoral and the inland tracts of the lower division of the province. The hill-ranges along the coast exercise a remarkable influence in the distribution of the rain, and the fall, which varies from 170 to about 230 inches at the stations where the register is kept, diminishes to from 60 to 80 a few miles inland, where our record is as yet incomplete. Again, in Upper Burma, where the fall is comparatively light, there is a submontane and hilly tract to the north which attracts, undoubtedly, a far heavier fall than the open country that forms the bulk of this part

of the province. Thus, whilst the whole of Lower and the north of Upper Burma fall within the region of certain seasons, there is a considerable space in the centre which must be held to be outside the limit of immunity from scarcity of rain.

Omission of certain tracts from the rainfall statement.

Owing to the curious localisation of the rainfall in the litoral tracts of Lower Burma, and to the want of accurate measurement of the areas of the subdivisions of Kashmér and Central India, these portions of India have not been included in the returns of rainfall which are discussed in connection with the distribution of the population in the next chapter.

Omissions from the census returns.

The last subject that calls for notice in this introduction is the division of the country politically and for administrative purposes, but before entering into this, it is as well to explain exactly how far the census operations extended, and what tracts that fall within the general delimitation of India have been omitted from the enumeration. In the first place, the chief Himálayan State of Nipál is excluded, and so has the corresponding State of Bhôtán, further east. The small State of Sikkim, which lies between these, was only enumerated informally, though as nearly as possible synchronously with the census of the rest of the country. The population is not, however, included in the general returns, as no details beyond the actual number of each race were recorded. The same process was adopted with regard to the Cis-Sálwîn Shán States, on the east of Burma, and in the rural parts of British Balochistán excluding, that is, Quettah, Lorelai and the railways. In the case of Manipúr and of a few tracts along the northern Burma frontier, the census was taken, but in subsequent disturbances the records were destroyed. In the Andamans, beyond the limits of the convict settlement of Port Blair, in the Kakhyîn country, bordering on Burma and Assam, in the Trans-Sálwîn Shán States, and in a wild tract in the south of Rájputána, no enumeration was attempted, though in the last case a registration by households was recorded. The marginal note shows the approximate population of these tracts. There are also to be considered the small possessions of Portugal on the west coast and the detached settlements of France, which are *enclaves* in the provinces of Bengal and Madras. By the courtesy of the French officials a census of the latter was taken simultaneously with that of British India. The population of the Portuguese territory here shown is that of the census of August 1887, which was published in October 1892. The normal population dealt with then in the succeeding review is 287,223,431, but the full detail required in the standard schedule was not prescribed for the less advanced tracts, so that from the normal figure shown above there will be found deductions made in all the more elaborate returns, and due explanation of the difference has been appended to the tables concerned.

Sikkim (*Registered*)	30,458
Manipur (*Estimated*)	250,000
British Balochistán (*Registered*)	145,417
Cis-Sálwîn Shán States (*Registered*)	372,969
Burma Frontier tracts	116,193
Rajputána Hill tracts (*Registered*)	204,241
Total excluded	1,119,578
French Settlements	282,923
Portuguese Possessions	561,384
Total, Foreign	844,307
Included in the Census	287,223,431
Grand Total	289,187,316

Political divisions. *British* and *Feudatory*.

The results of the census are shown by political and administrative divisions, on which some explanation is necessary before discussing the statistics in detail. The first subdivision is into British and Feudatory territory. The former is the dominion of the Crown, under the sole administration of the British Government, and contains 62 per cent. of the area, and 77 per cent. of the population now dealt with in connection with the census. The remainder is under the rule of the Native Chiefs, subject to the advice and control of the British Government, in its capacity of paramount power, and includes 38 per cent. of the area and 23 of the population. The higher proportion of the area in this category is due to the inclusion in some of the States of wild tracts like the Himálayan regions of Kashmér, the desert portion of the Indus valley, and nearly all the forest-covered hills of the central belt. The first-named lies outside the turmoil of the dynastic struggles that troubled Upper India for so many years, and after its brief experience of Sikh rule, was made over by the British to the chief of a warlike clan of the outer Himálaya. The general sterility of

the territory, with the exception of the Vale of Kashmér, which, as observed above, is of but restricted area, and the southern slopes of the hills that separate it from India, has been already mentioned. Rajputána, again, a country of large towns in an open plain, was obviously selected as its stronghold by a warlike race, which let the tide of invasion from the north-west roll along the frontier down the rich plains of the Ganges unheeded, so long as their desert home was unmolested. The plateau that forms the western portion of the central belt was carved out into estates by various adventurers from different parts of India, in the disturbed times preceding the establishment of the British dominion, and only the eastern and wilder portion contains dynasties of ancient lineage, strong in their mountain fastnesses. The eastern section of this tract of hills is split up into many petty chieftainships, as might be expected from the broken and difficult nature of the country. It offers no attraction to the civilised denizen of the plain, so it has been left to the scattered remains of the former occupants of the latter, driven off it to take refuge in a land that like Cameliard, before the coming of Arthur, is

> "Thick with wet woods, and many a beast therein,
> And none or few to scare or chase the beast."

On the other hand, the alluvial plains of the Ganges valley, and the equally fertile strips along the northern coast on each side of the peninsula, fall, the one entirely, the other almost so, within British territory, and contain in the aggregate more than half the population of India.

In size and population there is no more uniformity amongst the Provinces and States of India than amongst the political units of Europe. The British possessions were built up gradually, and with regard, as far as possible, to the demarcation in force under the government that preceded the acquisition. Within the last generation, at all events, the transfers of territory have been comparatively trifling in extent. Amongst the more important are those of the Delhi tract to the Panjáb from the Agra government, or what is still called by the clumsy and obsolete title of "the North-West Provinces"; and of the Surma valley from Bengal to the then newly-formed province of Assam. In the south, again, a small tract has been detached, for administrative convenience, from the Central Provinces, and added to the Presidency of Madras, whilst the still smaller Jhánsi territory was exchanged by Sindhia in 1886 for the fortress of Gwálior. The Native States exist under the guarantee of the paramount power, so their territorial limits are as they were found at the time when they entered into their agreements with the British Government. As the principle of guarantee is the same for small and great, these States vary in size from the dominion over a village or two, with a population of a few hundreds, to the lordship of more than 80,000 square miles, with nearly 12,000,000 of inhabitants. For convenience in respect to their relations with the paramount power, the smaller States are grouped into Agencies, a term applied to even those of larger size, which are either much intermingled territorially, or which are of so homogeneous a constitution that a single intermediary between them and the Supreme Government is sufficient. In both of these cases there are subdivisions of the authority of supervision, delegated to local Agencies or Residencies, but though these are recognised in the special census returns for the Agency as a whole, they do not appear in those under consideration, which deal with the aggregate as the unit. Central India, Balochistán, and Rajputána are the main instances of this. The smaller groups of States are combined in the Imperial returns according to the local government or administration with which they are politically connected. For example, those attached to Bombay appear in a single item in the general returns, and under 19 heads in the provincial volume, but individually, they number several hundreds. It is as well to note here the distinction between the position of States such as these and that of tracts in Bengal, Oudh, and parts of Madras, on the owners of which titular honours, similar to those of chiefs, may have been bestowed by the British Government. In the former case there has been the recognition of distinct political entity, whereas the second case is merely that of an estate forming part of British territory, and with nothing but a special fiscal agreement to distinguish it from the rest.

The following table shows the area and population of each of the British Provinces and States, or, as explained above, groups of States. It also includes a statement of

the proportion borne by each to the total area and population respectively of India as a whole :—

Province, State, or Agency.	Area in Square Miles.	Population, 1891.	Percentage on Total.	
			Area.	Population.
Bengal	151,543	71,346,987	9·71	24·84
Madras	141,189	35,630,440	9·05	12·40
N.-W. Provinces	83,286	34,254,254	5·34	11·93
Oudh	24,217	12,650,831	1·55	4·40
Panjáb	110,667	20,866,847	7·09	7·26
Bombay	77,275	15,985,270	4·95	5·56
Sindh	47,789	2,871,774	3·06	1·00
Central Provinces	86,501	10,784,294	5·55	3·75
Upper Burma	83,473	2,946,933	5·35	1·03
Lower Burma	87,957	4,658,627	5·64	1·63
Assam	49,004	5,476,833	3·14	1·91
Berar	17,718	2,897,491	1·14	1·01
Ajmér	2,711	542,358	0·17	0·19
Coorg	1,583	173,055	0·10	0·06
Aden	80	44,079	0·01	0·02
Quettah, &c.	—	27,270	—	0·01
Andamans	—	15,609	—	—
Total British Provinces	**964,993**	**221,172,952**	**61·85**	**77·00**
Haidrabád	82,698	11,537,040	5·30	4·02
Rajputána	130,268	12,016,102	8·35	4·18
Central India	77,808	10,318,812	4·99	3·59
Mysore	27,936	4,943,604	1·79	1·72
Baroda	8,226	2,415,396	0·53	0·84
Kashmér	80,900	2,543,952	5·19	0·89
States connected with Bombay	69,045	8,059,298	4·42	2·81
„ „ Madras	9,609	3,700,622	0·62	1·29
„ „ Central Provinces	29,435	2,160,511	1·89	0·75
„ „ Bengal	35,834	3,296,379	2·30	1·15
„ „ N.-W. Provinces	5,109	792,491	0·32	0·28
„ „ Panjáb	38,299	4,263,280	2·45	1·48
Fort Steadman, Shan Outposts	—	2,992	—	—
Total, Feudatory States	**595,167**	**66,050,479**	**38·15**	**23·00**
GRAND TOTAL, INDIA	**1,560,160**	**287,223,431**	**100·00**	**100·00**

Their distribution over the physical divisions described above is shown in the table given at the end of this chapter. The figures can also be compared with the corresponding returns for countries more widely known, so that an idea more vivid than a mere statement affords may be obtained of the relative size and population of the different parts of India. Bengal, then, to begin with the largest of the provinces, has an area equal to that of the United Kingdom, with the addition of a second Scotland, whilst the population is about that of the whole of the United States of America in 1890, together with that of Mexico. The Presidency of Madras has the area of Prussia and Saxony, and contains a population exceeding that of those two States by that of Wurtemburg, one of the smaller members of the German Empire. If the native States under this government be added, the aggregate population slightly exceeds that of the United Kingdom or of Austria-Hungary, at the last census. The North-West Provinces, with Oudh and the connected States, supports nearly the same number of people as are found in the whole German Empire, though the area is something under that of Italy. Sindh and the Panjáb are about equal in population to Austria, and with the States connected with the latter, to little below England and Wales. Similarly, Bombay and its States are comparable to Spain, Holland and Norway. The whole population of Brazil, with its 3,200,000 square miles of area, could be accommodated, with room to spare, in the Central Provinces, which extend over no more than 86,500 miles. Assam, on the other hand, shows as many people as Bavaria, but on nearly twice the area. The island of Ceylon returns about the same population as Sindh and Berar, respectively, but the former contains nearly twice the area, and the latter little more than two-thirds. The population of Lower Burma and of Ireland could exchange places, but the former would be woefully cramped in the Emerald Isle after the enjoyment of more than twice the area in its native peninsula. In the acquisition of the rest of Burma, the second bite of the cherry, which Lord Dalhousie prophesied we should

have to take, there has been added to the Empire the population of Switzerland, on the combined area of Portugal, Greece, Holland, and Belgium; or nearly the area of the colony of Victoria, with more than three times the population. In the aggregate, the British territories cover an area equal to that of the whole of the Teutonic countries of Europe, with the addition of Hungary, Servia, and Bulgaria.

There is also the Feudatory territory, with more than the population of the United States, and with an area equal to that covered by the Triple Alliance, with Belgium and Servia thrown in. The two great agencies of Rájputána and Central India alone, extend over the area of the German Empire, and contain nearly the population of Austria. Haidrabád is as large as England and Scotland put together. Mysore is a little smaller but more populous than, Portugal; and, to compare mountainous countries together, Kashmer shows the population of Chilé, but on less than a third of the area.

The smaller States. *Bombay.*

Next to these large States or Agencies, come the groups connected with the various local governments, some of which deserve a few words of description before the general subject is dropped. The Bombay States form the largest group. Amongst them, the small State of Khairpur, still in possession of the late ruling family of Sindh, and the peninsula of Kachh, appertain to the Indus valley rather than to the rest of the Presidency. Then comes the peninsula of Saurásthra, now known as Káthiáwár, from one of the dominant tribes from the north that immigrated thither in years gone by. Under this general title are included many small States and four of considerable size, Junágadh, Nawanagar, Bhaunagar, and Drángadhra. On the adjacent mainland, bordering on the western hills of the central belt, are four or five smaller groups of much the same constitution. The rest of the coast strip falling within this Presidency contains a couple of small States, interesting from their connection with the former ruling races of the interior. One was the appanage of the Sidi, or Abyssinian commander of the Moghal's fleet. The other was held by a maritime chief of the Marátha race, not free from the imputation of piracy. Not to mention a few wild States imbedded in the forests at the foot of the Ghâts, where these mountains fade into the central plain, the remaining States in this part of India are mostly creations of the Peshwa's rule, with the addition of Kolhápúr, descending from Shivaji, the founder of the Marátha dynasty.

Madras States.

To the south of Bombay come the States connected with the Madras Presidency, of which there are but five. Three of them are merely small, *enclaves* in British territory. The remaining two lie along the most fertile portion of the western coast, and the larger of them, Travancore, is the more interesting, owing to the fact that from its isolated position it has been enabled to conserve features of racial and social development long since obliterated in the busier life of the tracts repeatedly overrun by foreign influences.

Central Province and *Bengal States.*

The small States connected with the Central Provinces, and also those attached to Bengal, have been guaranteed, for the most part, to the descendants of some of the chief forest tribes, displaced from the plains by various waves of more civilised immigrants. Nearly all of them are situated in the hilly country composing what has been called above the central belt, in its eastern section. In Bengal, however, there are two detached States, that of Hill Tipperah, under one of the tribes of the eastern frontier, and that now called Kôch-Behár, the appanage of a more northern tribe, which, since its settlement in the lower valley, has become incorporated in the general population of the Gangetic delta.

North-West Province States.

There is a wide expanse of British territory between the above States and the next, which are connected with the Government of the North-West Provinces. These last are only two in number, and detached from each other. The smaller but more populous Rámpúr, lies imbedded in British territory. The other, Garhwál, covers a large area, sub-Himalayan in character, between the Panjáb and the North-West Provinces.

Panjáb States.

After Bombay, the Panjáb Government has the largest and most populous collection of States connected with it. They can be divided into three sections. First, those of the plains, the largest of which, Patiála, Jínd, and Nábha, with a few others, are known as the Sikh States. Then follows the large but sparsely peopled tract under Bahá-walpúr, on the Indus, between Sindh and the northern portion of Rajputána. Last come the Hill States, stretching some way into the Himálaya. These are 23 in number, but most of them are comparatively insignificant, and though, in the aggregate, of considerable area, contain but a small population. The largest, Náhan, or Sirmúr, is the best known, perhaps, from having given its name to one of the stanchest of the regiments of Hill-men that fought in the Mutiny.

In the table accompanying this chapter, which shows the distribution of the political divisions over the divisions based on geographical and climatic considerations, the territory under feudatory rule has been combined with British territory, wherever it is not recognised in the general census returns as a separate unit. Table on page 22.

The only topic that remains to receive notice in this introduction is the administrative subdivision of a Province. In the case of States, enough has been said to indicate the very varying character of the unit as to size and constitution, whilst the larger States are not subdivided on any uniform system. In British territory the diversity is mainly in size, as the authority and duties of the officer placed in charge are everywhere the same, in so far as responsibility is in question. From an administrative point of view the head of a State is not assumed to be beyond the influence of bad advisers, whatever be the range of his sovereignty. In Russia, again, it is said that when anything goes wrong, investigation begins at the bottom, and the tendency is to throw the responsibility upstairs, as far as audacity can carry it. But in British India, experience has dictated the judicious middle course of combining considerable power with full responsibility over an area and population within the compass of one man's efficient supervision. In detail, the size of the district differs from province to province mainly according to the system of administering the land and its revenue; but, even within the province itself there is much variety, as can be seen from the following table:— The "district" in British territory.

Province.	Number of Districts.	Mean of Districts.		Extremes.			
				Area.		Population.	
		Area.	Population.	District.	Area.	District.	Population.
Madras*	24	35·4 5,882	42·4 1,465,747	Nilgiri Vizagapatam Agency	957 12,623	Nilgiri Malabar	99,797 2,652,565
Bombay†	18	38·0 4,292	27·5 842,417	Broach Khándesh	1,463 10,907	Panch Maháls Khándesh	313,417 1,460,851
Sindh	5	32·6 9,558	47·7 574,355	Upper Sindh Frontier. Karáchi	2,549 14,182	Up. Sindh Front. Haidrabád	174,548 918,646
Bengal‡	47	43·1 3,224	38·1 1,503,520	Howrah Lohárdaga	476 7,140	Chittagong Hills Maimansingh	107,286 3,472,186
N.-W. Prov. and Oudh	49	34·5 2,194	31·9 957,247	Tarai Kumáon	963 7,151	Debra Dún Gorakhpúr	168,135 2,994,057
Panjáb	31	46·3 3,570	30·1 673,124	Simla Kángra	102 9,574	Simla Siálkôt	44,642 1,119,847
Central Provinces	18	38·8 4,806	42·6 599,127	Narsinghpúr Raipúr	1,916 11,724	Nimád Raipúr	253,486 1,584,427
Upper Burma	17	55·3 4,910	52·5 173,349	Kyauk-sé Upper Khyindwin	1,050 19,000	Ruby Mines Mandalay	26,134 374,060
Lower Burma§	18	47·0 4,885	52·4 248,795	North Arakan Amherst	1,015 15,203	North Arakan Bassein	14,628 475,002
Assam	13	24·6 3,769	73·5 421,295	North Kachár Khási Hills	1,728 6,041	North Kachár Sylhét	18,941 2,154,593
Berar	6	10·8 2,953	18·3 482,840	Elichpúr Wún	2,623 3,911	Elichpúr Amraoti	315,798 655,645
Total, Provinces	249‖	3,875	880,965	Simla Upper Khyindwin	102 19,000	North Arakan Maimansingh	14,628 3,472 186

* Including Madras city, and taking the three Agency tracts as distinct units.
† Excluding Bombay city and Aden.
‡ Excluding Calcutta and two suburbs.
§ Excluding Rangoon city.
‖ Including the three districts of Coorg and Ajmére-Mérwára.

The exponential figures above each item represent the percentage of the mean variation from the arithmetical mean of the province as a whole. For example, the average area of a district in Bengal is 3,224 square miles, but owing to the number of districts of considerably greater or less area, there will be found, on the whole, a difference of 43 per cent. between that figure and the area of any single district. On the other hand, in Berár, where the number of districts is small, and they are more uniform in size, the mean difference of the average is less than 11 per cent. Such additions to an average are of use in so far as they indicate whether the mean figure is typical within the province, or, on the contrary, is no more than an arithmetical expression, serving only to compare one province with another. It is clear that the figures in the margin belong to the latter class, for even in Berár we find the area of the smallest district is 2,623 square miles, and that of the largest 3,911. But the more valuable comparison is between the average of one province and that of another, and it is also interesting to set beside these averages the areas and populations of better-known tracts, such as those of an English county. For instance, the average Indian district covers an area just below that of Devon and Cornwall, or the four Home counties, whilst its population is about equal to that of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, with that of little Huntingdonshire thrown in. Of the provincial averages, and taking into consideration both area and population, it will be seen that the heaviest charge is to be looked for in Madras, where, if the three Agency tracts are considered to be separate units, the district is about the size of Yorkshire, or of the Grand Duchy of Baden, with the population of Nottingham and Durham. If we take the Agency tracts to be part of the district to which they are subordinate, which can fairly be done, we raise the area to nearly that of Wales, minus Anglesea, with a considerably larger population than that of the "gallant little" kingdom. The provincial average that comes nearest to that of the country at large is found in Bombay, which approaches in area the three south-western counties of Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, with a population that lies between that of Devon and Cornwall, on the one hand, and Somerset and Cornwall on the other. In some cases it appears that the discrepancy between area and population is very large. For example, in Upper Burma, the population of Tyrone is found scattered over four times the area. In the lower section of that province the area is much the same, but the population rises to more than that of Tyrone and Fermanagh together. The same disproportion is observable in Sindh, where, on the area of the four northern English counties, plus the West Riding, there is a population equal only to that of Westmoreland and Northumberland, or within a little of that of New Zealand. The contrary state of things is seen in Bengal and Oudh, where the district is small in size, but contains a very large population. The average Bengal district compares very well in both respects with Norfolk combined with Staffordshire, and one district, we may remark, in passing, contains almost as many people as the Kingdom of Saxony, within far less space. The North-West Provinces, taken with Oudh, as in the table under consideration, show an average of the area of Norfolk, and twice the population; but Oudh alone shows nearly the population of Staffordshire on the area of Northumberland. Half Wales in area, with the population of Glamorgan, about represents the Panjáb district, and that in Berár would just overlap Gloucester and Somerset, but its population is scarcely that of the latter alone. The former furnishes in population a close parallel to a Central Province district, which, however, has nearly four times the area, as is the case with Burma. With this the list closes, and enough has been said to give some notion of the dimensions of the district unit, though there is nothing in the description that serves to delineate the great importance of the position held by this division of territory in the administrative scheme of the British dominions in India. A few words, however, will not be out of place as to the part played by the district in the census operations. In the first place, it is the unit of compilation in the provincial returns, so the tables of specific population in the next chapter and of the movement of the population in that which follows it are all based on the district figure. Still more to the point is the fact that all the details of the arrangements for taking the census and for providing agency for the enumeration and also, in most provinces, for the tabulation of the results were left in the hands of the district officer, acting under the instructions of the Provincial Superintendent of the census operations, so that the accuracy of the work was mainly dependent on the efficiency of his supervision. It was directly from his hands that the preliminary totals were received in the central compilation office for India, at Simla, and as it has been already mentioned that these last were furnished in time for publication five weeks from the date of the census, it is superfluous to add comment on the admirable co-operation and energy that characterised the connection of these officers with so heavy an addition to their current duties.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA.*

* *See* page 17.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TH
(*Complementary to the Tab*

PROVINCE AND STATE.	Total of Province and States.		A. Himálaya and Eastern Frontier Hills.		B. Northern Plains.				C. Cenal	
					B. (1) Gangetic System.		B. (2) Indus System.		(1) Eastern Grou	
	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Populatio
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Panjáb and States -	148,966	25,130,127	20,615	1,645,364	21,346	5,642,878	107,005	17,841,885	—	—
Kashmér - -	80,900	2,543,952	80,900	2,543,952	—	—	—	—	—	—
N.-W. Provinces, States, and Oudh.	112,612	47,697,576	18,137	1,380,376	94,475	46,317,200	—	—	—	—
Bengal and States -	187,377	74,643,366	10,669	468,042	109,448	62,919,111	—	—	59,088	7,378,81
Assam - -	49,004	5,476,833	20,249	504,916	28,755	4,971,917	—	—	—	—
Central Provinces and States.	115,936	12,944,805	—	—	—	—	—	—	47,171	3,564,78
Central India -	77,808	10,318,812	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,000	1,733,58
Ajmér-Merwára -	2,711	542,358	—	—	2,711	542,358	—	—	—	—
Rajputána - -	130,268	12,016,102	—	—	34,531	6,233,841	78,540	3,658,360	—	—
Bombay and States -	133,711	23,354,216	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baroda - -	8,226	2,415,396	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sindh, Khairpur and Kachh.	60,398	3,562,126	—	—	—	—	60,398	3,562,126	—	—
Berár - -	17,718	2,897,491	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hyderabád - -	82,698	11,537,040	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
Mysore - -	27,936	4,943,604	—	—	—	—	—	—		—
Coorg -	1,583	173,055	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madras and States -	150,798	39,331,062	—	—	—	—	—	—	19,167	1,294,244
Burma -	171,430	7,605,560	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Detached Settlements	80	89,950	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total India -	1,560,160	287,223,431	150,570	6,542,650	291,266	126,627,305	245,943	25,062,371	139,426	13,971,529

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF INDIA.

(*Given on page* 11.)

Hills. (2) Western Group.		D. Central Plain.		E. Deccan Plateau.		F. Southern Plain.		G. North-East Littoral.		H. West Littoral.	
Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.	Area.	Population.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,172	3,877,294	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	68,765	9,380,020	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
63,808	8,585,231	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17,197	2,123,901	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	10,907	1,460,851	52,028	9,649,864	—	—	—	—	70,776	12,243,501
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,226	2,415,396
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	17,718	2,897,491	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	82,698	11,537,040	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	27,936	4,943,604	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	1,583	173,055	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	28,859	3,845,239	62,494	19,862,376	22,699	7,339,915	17,579	6,989,288
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
81,005	10,709,132	97,390	13,738,362	193,104	30,148,802	62,494	19,862,376	30,871	11,217,209	96,581	21,648,185

CHAPTER II.

Distribution of the Population.

. . . . . λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περιστέλλουσιν ἔκηλοι.
Οὐ γάρ τις δηΐων πολυκήτεα (Νεῖλον) ἐπεμβὰς,
Πεζὸς ἐν ἀλλοτρίαισι βοὰν ἐστάσατο κώμαις.—*Theokritus.*

The population of India, which was roughly set forth in the statements incorporated in the last chapter, has now to be considered in its relation to the land, and again, with reference to its social distribution, into rural and urban communities. As regards the former, the average number of persons to some conventional unit of area, such as the square mile, affords the best means of comparing one country or tract with another, with respect to the general distribution of its inhabitants. But we must discriminate between the density, as this ratio is called, and the pressure of the population. A low specific population may imply pressure, as much as a high one, and, conversely, great density is not incompatible with a high standard of comfort. We need not look beyond India to find two tracts with an equally small number of inhabitants per mile, in one of which the sparsity is due to some physical cause, and may thus be considered more or less permanent; whereas in the other political uncertainty alone has impeded the exploitation of what is by nature capable of supporting eight or nine times the existing population. Again, we see people crowded to a degree that in a rural community is almost incredible, but proving by their continued multiplication that the margin of subsistence has not yet been reached, whilst in other tracts, about the same specific population is only maintained by the habitual importation of food supplies from outside. These last are, however, very rare in India, where the bulk of the population is engaged in the production of food, and the preponderance of mining and manufacturing industries that is found in England, Saxony, and parts of Belgium, is unknown. The most densely peopled tracts of rural India are, as a rule, no worse off than the denizen of happy Auburn, for whom

> "Light labour spread her wholesome store;
> Just gave what life required, but gave no more."

But there is no doubt that the region of periodic rainfall is not the place for the experiment of how fine the provision of nature can be run, and apart from the tracts mentioned above, which are habitually not self-supporting, there are others in which the return from land is so near the economic limit that little more than the year's supply of food is to be expected from it. If, then, they fall within the zones of uncertain rain, described in the introductory chapter, a large number of people have to resort to the market as purchasers, and though the greatly increased facilities for transport have tended to equalise prices, there is no doubt that the normal rates have been raised throughout the country, and the agriculturist has to face the change from another point of view than that which he occupies in a good year.

But even in the parts of India thus unfavourably situated the amount of capital put by is remarkable. As in the days of Bernier, it is chiefly in the form of gold and silver ornaments; but these are now more apparent than when he wrote, irrespective of the relative amount, for it was then the object of every man to conceal the fact that he was other than a pauper, whereas now-a-days, the pendulum has swung to the other extreme, and the police courts show too frequently the temptations put before the criminal classes by the display of ornaments of value on the person of women and children when on journeys and in other comparatively unprotected situations. This form of wealth is generally kept in the family, and it takes quite exceptional circumstances to bring it into the market. A striking instance of this was afforded during the hard times of 1876–78 in southern and western India. In the early years of that decade, barring a short period in 1871, the average monthly value of the ornaments sent to the Bombay Mint was only Rs. 6,000. A rise took place at the end of 1876, and continued till it reached Rs. 1,900,000 in September 1877. With the return of good times to the south the amount decreased, but in 1878 the scarcity in some of the Native States in Gujaráth raised it again to about Rs. 700,000 till the end of the year. The rarity of these manifestations of distress indicates that the landed class generally

raises crop enough to cover what may be termed normal fluctuations. There is also to be borne in mind the fact that the system of village finance adapts itself very fairly to the circumstances with which it has to deal, and often helps the raiat to tide over a crisis.

General density.

In the first statement given in the introduction there is a column showing the mean number of persons per square mile in each of the chief physical divisions. It was inserted in anticipation of the present explanations, in order to give some general notion of the different circumstances, in this respect, of the various parts of the country. For the whole of India the ratio is 184 persons. But, as has been already put forward, the mean of so many and diverse component parts is of little or no value except as a standard by which the difference of the said parts from each other can be judged. We may compare, for example, the above figure with the corresponding ratio in the case of France, which is 188; but the area of France is but about 204,000 square miles, against the 1,560,000 of India, and the population of the former is less than that of the Indian province which stands only third in this respect. To go no further than the general statement just quoted, it will be seen that this mean of 184 is exceeded in only 31 per cent. of the area, and that it is not reached, therefore, in the remaining 69. But the above 31 per cent. contains no less than 62 per cent. of the population, and when the distribution is made in smaller divisions, a rather higher proportion will be found in this category. For instance, in Statement A. below, which is compiled by districts and States, to the exclusion of the four cities coming under separate heads in the returns, the population in higher ratio of density than the average is given as nearly 67 per cent.

A.—Specific Population of India.—*British and Feudatory.*

	Percentage of Variation from the mean density (184).	Area in Square Miles.	Population (1891).	Mean Density of each Group.	Percentage of each Group on total of	
					Area.	Population.
Below mean.	75 and over	329,650	8,246,950	25	21·13	2·89
	66	50,604	2,661,892	53	3·24	0·94
	50	183,277	13,644,080	74	11·75	4·79
	33	134,918	14,692,599	109	8·65	5·16
	20	248,392	33,728,984	135	15·92	11·85
	10	92,654	14,580,524	157	5·94	5·12
	1	37,934	6,532,666	172	2·43	2·29
	Total below Mean	**1,077,429**	**94,087,695**	**87**	**69·06**	**33·04**
Above mean.	1	50,406	9,631,878	191	3·23	3·38
	10	22,631	4,852,632	214	1·45	1·70
	20	57,682	13,179,523	229	3·70	4·63
	33	47,320	12,300,679	259	3·03	4·32
	50	36,956	10,737,381	290	2·37	3·77
	66	8,028	2,557,190	318	0·52	0·90
	75	23,195	8,058,854	347	1·49	2·83
	100	71,861	29,435,947	410	4·61	10·34
	150	80,022	40,714,414	509	5·13	14·30
	200 and over	84,430	59,217,349	701	5·41	20·79
	Total above Mean	**482,531**	**190,685,847**	**395**	**30·94**	**66·96**
	Grand Total	**1,559,960**	**284,773,542**	**184**	—	—

This statement is based on percentages of the mean density. The first item, therefore, represents a density per square mile less than the mean figure by 75 per cent. or more, whilst the last line but two gives the figures of area and population exceeding the mean by more than 200 per cent. The table speaks for itself, but there are a few curious coincidences in it which are worth notice. The largest item of area, for example, is equivalent, proportionally, to the largest item of population at the opposite end of the table; and, again, the proportion of population in the former group is almost exactly the same as that in the corresponding group above the mean. Then the ratios to the total of area and population respectively very nearly coincide in the groups within 20 per cent. of the mean on both sides, whilst the divergence is, of course, widest at the ends of the scale, in both directions. There is, however, a defect in this statement which must receive mention, as it affects the regularity of the distribution between the groups in the lower densities. It is due to the fact that in the case of Kashmér and Central India there are no measurements available of the subdivisions by which the returns of the census results have been compiled. Kashmér is said to contain an area of 80,900 miles in the aggregate, but it is well known that the density is much higher in the valley and the Wazirats of Jammu than it is in the highlands of Ladákh, Báltistán, or Ghilgit. By having to enter

B.—Specific Population of British India.*

	Percentage of Variation from the mean density (230).	Number of Districts.†	Area in Square Miles.	Population (1891).	Mean Density of each Group.	Percentage of each Group on total of	
						Area.	Population.
Below mean.	75 and over	28	182,740	4,378,416	24	18·45	2·00
	66	14	67,305	4,725,612	70	6·98	2·16
	50	22	105,858	10,127,884	96	10·97	4·63
	33	29	130,033	17,646,587	136	13·48	8·06
	20	15	75,657	12,586,357	166	7·84	5·75
	10	10	28,834	5,649,449	196	2·99	2·58
	1	10	42,937	9,623,352	224	4·45	4·40
	Total below Mean	**128**	**633,364**	**64,737,657**	**102**	**65·65**	**29·58**
Below mean.	1	7	21,996	5,190,662	236	2·28	2·37
	10	6	30,500	8,008,238	262	3·16	3·66
	20	8	36,020	10,454,625	290	3·73	4·77
	33	3	9,250	3,013,600	326	0·96	1·37
	50	8	24,466	9,069,745	371	2·53	4·14
	66	4	14,911	5,886,168	395	1·55	2·69
	75	15	32,927	14,300,585	434	3·41	6·53
	100	32	85,750	44,044,392	514	8·89	20·12
	150	17	41,333	25,507,620	617	4·28	11·65
	200 and over	18	34,302	28,730,151	838	3·56	13·12
	Total above Mean	**118**	**331,455**	**154,005,786**	**464**	**34·35**	**70·42**
	Grand Total	**246***	**964,819**	**218,943,343**	**230**	—	—

* Excluding four seaport towns and the detached settlements, comprising 113 square miles and 2,229,509 inhabitants.

† In Madras the three Agency tracts are included in their parent district respectively, thus reducing the total number of districts to this extent.

the whole area under its general density of only 31 to the mile, the lowest group in the return is overweighted to a considerable extent. The case is the same with the group showing a density of between 20 and 33 per cent. below the mean, because in it is included the whole of the Central India Agency, in which there are several subordinate political divisions each known to present a different density, but the areas are not accurately distinguished.

British territory.

Table A. can now be left, and consideration given to that on the opposite page, marked B., which relates to British territory alone. Here we are dealing with district units, so the data are on a uniform basis. In the introduction it was explained that the States included most of the more thinly populated tracts of the country, so it is not surprising that their average density in the aggregate should be no more than 111, whilst in the British provinces it is 230. In Table B., therefore, the mean taken is this last figure, but in other respects the statement is framed just in the same way as the other. As regards the distribution of the population and area, it will be seen that the proportion of the former below the mean is just below two-thirds instead of 69 per cent., whilst that of the population is also slightly less. It is worth note, too, that about 45 per cent. of the population is massed in a density of 460 and over, which is double the mean ratio of the British territory, as a whole. In Europe we find three countries with a density of 500 per mile and over; England and Wales, with 500, Belgium with 540, and Saxony with nearly 600. The aggregate population of these three is about 38½ millions. In British India there are 37½ millions of the inhabitants living in the ratio of more than one per acre, or 784, on the average, to the mile. No less than 21½ millions are packed to the extent of 877. The whole of the 37½ millions in question are to be found in the Gangetic valley and the Delta, and with the exception of 2½ millions, which may be called suburban, live, in the main, by cultivation of the soil. It will be necessary to revert to these tracts in the next chapter, when the increase or decrease of the population is in question. If we refer to the other end of the statement, we find over 182,000 square miles with an average population of 24 each. The greater part of this group falls within Upper Burma, the hill tracts of Assam, and the desert portion of Sindh. With regard to the general distribution shown in the rest of the table, it will suffice to note, first, how very small a proportion of either area or population lies within 10 per cent. of the general mean, whether we take it above or below that figure. This fact bears out in a striking manner the statement made above, that the latter cannot be used in discussing the census results as typical of the country, but only as a means of measuring divergencies in various parts of it. Again, as to the composition of the larger groups below the mean, it is worth mentioning that nearly half the Central Provinces and Berar falls within the group averaging a density of 136 per mile. To the next group, with 166, the northern districts of the Madras Presidency, and the Bengal portion of the Central Belt, separating the Ganges basin from that of the Mahánadi, are the chief contributors. The groups just noted above as lying immediately round the mean, with an average density of 224 and 236 respectively, include the remaining districts of the North Coromandel coast, and a considerable portion of Bombay. Then, crossing the line, we come to the districts of the southern plain and of parts of the Panjab. Passing over the next few groups, which are formed out of a few tracts from several provinces, we come to that of which the mean density is 434 per mile, or nearly double the general average. The bulk of this is contributed by the west-central tract of the North-Western Provinces, with the aid of a few sub-montane districts of the Panjab, and of the less thickly peopled tracts of Bengal. When we reach the higher specific rates, we find only a single district of Bombay, a couple of Madras, and five of the Panjab, standing out amidst the enormous masses of the Gangetic valley. Before entering further into the details of the provincial distribution of the population according to density, it will be interesting to deal with the subject in its more general form, in connection, that is, with the distribution of both area and population according to rainfall.

Density compared with rainfall.

For this purpose, Table C. is appended. It includes the whole of India, British and Feudatory, for which rainfall returns are available to a trustworthy extent. For reasons already given in the introduction, those for Lower Burma are too partial for use, and it would be misleading to enter the whole of such widely spread tracts as Central India and Kashmér without splitting them up according to the known variety of their conditions as to humidity. The detached Settlements, again, are too small to be taken into consideration, even if full information respecting them were at hand. The omissions, being mostly those of sparsely populated country, have raised the general

average of density to nearly the mean between that of India, as a whole, and that of British territory alone, as given in the two preceding tables.

C.—Mean Rainfall of India.

	Percentage of Variation from the mean Rainfall (42″).	Area in Square Miles.	Population (1891).	Mean Density.	Percentage of each Group on total of		Mean Rainfall in inches.
					Area.	Population.	
Below Mean.	75 and over	123,394	6,708,577	54	9·40	2·49	7
	66	66,826	4,429,726	66	5·09	1·64	13
	50	35,708	5,658,222	158	2·72	2·10	17
	33	165,366	28,262,697	171	12·59	10·48	25
	20	184,867	36,780,747	199	14·07	13·62	30
	10	89,824	22,171,842	247	6·84	8·22	35
	1	142,898	38,102,505	267	10·88	14·12	41
	Total below the Mean	**808,883**	**142,114,316**	**176**	**61·59**	**52·67**	**26**
Above Mean.	1	85,016	25,878,282	304	6·47	9·59	46
	10	72,810	22,607,267	310	5·54	8·38	49
	20	79,970	12,832,274	160	6·08	4·76	53
	33	81,003	18,290,630	226	6·17	6·78	60
	50	44,196	12,877,074	291	2·37	4·78	68
	66	2,797	2,420,656	865	0·21	0·90	73
	75	42,125	6,590,947	156	3·21	2·44	77
	100	42,444	10,584,251	249	3·23	3·92	91
	150	39,001	10,963,712	281	2·97	4·06	115
	200 and over	15,168	4,643,949	306	1·16	1·72	140
	Total above the Mean	**504,530**	**127,689,042**	**253**	**38·41**	**47·33**	**66**
	Total	**1,313,413***	**269,803,358***	**205***	—	—	**42***

* Excluding Kashmer, Central India, Lower Burma, and the detached Settlements.

Composition of rainfall—groups.

The first point to note is the large proportion of the population found in tracts with less than the mean rainfall. In connection with this there should be borne in mind what was said before, as to the relative position of some tracts with regard to the certainty of their seasons, irrespective of the amount of rain actually received. For example, in the largest group in point of population, that having an average of 41 inches of rain, we find the Hill States of Western Bengal, the submontane tracts of the North-West Provinces, parts of Oudh and Bihar, and the northern portion of the west coast, all of which enjoy comparative certainty of seasons, mixed up with others that are far less fortunate, such as parts of Haidrabad and Madras, in the Deccan, and the outskirts of the uncertain zone in the Ganges valley. On the other hand, its neighbour, just above the average, which is not nearly so populous, may be said to lie almost entirely within the lucky line of the rainfall, and contains much of the hilly tract in the Central Provinces and the eastern portions of the submontane tract of the North-West, with a good deal of the best parts of Oudh. Going back to the rainfall of about 30 inches, where the largest area in any single group is to be found, we may see that the few entries from the Panjab, Berar, and Bombay are outweighed by the number from the Deccan and the worst portions of the North-west Provinces. The most ill-situated tracts of the Deccan, however, are found in the two groups preceding this one. The groups of lowest rainfall, those with no more than 7 inches and 13 inches respectively, we find situated in a part of the country where the aid of rain is, as a rule, discounted by the extension of irrigation from rivers fed by Himalayan glaciers, or from deep wells, or, again, by watercourses led down from hill streams.

Relation between rainfall and density.

A second matter to be noted in connection with this table is the sudden break in the series of increasing densities of population which occurs where the rainfall advances from 49 inches to 53. Below this, in the series, there is a continual, though irregular, rise in density from the lowest group, but the same feature does not occur again until within the three last. The explanation of the break, in the first instance, is that the group in question begins to touch the hill country of the Central Belt at its eastern extremity, where the fall of rain is comparatively heavy, but the arable area is scattered amongst forests, so that in no parts is it possible for large congregations of people to find sustenance. In the next group, the remainder of this tract has its lowering effect on the average outweighed by the inclusion of the less rainy portions of

Bengal, where the density is far greater. In the next few classes the last-mentioned province is mixed with the thinly populated Assam, and the coast tracts of Bombay, where they are least fertile, have also to be taken into account. The Malabar States and districts raise the density again in the last but one of the groups, whilst that of the highest rainfall comprises several of the Bengal submontane districts, the most populous district of Assam, and one of the corresponding class in Western Madras. Had the figures for Lower Burma been included, the group-density would have fallen to 88 per mile, instead of being 306, but the average rainfall would have risen to 170, a result which, as has been already stated, is not in accordance with the circumstances of more than the littoral portions of the tract.

The population has been considered hitherto in its distribution over the country as a whole, or at least in its two great political divisions of British and Feudatory. It has now to be treated in the greater detail of Province or State. The diversity of the distribution, even in these smaller units, has been indicated in the remarks made above in explanation of the general statements, and is illustrated in a still more striking manner in Statement D., given below, by the addition of exponential figures to the density of all provinces that contain a considerable number of districts. It has already been explained that in the case of States, or groups of States, such additions are useless.

D.—Specific Population of Provinces and States.

Province or State, &c.	Mean Density per Square Mile.	Extreme Density.			
		Highest.		Lowest.	
		Name.	Density.	Name.	Density.
Ajmér	200	Ajmér	203	Mérwára	187
Assam	68·45 112	Silhét	397	Kachár Hills	11
Bengal	43·99 471	Sáran	930*	Chittagong Hills	20
Berár	25·80 163	Amráoti	238	Elichpúr	120
Bombay	35·71 207	Kaira	542	Kanara	114
Sindh	48·33 60	Haidrabád	102	Thar and Párkar	23
Upper Burma	117·14 35	Mandalay	178	Upper Khyndwin	4
Lower Burma	92·15 53	Thárawáddi	172	Sálwin	7
Central Provinces	29·60 125	Nágpúr	197	Chánda	65
Coorg	109	——	—	——	—
Madras	49·01 252	Tanjore	601	Godávari Agency	42
N.-W. Provinces	42·09 411	Benares	914	Garhwál	72
Oudh	21·68 522	Lucknow	800	Khéri	305
Panjáb	79·78 188	Jálandhar	633	Dehra Ismail Khán	51
Total, British	55·65 **230**	**Sáran**	**930***	**Upper Khyndwin**	**4**
Haidrabád	139	Bidar	216	Sirpúr Tandúr	46
Baroda	294	Baroda	428	Amréli	151
Mysore	177	Bangalore	314	Chitaldúrg	104
Kashmér	31	Ranbir Singhpúra	—	Ladákh	—
Rajputána	92	Bharatpúr	327	Jesalmér	7
Central India	133	*Baghélkhand*†	153	*Búndélkhand*	72
Bombay States	126	Kolhápúr	334	Súrgána	34
Khairpur (Sindh)	22	——	—	——	—
Madras States	385	Cochin	531	Sandúr	71
Central Province States	73	Chhuikadán	235	Bastar	24
Bengal States	92	Kôchh Bihár	443	Hill Tippera	33
N.-W. Province States	155	Rámpúr	583	Tehri-Garhwál	58
Panjáb States	111	Kapúrthala	501	Bashahr	23
Total, States	60·81 **111**	——	—	——	—

* Excluding the suburban district of Howrah.

† The Central India return is approximate only.

In the above table, the density, taken item by item, appears to vary little more in the Feudatory than in the British territory, and in both, the extremes of crowding and sparsity of population are found very far apart. As the Provinces can be advantageously treated in greater detail, it will be convenient to deal with the States first. To begin with, the larger ones, Haidrabad, Baroda, and Mysore, are all sub-divided into something corresponding to the district in British territory, so the distribution can be fairly appreciated.

Haidrabad. The first-named shows the highest density in the portion adjoining the uncertain zone of the Deccan, but as it lies more to the east, it gets the benefit of some of the autumnal rains. The lowest density is found in the north-east corner, at the edge of the southern extension of the Central Belt of hills, where it bounds the Central Provinces. In the rest of the State the density is fairly uniform.

Baroda. Baroda has the densest population of the larger States, if we except the two that round off the Malabar coast, but, as the table shows, there is considerable variety in the distribution. The greater portion of the State lies embedded in the British division of Gujaráth, the most densely peopled tract in the Bombay Presidency. In the east of the State there is a large forest area, which reduces the general average, whilst a portion of the State lies in the peninsula of Kathiawar, and is here shown as containing, relatively, the lightest population.

Mysore. In Mysore we find the heavier densities are in the south part of the State, round about the two large towns. The north-eastern tract, showing the lowest, borders on one of the least favoured districts of the Madras Presidency, Belári, and shares the physical characteristics of the latter.

Kasmér. In dealing with Kashmér, nothing more can be said at present beyond mentioning the tracts which are reported to contain the heaviest and the lightest densities respectively. Probably the population of the portion of the valley lying immediately round the chief city, Shrinagar, is relatively as heavy as that entered in the statement, and, on the other hand, the Ghilgit region is as lightly peopled as the eastern table-lands.

Rajputána. Rajputána contains at least three well-defined regions, with very different specific populations. In the east, where the States touch the Gangetic provinces, the density is over 300 per mile in one State, and over 200 in the two adjoining it. Central Rajputána, which is combined with the eastern part in some of the returns, varies between a density of 184 in the largest State, Jaipur, and of 113 in Jhalawar, where the country trends upwards from the plains to the plateau of Central India. The southern portion is different, again, in the direction of less dense population. The only large State in this division is Mewar, or Udaipur, the premier Rajput State in India, which has a density of 145. Its neighbours are mostly small offshoots of families of chieftains who have been more fortunate in their settlements, so that the younger branches have to content themselves with the allegiance of the hill tribes of this portion of the Central Belt, who number little more than 100 per mile. Lastly, we find the sandy plains of the west. The leading State of this tract is Márwár, or Jodhpur, with its 67 inhabitants to the mile, flourishing under 13 inches of uncertain rain. Bikanér, its neighbour to the north, receives an inch less, and supports but 36 to the mile. To conclude, comes Jesalmér, with 7 inches of rain, 16,000 square miles of territory, and but seven inhabitants per mile. Yet this western region, desert, we may call it, not only breeds the finest camels in India, which might be expected of it, but sends forth to every important market in the country the keenest and the most frugal set of traders that ever drove a bargain. It is probably the large fortunes that are made by these men, and the *animus revertendi* almost invaribly maintained by them during their term of spoiling the Egyptians, that have kept up the general well-being of this tract, and the undoubted wealth of the three or four large towns that it contains.*

Central India. Passing south, to Central India, we find an increased density, on the whole, but the details of the different parts of this large agency cannot be relied on, so far as areas are concerned. The States are rarely compact, but consist of many scattered patches of territory, one within the other. But within broad lines, the two selected for the table may be considered approximately correct. The parts of Rewa that border the Ganges valley contain a population grouped in considerable density, whilst the rest of the State consists of hilly country of much the same class as that in the Búndélkhand

* There is also the tradition of safety, as these tracts have been generally avoided by Muselman, Maréttha, and other marauders, owing to the absence of supplies for any considerable force, and the warlike repute of the local chieftains.

charge. where the density is probably the lowest in Central India, save, perhaps, that in a few small tracts in the extreme west, amongst the Vindhya hills.

Bombay States.

The States in political connection with the Bombay Presidency are, for the most part, small, like those under the general title of Central India. But, unlike the latter, their territory is mostly compact and does not intermingle to any considerable extent. For the present purpose, the densities have been calculated according to the groups under distinct Agencies, as many of the States are too small to require individual recognition in the returns. The relic of the Tálpur dynasty in Sindh, found in Khairpur, has been separated from the rest, and shows a specific population even less than that of its neighbour, Baháwalpúr, across the frontier of the Panjab. Throughout the Presidency proper, the density of the Feudatory territory is greater. The lowest is in the forest States, where the Sátpuras and Ghats subside into the plain bordering on the coast. Further north, in Gujaráth, there are wide expanses of light sandy soil, as in Kachh and Pálanpur, and hilly country, such as is found in most parts of the groups along the Réwa (Narmada), and the Mahi rivers, and in the Surat Agency and its neighbours. The population thickens along the coast, falls in the Deccan, and attains its greatest density in the South Deccan, or Bombay Karnátak, of which Kolhapur is the leading State, with 324 persons to the mile.

Madras States.

The States in connection with the Madras Presidency are but five in number, and of these two are very small. They are both situated within the zone of uncertain rainfall, and have a population of but 71 and 139 per mile respectively. On the Malabar coast, the circumstances are more favourable to life, and Cochin comes high up in the scale of density. Its larger neighbour, Travancore, though returning but 380 to the mile, is really more densely populated, since behind the lowlands along the coast there is a considerable extent of hill country almost uninhabited.

Central Province States.

The States connected with the Central Provinces are, in most cases, little more than private estates, to which has been given the status of political units within comparatively recent times. Of those in the extreme east of the province, the leading State of years gone by is still the most populous, though the relative incidence is smaller than that found in some of the others, which have profited by the opening out of the neighbouring tracts by roads and rail. The largest State, Bastar, consists chiefly of hill and forest, with so widespread a reputation for fever and bad water that it has been left to the dark tribes, to whom alone such tracts are congenial. A few States in the centre of the province, which include within their limits a little of the plains, show a higher density, reaching in parts to 200 persons per mile and over, but for the most part, the dominion of these chiefs lies in the hill and forest, where population is necessarily sparse.

Bengal States.

The circumstances of the Orissa States, of which there are 17 in political connection with the Government of Bengal, are almost the same as those of the eastern States under the Central Provinces, and show a density of 118 per mile, varying between 43 and 447, though the last figure is reached in a minute estate of little over 40 square miles in extent. The Chútia Nagpur States, which spread to the north-westwards of the last group, are still more thinly peopled, and show an average of only 55 to the mile. All of these are more or less within the domain of the dark tribes, whose mode of life, with its system of exploiting the soil, is exactly that of the "rigidi Getæ" of Horace:—

> "Immetata quibus jugera liberas
> Fruges et cererem ferunt;
> Nec cultura placet longior annuâ."

A similar state of things will be found in the small State of Hill Tippera, between Bengal and Burma. If anything, it is worse here, because, owing to the universal habit of cultivating by the primitive mode of clearing a plot of forest and burning the timber and brushwood off it as manure for the one year's crop, the local resources are soon exhausted, and if virgin soil is not at hand the population has to flit a few miles to places where the forest has had 8 or 10 years rest. Thus there is little in the shape of a permanent village in the State, the only place of this character being the residence of the Chief. Lastly, we have the State of Kôch Bihár, on the Assam frontier, where the land has long been more or less brought under cultivation. Here, the density of the population has risen to 443 per mile, which is within about 20 per cent. of that of the adjacent British territory, and much above that of the eastern frontier, which divides it from its parent region, Assam.

N.-W. Province States.

There are only two States politically in connection with the North-West Province Government, and these two are widely separated as regards population, as can be seen

from the table under consideration. Rámpur is embedded in Rohilkhand, and the Chief is one of the tribe or tribes from which that tract takes its name. The other State lies in the Himálaya, and is little but a succession of hills and dales, from the outer slopes to the highest peaks of the group in which the Ganges and Jamna have their sources. In the one the density is that of the surrounding portions of the rich Ganges valley, in the other no more than 58 per mile.

Panjáb States.

The States connected with the Panjáb Government may be divided into four main groups. First, those in the eastern plains, which appertain to the Gangetic system. Here the density is about 263 per mile, rising in Nábha to just over 300. This is the area formerly known in history as the Cis-Satlaj Protected Sikh States. Then come the States of the submontane tract, the most densely peopled of the whole body, though with a total population of less than one-third that of Patiala, the largest of the group just mentioned. There is one State, large in area, in the western plain, bordering on Sindh and the Rajputána Desert. Baháwalpur is a little larger than Jesalmér, one of its neighbours, but contains nearly six times the population. Even then its density is but 38. Last of all come the Hill group of States. Most of these lie amongst the lower ranges of the Himálaya, but two run up to the central mass of these mountains. In these last we find, of course, the lowest densities, as so much of their territory is little more than mere rock and snow. The population of Bashahr, for instance, is but 23 per mile; in Chamba, too, it only reaches 40, and for the whole group, the average is 77.

Comparative densities of British Provinces.

On looking at the Return B. for British provinces, to which attention is now to be directed, we find a maximum divergence of more than 700 per mile from the average, for in the Upper Khyndwin district of Burma, which, however, has not been completely surveyed, there seem to be only four inhabitants to the square mile, whilst in Sáran, a district in the Bihar division of Bengal, there are 930. It is not easy to find corresponding densities to those of many of these provinces amongst the countries of Europe, but the few that are fairly comparable are as follows. In the Panjáb the specific population is about that of France. Madras compares well with Italy, and Bombay with Austria. Hungary represents the Central Provinces. Berar comes nearest to Denmark, and Assam to Servia. The heaviest density of a province, as a whole, is found in Oudh, where it is about 20 persons per mile below that of Belgium, the second in rank in this respect of the European countries. After this we must look to fractions or multiples for our analogies. Sindh, for instance, shows double the density of Sweden, and Bengal exceeds in like proportion the density of the German Empire. In Burma, as a whole, there are about half as many people per mile as in Spain, and so on.

Use of the *weighted* mean.

But the exponential figures in the second column of the statement, taken with the extremes given in the succeeding part of that table, show how little uniformity there is in the density of the various parts, even of the same province. There is none in the list where the average divergence is less than one-fifth. Oudh comes first in this respect, then Berar, which has but six units to consider. The Central Provinces run it close, however, in spite of the great divergence of the extremes. But when we come to the Panjáb and Assam, still more to Burma, it is plain than the mean is no more than an arithmetical expression, of use only for comparison of the whole province with its neighbours. The distribution, therefore, of each province, by districts, on the same lines as have been adopted in Table B. above, is shown in Statement E. on the opposite page. In consideration, moreover, of the variety of the larger provinces in point of density and rainfall, the natural groups into which each province falls will be found specified marginally, as the province comes under review below. The reader should also note that in this review the density, and not the pressure, of the population on the land is in question.

The smaller Provinces.

It is convenient to take the less densely populated provinces first in order, especially as several of them are not subdivided. Coorg, for instance, is shown in one item in the tables, so is excluded from Statement E. The greater portion of this little tract consists of forest and hill, with clearings for cultivation interspersed. Much of the population, too, is migratory, and only inhabits Coorg during the season when the coffee and other plantations offer special attractions to field labour. Lying along the bháts, Coorg enjoys a heavy and fairly certain rainfall, and bears with ease its light population. Ajmér, again, consists of only two divisions, Mérwára, and that which gives its name to the tract. The latter is traversed by two lines of rail, and contains two towns of considerable population, to which some of its density is due.

E.—Provincial Density Groups.

ASSAM.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	5	20,249	504,916
	58–75	1	3,724	254,053
	76–114	3	10,630	1,104,206
	115–152	1	2,472	367,542
	153–183	2	6,515	1,091,523
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	—	—	—
Above Mean.	230–253	—	—	—
	254–276	—	—	—
	277–307	—	—	—
	308–345	—	—	—
	346–384	—	—	—
	385–402	1	5,414	2,154,593
	403–460	—	—	—
	461–575	—	—	—
	576–690	—	—	—
	691 and over	—	—	—
	Total	**13**	**49,004**	**5,476,833**

PANJÁB.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	1	9,440	486,201
	58–75	3	14,248	1,044,047
	76–114	6	33,516	3,140,944
	115–152	2	9,158	1,385,062
	153–183	2	7,835	1,403,482
	184–206	1	4,302	886,676
	207–229	1	3,017	690,169
Above Mean.	230–253	—	—	—
	254–276	—	—	
	277–307	3	8,562	2,462,865
	308–345	2	3,781	1,259,404
	346–384	2	4,805	1,794,302
	385–402	—	—	—
	403–460	3	3,799	1,705,023
	461–575	3	5,170	2,702,458
	576–690	2	3,034	1,900,280
	691 and over	—	—	—
	Total	**31**	**110,667**	**20,860,913**
	Baloch tribes	—	—	5,934

BOMBAY.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	—	—	—
	58–75	—	—	—
	76–114	1	3,910	446,351
	115–152	4	29,160	3,989,527
	153–183	1	4,542	750,689
	184–206	2	6,982	1,381,217
	207–229	2	9,260	2,064,575
Above Mean.	230–253	4	14,334	3,394,059
	254–276	1	1,872	509,584
	277–307	1	3,922	1,105,926
	308–345	—	—	—
	346–384	—	—	—
	385–402	1	1,662	649,989
	403–460	—	—	—
	461–575	1	1,609	871,589
	576–690	—	—	—
	691 and over	—	—	—
	Total	**18**	**77,253**	**15,163,506**
	Bombay City	—	22	821,764

MADRAS.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	—	—	—
	58–75	—	—	—
	76–114	2	8,471	917,608
	115–152	3	19,972	2,880,747
	153–183	2	26,007	4,266,728
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	2	16,767	3,752,385
Above Mean.	230–253	—	—	—
	254–276	4	27,148	7,102,293
	277–307	2	16,424	4,788,891
	308–345	—	—	—
	346–384	2	9,018	3,288,812
	385–402	1	2,842	1,136,928
	403–460	1	5,217	2,162,851
	461–575	1	5,585	2,652,565
	576–690	1	3,709	2,228,114
	691 and over	—	—	—
	Total	**21***	**141,160**	**35,177,922**
	Madras City	—	29	452,518

* The three Agency tracts are included in their parent districts.

E.—Provincial Density Groups—*concluded.*

N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	—	—	—
	58–75	1	5,629	407,818
	76–114	1	7,151	563,181
	115–152	2	3,140	442,335
	153–183	—	—	—
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	3	8,475	1,885,796
Above Mean.	230–253	2	4,700	1,115,251
	254–276	1	1,480	396,361
	277–307	1	2,965	903,615
	308–345	—	—	—
	346–384	2	4,052	1,485,798
	385–402	—	—	—
	403–460	7	12,923	5,611,960
	461–575	14	29,006	14,799,734
	576–690	8	17,947	11,366,223
	691 and over	7	10,035	7,927,013
	Total	**49**	**107,503**	**46,905,085**

Bengal.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	1	5,419	107,286
	58–75	—	—	—
	76–114	1	1,681	170,058
	115–152	2	8,658	1,142,258
	153–183	2	14,161	2,293,206
	184–206	1	1,164	223,314
	207–229	—	—	—
Above Mean.	230–253	1	2,962	681,352
	254–276	—	—	—
	277–307	1	4,147	1,193,328
	308–345	1	5,469	1,754,196
	346–384	2	6,591	2,500,833
	385–402	1	4,993	1,944,658
	403–460	4	10,988	4,820,751
	461–575	13	44,379	23,018,046
	576–690	6	16,643	10,013,003
	691 and over	11	24,268	20,803,138
	Total	**47**	**151,523**	**70,665,427**
	Calcutta	—	20	681,560

Berár.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	—	—	—
	58–75	—	—	—
	76–114	—	—	—
	115–152	3	9,490	1,185,592
	153–183	1	2,809	481,021
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	2	5,419	1,230,427
	Total	**6**	**17,718**	**2,897,040**
	Railway Passengers	—	—	451

Central Provinces.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	—	—	—
	58–75	3	19,162	1,290,469
	76–114	2	8,454	730,690
	115–152	7	37,834	4,949,984
	153–183	2	7,376	1,197,267
	184–206	4	13,675	2,615,884
	207–229	—	—	—
	Total	**18**	**86,501**	**10,784,294**

Sindh.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	2	26,911	863,083
	58–75	1	2,549	174,548
	76–114	2	18,329	1,834,143
	115–152	—	—	—
	153–183	—	—	—
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	—	—	—
	Total	**5**	**47,789**	**2,871,774**

Burma.

	Density per Square Mile.	No. of Districts.	Area.	Population, 1891.
Below Mean.	57 and below	19	120,721	2,416,930
	58–75	5	21,993	1,554,677
	76–114	3	12,133	1,047,648
	115–152	5	10,149	1,303,540
	153–183	3	6,412	1,102,441
	184–206	—	—	—
	207–229	—	—	—
	Total	**35**	**171,408**	**7,425,236**
	Rangoon Town	—	22	181,324

as the surrounding tracts are not, on the whole, fertile. The smaller tract of Mérwára owes its present comparative prosperity to a single British officer, Colonel Dixon, whose personal influence during his long residence there served to reclaim the wild tribes and to establish a thriving centre of trade for the whole country round. As regards density, the table shows that in the present day, at all events, there is not much difference between the two districts. The detached Settlements of Quettah, Aden, and the Andamans require a few words here. The area is only ascertained in the case of Aden, and for that only approximately. This Settlement consists of three small tracts. First, the peninsula, on which the main population resides. Secondly, the suburb on the adjacent mainland, including Shaikh Othman, and the Somáli quarters. Thirdly, the Island of Perim, about 90 miles up the Straits of Babelmandeb, on which there is a small detachment of military, and, of late years, a coaling depôt. The census of Quettah included only the cantonment known by that name, with the adjoining town and the railway settlements, together with the outlying cantonment of Lorelai, and the camps of the political officers, who were mostly collected at the time of the census at Sibi, below the Bolán, for a horse fair. Similarly, the census of the Andamans was limited to Port Blair, so we have no record of the natives, who are said to be dying out in some of the islands. We then come to the five districts of Sindh, the most dense of which has only 102 persons to the mile. The lowest, Thar and Párkar, lies, as its name implies, on the outskirts of the desert, and supports its 23 to the mile chiefly on the charitable relics of the south-western rains, received up the Gulf of Cambay. This province presents no such striking differences within its limits as call for subdivision of the area, though if the tables admitted of more minute partition, no doubt it would be practicable to separate the deltaic portion, where there is a light rainfall of about 8 inches, from the upper regions, where cultivation depends upon the inundation or canal irrigation. *Berar*, again, is taken as homogeneous in its features, though there are small hilly tracts in both the north and south-east. The greater part lies in the Central Plain, and the density at present does not, in any tract, reach the mean of British India. The rainfall, though light, 35½ inches, is fairly steady, and the soil famed for its growth of cotton and oil-seeds as well as of millet.

Aden, &c.

Quettah.

Andamans.

Sindh.

Berár.

Its neighbour on the east, the Central Provinces, is the first in which subdivision is necessary. The mean density of 125 per mile is composed of three main factors. First, the fertile rice-plains of the east; then the valley of the Narmada, and lastly, the belt of hills that spreads westwards from the Chutia-Nágpur plateau. North, east, and south, is found a fringe of lightly peopled forest and hilly country, where the absence of large areas of flat land prevent the formation of populous villages, in spite of the comparatively certain rainfall.

Central Provinces.

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Eastern	3	25,013	142	53″·49
Southern	4	20,988	124	54·56
Central	5	19,847	91	50·91
Narmada	6	20,653	136	46·67

Burma is the province to be reviewed next, and it is the last in which no district is found to have a population of the mean Indian density. Broadly speaking, it may be divided into no more than four tracts, two, littoral and deltaic, in Lower Burma, and two, central and submontane, in the upper portion of the province. But it has been found of practical convenience to group the districts according to the administrative divisions, as shown in the margin. Here, as has already been remarked, the mean figures help us not at all. No one of the districts comes within 30 per cent. of the general average, and the range is from 4 on the Khyindwin, to 178 in the district containing the capital of Upper Burma, and from 7, in the southern coast hills, to 172 in an older settlement of the lower portion of the province. By far the greater number of the districts lie in the two lowest groups of density, with less than 75 persons to the mile. That this light population is due to the actual want of men, not to the inability to support them, is proved by the very large proportion borne by the amount of rice exported to that grown, though it is the staple food of the whole province.

Burma.

	Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Upper.	Northern	5	22,580	28	47″·00
Upper.	Central	4	29,236	22	56·48
Upper.	Southern	4	18,607	42	25·13
Upper.	Eastern	4	13,050	59	40·75
Lower.	Arakan	4	14,526	46	191·11
Lower.	Pegu	5	9,299	156	65·03
Lower.	Irrawaddi	4	17,542	88	84·01
Lower.	Tenasserim	6	46,590	21	160·04

Assam.

Assam, which comes next on the list in order of sparsity of population, is really in the same category as the preceding provinces, save as regards the one district that partakes of the character of those in Bengal that adjoin it. Twelve of the 13 districts contain an average of little more density than Sindh, or about 76 per mile, whilst Silhet shows 398. We may separate, accordingly, this with its neighbour Kachár, from the rest, under the title of the Súrma valley. Assam, properly so called, consists of two divisions, the Bráhmaputra valley, and the Hill tracts, five in number. The latter fall into the lowest group as regards density, and have a specific population varying between 37 in the Gáro Hills and 11 in North Kachár. In the Bráhmaputra valley the extension of tea plantation, apart from the general opening up of the country, has been the means of attracting a considerable number of immigrants, chiefly from Bengal, many of whom settle on land-grants made to them after their term of service on the tea-gardens is completed. It is to be noted, too, that the eastern portion of this valley has been a frontier tract for centuries, so that till within recent times the population was kept down by war and invasion. This explains the greater density of the western districts. The river, too, has been much more used of late years than before, as the main line of communication between Assam and other parts of India besides Bengal, but the prevalence of an epidemic of fever, which has been peculiarly fatal in this valley, seems to have checked the growth of the province, as will be seen from the statistics given in the next chapter.

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Súrma Valley -	2	7,886	333	146″·27
Bráhmápútra Valley	6	20,869	117	87·12
Hill Tracts -	5	20,249	25	92·03

Panjáb.

Missing the main portion of the Gangetic basin for the present, we come to the Panjáb. The figures in Table D. alone show how necessary it is to subdivide a tract that exhibits so wide a divergence between the extremes of its component parts. On the other hand, Table E. shows that this province, as regards the number of its districts, lies nearly equally above and below the Indian mean, and much of it enjoys a nearly uniform rainfall. The five divisions selected, however, show where the differences are found. First, we have a submontane belt in which the density is in places nearly equal to that of the Gangetic valley, to which the eastern portion of the province may be said to belong, though the proximity of the sandy plain to the south keeps down its density. The next division is scarcely so well defined physically as racially, but is well enough described as the "Salt Range Tract," wherein the density sinks to less than half that of the submontane. The two other divisions are plainly denoted. The western plains are not in great part the desert that they seem to be from the map, or even from the small density indicated in the margin. The soil is fertile enough, but requires water to render it available for cultivation, and every decade sees irrigation canals more and more extended from the snow-fed rivers which join the Indus where it is leaving the province for Sindh. The hill tracts, which are the last to be mentioned, consist largely of the great stretches of Himálayan rock and snow, such as have been already described as characteristic of the States in these parts of the country.

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Submontane and Central.	11	26,413	381	26″·79
Eastern Plains -	5	12,674	265	25·70
Salt Range Tracts	6	20,892	158	25·31
Western Plains -	7	41,012	81	7·50
Hill Tracts -	2	9,676	83	54·97

Bombay.

The next province that engages our attention is that of Bombay, and here, again, we find that out of the four main divisions, three are based on physical conditions, whilst in regard to the fourth, rainfall differences have been also taken into account. The first division is the expansion of the coast line, after the Ghâts have receded into the interior. The second is the strip of coast itself. The third is, of course, the Deccan plateau, so far as it lies within the limits of the western Presidency, whilst the last is the southern part of that plateau, bordering on Mysore and north Madras. Roughly

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Gujaráth -	5	10,296	301	29″·44
Konkan - -	4	13,639	210	104·66
Deccan - -	6	38,390	162	30·36
Karnátak -	3	14,928	192	34·15
Bombay Island -	—	22	—	74·23

speaking, the Karnátak begins south of the Bhíma river, on the east, and in the State of Kolhapur, in the west, without other marked geographical demarcation. The city of Bombay has been excluded in the tables from the Konkan, to which it belongs, so as not to disturb, with its peculiar circumstances, the general distribution of population along the coast. Considering the number of the districts and the difference of the tracts into which they are thrown in the returns, the mean figure is remarkably in accordance with the detail. Gujaráth presents the greatest density with the lightest rainfall, owing chiefly to the large area of fertile soil in the northern part of the division. The Konkan, which is the local name for that part of the coast, comes next, but here the rainfall rises, and the density recedes, by reason of the comparatively narrow area of cultivable land. In the Deccan has been classed a large portion of the central plain, included in the district of Khándesh, and the two large towns of Poona and Sholapur also tend to raise the population. The rich black soil mentioned in the first chapter as peculiar to this tract is found in the Karnátak in wider and more continuous expanse, and in the south-western portion of this last division the rainfall is heavier and more certain than to the east and north of the Deccan proper, so that the density is considerably greater.

Madras.

The Madras Presidency, with which we have now to deal, has probably the greatest number of climatic differences within its limits of any, though their range is not so wide as in the Panjáb. The districts are thus very widely distributed in Table E., but, with the exception of the Agency tracts on the north coast, which really belong to the Central belt of hills, there is little land lightly peopled. The zone of uncertain rainfall embraces the whole of what is marginally termed the Northern division, at perhaps its worst point, and owing to the protective effect of the western Ghâts, the West-central division is little better off. On the other hand, along the north coast and in the South-central divisions, there are largely extended systems of irrigation from the deltas of the Kistna, the Godávari, and the Kávari, by which rice is grown enough to support a very heavy population, almost irrespective of the annual rains. The western coast districts, on the contrary, depend upon the south-western current, here at its maximum of strength and humidity, so they attain the same result by different means, and their produce, if not so near the foreign market, is probably more varied and to some extent, where spices and condiments are cultivated, more valuable.

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
North Coast -	5	31,464	279	48″·29
Northern -	4	27,486	134	25·47
East Central -	3*	10,487	359	39·51
West Central -	3	16,346	249	30·45
South Central -	3	12,557	458	44·48
Southern -	2	14,195	319	32·46
West Coast -	2	9,487	391	117·17

* Including Madras City.

Last of all, the task remains of reviewing the manifold conditions of the Gangetic valley, as comprised within the two great provinces of the north-west, with Oudh and Bengal. What has been said already of these tracts in connection with different subjects, has indicated the remarkable density of the valley as a whole. Even taking into consideration, as is done in the table under review, the outlying territory included in each of the two provinces, the specific population of Bengal rises considerably above, and that of the other province comes not far below, double the mean of British territory, as a whole. In the former, 76, and in the latter 72 per cent. of the population exceeds that average.

N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.

Taking the two political divisions of the Upper provinces separately, it will be found that in the North-western division the density is only 411 per mile. In Oudh, however, it rises to 522, a ratio unparalleled over so large an area in any Indian province except Bengal. The density of the combined Provinces is 436. The latter has been divided into seven physically different tracts. One of these, situated amongst or just below the Himálaya, is thinly populated by reason of the scarcity of arable land. There are parts, indeed, of this tract that are deep in snow most of the year, so that the population descends for the winter into the grazing country at

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Himálayan -	3	13,973	81	62″·13
Submontane -	7	18,202	486	46·43
Upper Doáb -	5	10,133	509	31·25
Central Doáb -	6	10,139	470	28·38
North Central -	7	14,116	499	38·29
South Central -	15	25,300	652	38·42
Southern -	6	15,639	221	37·51

the foot of the hills and returns only for the four or five months when cultivation is practicable. This migratory population, therefore, was added at the time of the census to that of the submontane tract, but the total number of persons thus displaced was comparatively insignificant. At the opposite side of the province, to the south, lies another tract that shows a density which, though it is not far below that of British India, as a whole, must be classified as sparse when considered in relation to the rest of the province. It consist largely of broken ground, forming the outworks of the Central belt of hills. Between these extremes, the valley rarely supports a population of less than 460 per mile. The exceptions are found in tracts along the base of the Himálaya, where, for some reason or other, there has been a good deal of malarious disease of late years, and in the central portion of the Doáb, or tract between the Jamna and the Ganges, which is said to have got water-logged of late.* Even here the density is comparatively high, and we find about 375 persons to the mile in the former tract, and between 400 and 450 in the latter. The more thickly peopled part of the province lies first, along the line of rail, in the upper Doáb, and still more remarkably in the South central group of districts, which includes all of Oudh lying to the west of the Ghágra river. In Table D., the two districts mentioned as containing the most dense population are Benares, in the North-West Provinces, and Lucknow, in Oudh. Both these, however, are peculiar in being more or less appanages of great cities, and include, accordingly, a comparatively high proportion of urban and suburban inhabitants. We may take, therefore, as illustrations, more rural tracts, and in Balia, Ázamgarh, and Jaunpur, we find three, in none of which is the density less than 800 per square mile.

Bengal.

Crossing into Bengal, we find the same high ratio. In dealing with this immense population, the historical divisions of Bengal, Bihár, and Orissa, are found unwieldy, save in the last instance. Bihar has accordingly been split into two, and Bengal sub-divided into three parts. But for old association's sake, it is worth while to give the population of so well-known tracts. In Bengal, then, the population is returned as 40,398,265. Bihar returns 21,265,150, and Orissa 4,047,352. To these must be added the later acquisition of Chútia Nágpúr, the Feudatory States in which have been described above. The population of the British portion of this tract is given in the marginal table, since it is sufficiently well marked off from the rest of the inhabitants of the province to warrant the distinction. In the first place, of the seven districts containing a population less dense than the general mean, four are in this division. It is fortunate, again, in lying almost entirely within the zone of light but certain rainfall. Lastly, as has been said in the Introduction, the hilly tract of which it is chiefly composed is the last refuge of the dark races that were expelled from the plains by the foreigner, or absorbed into his ranks, if they elected to stay there. Two of the three remaining districts of light population are of a similar description. One is in Orissa, and is the inheritance of the Khond tribe, of whom much has been written since the British occupation of that tract and the adjacent Madras districts. The other lies in the wild country separating Bengal from Burma, and consists of a series of forest-clad hills and deep valleys, of which the latter only are under cultivation. The remaining district in this category is Darjiling, originally part of the Sikkim domain, now a flourishing tea-planting centre, with a favourite sanitarium, and a considerable trade with the tribes of the surrounding Himálaya to the north. But the arable area, except in the submontane tracts, is scanty, and the population sparse, as it is in the district touching Darjiling, in the plains. But the rest of the division specified in the marginal table as Northern Bengal, lies in a partially alluvial tract, with a density of more than 500 per mile. Here, however, begins the influence of the great rivers, which by the gradual shifting of their course, have wrought most serious damage to the country, both in respect to its fertility and to the health of its population, through the obstruction of the natural drainage. The next division, Eastern Bengal, is still more subject to the river influences, and

Tract.	Districts.	Area.	Density.	Rainfall.
Northern	8	19,253	459	85·73
Western	11	26,491	562	58·11
Eastern	10	32,165	531	82·59
North Bihár	5	17,515	667	51·82
South „	5	19,300	520	45·14
Chútia Nágpúr	5	26,966	134	46·84
Orissa	4	9,853	411	58·86

* The remarks on these two tracts must be taken as subject to correction, since they are based on the provisional report of the Census Superintendent, whose final work has not yet been submitted.

throughout the littoral tracts, communication is chiefly by boat, all the year round. This continuous supply of fresh deposit, with the abundance of wholesome water, make the tract one of health and plenty. It not only feeds its own population of over 500 to the mile, and annually augments it, but it exports also large quantities of rice both to the less fortunate parts of Bengal, and to Madras and elsewhere in India and abroad. It has been epigrammatically stated that in Bengal the population is in exact proportion to the productive power of the soil, measured in rice, and there seems good ground for the saying. As regards the density of this tract, however, we must make allowances for the inclusion of the hill tract of Chittagong above mentioned. The deltaic waste-lands of the Sundarbans, which fall within it are apparently excluded. Its limits, too, are being gradually restricted by the encroachment of the estuaries of the Ganges and Bráhmaputra to the eastwards. In Western Bengal the metropolitan area has been included, with its population of nearly a million. There is not here and in Madras, as in the case of Bombay, that great distinction between the two classes of population which would affect the ratios of the whole surrounding tract. In the latter, the mainland is comparatively sterile and thinly peopled. It is not so in the other two instances. The great distinction found in this division, and it is one that justifies still further partition, ethnologically, is that between the country on the east and that on the west of the estuary we know as the Hughli. Even in connection with the present subject, there is a noteworthy rise in density as we pass over to the eastern bank, and the western portion tends towards the characteristics of the Central Hills, both physically and in point of racial admixture. Orissa, apart from the hill tracts, consists of two belts; one salt and less fertile, the other, one of superb rice-growing soil. The density varies, accordingly, a good deal in small patches throughout the plains, but in the main supports the same specific population as the North-West Provinces, without Oudh. Bihár has here been divided into the two main sections of north and south, but there appears to be fair ground for further sub-division, as each of the above contains a zone of extremely dense population, lying along the Ganges, with a fringe of comparatively lightly-peopled country, situated under the Himálaya on the north side of the river, and along the foot of the Chútia Nágpúr plateau and in the Rájmahál hills with their surroundings, on the south. North Bihár contains the highest densities in the whole province, and in some places these have crept up almost to the sub-Himálayan forest. In the southern division, except for the influence of the great towns, there is a lower specific population, and the belt of almost thinly-peopled country is far wider, and is continuous throughout the tract. It is here that the population has to some degree outgrown its means of livelihood, and the seasonal migration to Calcutta, with the importation of large supplies of rice from Eastern Bengal, shows this. On the other hand, north of the river, in all places where there are no special disturbing causes, such as river changes or malarious outbreaks, the greater density seems to be supported without difficulty, and, as will be shown in the next chapter, it has not reached its limit. It is as well to mention this fact here, as otherwise the density might seem incompatible with the prosperity, or even the maintenance, of the population at its present level.

Pressure of population.

The whole country has now been reviewed with reference to the density of its population, that is, merely the number of people to the square mile. Behind this, however, lies the more important question of the pressure of this population on the land. In order to appreciate this it will be necessary to travel considerably beyond the mere census record, so that the subject can only be treated here in the barest outline. There are instances in which the temporary migration of a portion of the inhabitants, together with the continuous inward course of the traffic in food supplies, are facts which need no corroboration. But in most of the cases which call for examination, the existence or the absence of congestion of the population depends upon many less patent factors. For example, there is the ratio of the inhabitants to the arable area, which in its turn is qualified by the relative facilities of communication with local markets for agricultural produce, the capabilities of the soil, the character of the cultivating classes, and the relative variety of the field of employment. As to the first and main point, even in British India, to which the following remarks are confined, the record of arable land, especially if that in occupation be distinguished from the remainder still available for fresh tillage, is by no means complete, owing to differences in the tenures prevalent in the various provinces, and in the system on which the unoccupied arable area is administered by the State. The figures of population can thus only be applied to the statistics of agricultural areas by experts in matters of land-revenue, and on this consideration the census authorities deprecated

the inclusion in their returns of any statements in which the two were combined. The omission has been supplied, as was suggested, by special investigations through experienced local officers, from the results of which much more useful information has been obtained than can be incorporated in the present work. The general statement made at the beginning of this chapter, regarding the divergence of pressure from density, is borne out in several remarkable instances. The most striking, no doubt, is that of Bengal, where we find a very dense population supported in the eastern division with ease, for the soil is alluvial, continually renewed, well watered with a rainfall distributed over nearly three-fourths of the year. Passing over the tracts accidentally afflicted of late years by epidemic, we reach, in Bihár, one tract with a density of 930, of almost proverbial prosperity, due not only to its natural fertility but also to the admirable system of roads by which it is traversed, to the capabilities of the tract for specially remunerative crops, such as indigo and the poppy, and last, but most of all, to the very high class of its agriculture. Adjacent to it are two districts with densities of 902 and 840 respectively, in which there is, no doubt, congestion, due to the subdivision of the arable area beyond the capacity of the cultivator to get a living out of it. It is said, however, that the competition for field labour is keen, so that one of this class, whether he is landless or not, is better off than a man who confines his attention to a patch of less than four acres for the support of five or even six persons. There is one district here, however, Champáran, which is reported to be still under-peopled, though it returns 526 persons per mile. To the south of the Ganges we come to another congested tract, distributed, however, over parts of three districts, where many of the holdings are of two-and-a-half acres only. Here migration for a part of the year is habitual to a considerable part of the population, who find a living in the Calcutta mills and the rice fields of the east, and even return with savings from their annual trip.

Bengal.

N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.

In the North-West Provinces and Oudh it seems difficult to point to any special local congestion; but if there be any, it is most probably amongst the higher social grades of small cultivators in the central parts of Oudh. The case of the less fertile districts in the central Doáb is hardly one of congestion so much as of bad luck, susceptible of remedy. But the main point in connection with these provinces is the possibility of general congestion, since the area available is comparatively small, the population is large and very evenly distributed in the plains, so that it is necessary for the total annual surplus of food stock to rise proportionally with the increase of the people, as importation of food to an agricultural community of this size is almost out of the question. The contingency, however, has not yet arisen.

Panjáb.

In the Panjáb there seems to be no congestion, except in a few parts of the sub-montane tract. Four districts show a remarkable density of population on the arable area, Hoshiárpur, Jálandhar, Sialkot, and Amritsar; but all are within reach of the new field for cultivation thrown open by fresh irrigation projects. In two other districts the ratio to the arable area is very high, but it appears that these tracts, Hazára and Kángra, are largely pastoral, for which pursuit the vast expanse of hill-slope affords ample room.

Sindh and Bombay.

Sindh, with its system of cultivation by irrigation, is not likely to feel pressure of population so long as the Indus continues to run from lake and glacier to the sea. In the Bombay Presidency there are two tracts that may be said to feel the pressure of their population, and neither is densely peopled. In the Ratnagiri district, below the Ghâts, there is congestion of the sort mentioned in connection with some tracts of South Bihár. The area suited for cultivation is small and nearly all taken up; millets are imported from the adjacent Deccan tracts along the top of the Ghâts, and a considerable number of the lower agriculturalists annually migrate to and from Bombay, where there is always work for them in the cotton mills and docks. The density, however, is but 282 per mile. In the case of the Deccan, the primary cause of the pressure is the uncertainty of the rainfall. There is also the fact that the richer classes of soil are comparatively small in area, and are occupied, for the most part, by the better class of cultivators. There is thus a goodly proportion of the population that lives off the lighter class of land, and is accordingly very sensitive to the variations of the season. The condition of the people of the northern part of the Deccan was made the subject of a special inquiry last year (1892), and confirms the above view regarding the influence of the season on the finances of the cultivator. The density of the tract in question lies between 245 per mile in the most westerly district, and 140 in the north and east. In Gujaráth, the more densely populated division of this Presidency, the pressure is said to be scarcely felt.

Madras, too, has its most unfortunate tracts on the Deccan plateau, and the remarks about the Bombay portion of this tract apply to Karnul, Anantapúr, Belári, and Kadapa, where, in Karnul, the density of 109 is too great, as 134 is in Anantapúr. On the other hand, Tanjore, with 600, does not yet show signs of pressure, owing to the extensive and fertile rice tracts under the Kávari irrigation system, and the facility of making short and lucrative trips to Ceylon for labour during the season when the fields do not require the raiats' attention at home. Madras.

The Central Provinces have generally been regarded as a field for immigration from the more densely peopled tracts of Bengal and the North-West Provinces. But if we deduct from the area surveyed the 20,000 square miles that are included in State forests, the density rises to very nearly that of Bombay. Taking, as has been done in the recent inquiry into the condition of the people, only the area which is under cultivation, it will be found that in the so-called "black-soil" tracts, where, as a rule, only winter cropping is practicable, there is but little room for expansion, and this tract extends over much of the north and west of the province. In the rice districts, as in Bengal, the densities are far higher and the pressure less. Central Provinces.

The general statistics of Berar seem to speak for themselves. There is comparatively little arable land outside forests that is not taken into occupation, but less than 40 per cent. of the area under crops is devoted to the growth of the staple food of the province. The out-turn, even in a year of short rainfall, is enough to supply the whole population, and in an ordinary year over 40 per cent. of the crop is available for export, in addition to the produce specially grown for the foreign market, such as cotton, wheat, and oil-seeds. Berár.

The two small provinces of Ajmér and Coorg need few remarks. In the former the railway has largely increased the town population and the means of feeding it. In the rural tracts the precarious rainfall and the small area of arable land not taken up seem to indicate a certain amount of pressure, but on the other hand the reports on the appearance and the fecundity of the cultivating classes prove that the limit has not nearly been attained. In Coorg, too, in spite of the area under non-food crops, the native population is easily supported on the plots of hill land that alone are available in much of the province, but during a good part of the year the immigrants from Mysore and the coast are numerous, and the local supplies turn out insufficient. Pressure, however, cannot be said to exist at present. Ajmér and Coorg.

In Assam proper there is rather a want than an excess of population on the land, and even in Sylhet, with its 398 persons to the mile, there is no pressure, and food leaves the district every year. In Burma, as in Assam, there are thousands of acres of rich soil awaiting cultivation. The annual exports from Lower Burma include as much rice as is used by the whole population, including the supply occasionally required for the central districts of the Upper Division, when the rainfall is short there, which is a not uncommon occurrence. There is not, however, any sign that the agricultural population is pressing at all on the arable area. Assam and Burma.

From the above sketch it may be gathered that the agricultural class, that is, the bulk of the population of British India, is not pressing too closely on its means of subsistence, except in a few special localities. In a part of Bihár, and in a small tract on the Bombay coast, the local produce is insufficient for the inhabitants every year, and migration is adopted as a mode of relief. In parts of the Deccan the uncertainty of the season makes a pressure felt in circumstances where otherwise the land could bear the burden with ease. In the centre of the Gangetic valley there is a zone in which the margin of subsistence has been nearly reached, owing to not simply the weight of numbers thrown on to the land, but in part also to the liability of the tract to failure of rain. With these exceptions, the local resources suffice, and in several parts of India are year by year in excess of local needs, so that a large stock is always available for transport to places where it is wanted. Such is the problem in the present day, so far as the great mass of the people is concerned, and its further development will be discussed, so far as the census returns afford grounds for conjecture, in the next chapter. General conclusions.

It may be noted that in the foregoing review the pressure of population has been regarded from the standpoint of the agriculturist, and looking at the heavy preponderance of this class with that immediately allied to it, the village menials, the attitude is justifiable. The two together comprise little less than three-fourths of the whole community. But setting aside the trading class, which rises and falls in great measure with the condition of the masses, it is necessary to add a few words as to Pressure in the non-agricultural occupations.

those of the professional classes and such artisans as are not semi-agriculturists under the village organisation so common throughout India. There is no doubt that the general rise in prices of food, which is to the gain of the cultivator, has hit these two classes rather hard, and what with the supply of the former being in excess of the present demand for professional services, and the concentration of much of the textile and metal industry into the large factories in the towns, there is the possibility and likelihood of both professional and artisan falling back on the land for support, not so much as agriculturists as exploiters of such estates as they may be able to obtain. In connection with what has been said above on the pressure on the land in some parts of the country, this prospect is not to be regarded as of no significance, though it may happily still be very remote.

Town and Country.

Definition of urban population.

The stage of social aggregation at which a community ceases to be rural, and passes into the category of urban, can nowhere be sharply defined. In no two countries is the line drawn on the same principle, so that comparison of the respective classes has to be confined to the places the population of which is assumed to be universally a guarantee of their urban character, and the respective proportions of urban and rural, as a whole, have been voted to be beyond the scope of international statistics. As regards the smaller aggregates, the population standard is liable to be as delusive as the constitutional test, for their size depends very much on the density of the country and the physical resources which determine the bent of the occupation of its inhabitants. The title of town, again, is conventional in most countries, and applied in consideration of varying constitutional distinctions, such as those of city and borough, in England. In India the difficulty of classifying these small places is peculiarly felt in the present day, when the rapid extension of railways and other means of communication brings with it a very considerable amount of shifting of the trading and mechanical communities from place to place. It becomes necessary, therefore, to adopt three general tests with reference to the smaller units of population. First, that of constitution, that is, has the place been established as a municipality, or brought under some similar regulation for police and sanitary purposes? Secondly, if neither of these methods of local government has been applied, is the proportion of the trading and industrial population to the total equal to, or greater than, that of the agricultural? In the latter case the general numerical standard of 5,000 inhabitants was prescribed, as experience shows that taking the whole country together, this represents about the limit of urban preponderance. If the numerical standard alone had been adopted, many of the smaller municipalities and other towns in Northern India and Mysore would have been dropped out of the category of urban, and, on the other hand, a considerable number of the large aggregates of homesteads on the Malabar coast, which are merely revenue units of a purely agrestic nature, would have come on the list. The system of classification of these comparatively small places obviously leaves the door open to a good deal of variety of interpretation of the term "urban" as applicable to the population thereof, but, on the whole, the results show that local experience, at all events, in British territory, was usually right as to the preponderance of non-agricultural occupations in the places determined to be towns, and the return shows that no less than 505, or nearly 25 per cent., of the total number of towns fall below the prescribed standard in point of population. The adscription of so large a proportion of the people of India to the soil, a point that has already been brought prominently forward in the foregoing part of this chapter, is in itself a sufficient explanation of the remarkable sparsity of the urban population. The village system of organisation will be treated of below, and where the rustic finds a scheme of existence so thoroughly adapted to his wants and aspirations, where rank is hereditary, and custom provides a regulation for every contingency, the city offers no attractions, save to the Adullamite and Nonconformist, and the average villager sticks to his surroundings,

> Forumque vitat, et superba civium
> Potentiorum limina.

Distribution of urban population.

We find, then, out of the 717,549 places returned at the census, only 2,035 classed as towns, and the rest under the head of villages. The urban population is in the proportion of 9·48 per cent. to 90·52 of rural. In British territory, the proportion falls to 9·22, and in Feudatory States it rises to 10·38 per cent. The probable explanation of the difference will be found in the following statement, F, where a

summary is given of the main features of the urban population in the different parts of India :—

F.—Distribution of the Urban Population.

Province or State.	Urban Population.		Percentage of Urban Population in Towns of					Mean Proximity in Miles of Towns of 20,000 and over.*
	Total.	Percentage on Total Population.	50,000 and over.	20,000.	10,000.	5,000.	Under 5,000.	
Madras	3,406,105	9·56	29	24	22	23	2	68
Bombay	3,116,304	19·49	43	13	22	17	5	75
Sindh	342,295	11·92						125
Bengal	3,443,876	4·82	44	24	22	9	1	78
N.-W. Provinces	4,352,573	12·70	38	11	17	21	13	56
Oudh	961,755	7·60	36	7	22	25	10	75
Panjáb	2,413,704	11·56	41	15	15	22	7	81
Central Provinces	739,952	6·85	27	20	23	30	—	149
Upper Burma	371,404	12·60	51	—	17	27	5	168
Lower Burma	575,245	12·35	41	21	20	13	5	
Assam	102,074	1·86	—	—	24	43	33	—
Berar	360,711	12·45	—	25	28	47	—	83
Ajmér	118,631	21·87	58	36	—	6	—	32
Coorg	15,511	8·96	—	—	—	45	55	—
Haidrabad	1,090,129	9·45	38	10	17	35	—	138
Baroda	483,515	20·02	24	11	30	31	4	56
Mysore	626,558	12·67	41	—	9	18	32	127
Kashmer	197,743	7·77	60	18	5	17	—	216
Rájputána	1,530,087	12·73	26	14	25	35	—	117
Central India	964,538	9·34	28	25	17	30	—	87
Bombay States	1,177,422	14·61	5	29	26	31	9	—*
Madras States	175,125	4·73	—	29	42	29	—	—*
Central Province States	38,656	1·79	—	—	—	100	—	—*
Bengal States	16,542	0·50	—	—	69	31	—	—*
N.-W. Province States	103,188	13·02	74	—	—	16	10	—*
Panjáb States	456,544	10·71	12	9	24	39	16	—*
Detached Settlements	71,349	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total India	**27,251,176**	**9·48**	**35**	**16**	**20**	**23**	**6**	**90**
Number of Towns	2,035	—	78	149	407	896	505	30

* The smaller groups of States are in this column included in the Government with which they are connected.

Proximity of towns.

One striking comparison suggests itself which is not brought out in these figures. It is that whereas in England 53 per cent. of the whole population is found in the 182 towns of 20,000 and upwards, in India, though there are 227 such towns, only 4·84 per cent. of the population reside in them. The limit of 20,000 has been selected as being about the smallest that may be presumed to have any considerable influence on the rural tract of which it is the centre. The last column of the statement, accordingly, shows the average distance between one of these towns and the next, on the assumption, of course, of equal distribution, as is the rule in such computations. It thus appears that, taking India as a whole, we shall find a town of not less than 20,000 inhabitants every 90 miles. If we exclude the larger States, the distance is somewhat less, owing to the removal from the calculation of the large areas of Mysore and Kashmér, which boast only two towns each of this size. Burma and the Central Provinces then show the worst provision in this respect, but it must be remembered that in the latter the

outlying States have been taken into consideration, since most of them use the towns in British territory. In the case of Bombay, the difference caused by the addition of the States is hardly felt, as the latter contain a fair number of towns of the requisite population, whereas there are none in the small States of the Central Provinces. Baroda and the North-West Provinces are the best off for large towns, since Ajmér may be left out of the account, as its circumstances are peculiar. Madras, too, comes high up in the scale. Bombay, Oudh, and Bengal, are all much on an equality.

Proportion of urban population.

The next point is the proportion of urban population to the total. Again omitting Ájmér with its three railway markets, the highest percentage is that of Baroda, which, in addition to the capital of the State, has a fair number of small towns. Bombay is the next in order, and, with its States, is considerably above the rest. Sindh, which has been taken with it in the table, shows only 12 per cent., in spite of its four large towns. The proportion in the Panjáb, too, is much the same. In Bengal the urban population, which is of itself considerable, is utterly swamped when taken alongside of the enormous mass of rustics in this province. The proportion in Upper Burma seems high, but half of the number returned is found in Mandalay, and there is a long drop from the capital to the next town. It would be much the same in Lower Burma, but for the influence of Maulmain, the younger sister of Rangoon. Kashmér, too, shows in the return the predominating position of Shrinagar in its urban element. On the other hand, Madras, without any specially large town besides the capital, has a wide distribution of middle-sized places, including several flourishing seaports. The North-West Provinces do not appear to due advantage in the return, since the proportion of their numerous large towns is outweighed by that of the still more numerous small ones, which have been of late years brought under the local regulations regarding police and sanitary provisions without being constituted municipalities. In Mysore, too, it seems that something of this sort has been done. In several of the States we find one large town with a few much smaller ones. This is especially the case in Rámpur, of the North-west group, in a few of the Panjáb States and in most of those in Rájputána, and finally in Haidrabád. The urban element, in conclusion, is at its lowest ebb in Assam and the small Hill States of the central belt.

Large towns.

Another feature in the return is the comparative paucity of towns of large size. Out of the total tale of 2,035, there are 1,401 which do not contain as many as 10,000 inhabitants. Between this and 20,000 there are 407, whilst above this limit there are, as we have seen, 227. The towns of 100,000 and over number only 28, or 30, including two of the suburbs of Calcutta to make the total completely in accord with the general tables. The following statement shows these places, in order of magnitude :—

1. Bombay	821,764	15. Pátna	165,192
2. Calcutta, &c.	741,144	16. Poona	161,390
3. Madras	452,518	17. Jaipúr	158,905
4. Haidrabád	415,039	18. Ahmedabád	148,412
5. Lucknow	273,028	19. Amritsar	136,766
6. Benáres	219,467	20. Baréli	121,039
7. Delhi	192,579	21. Meerut	119,390
8. Mandalay	188,815	22. Shrinagar	118,960
9. Cawnpore	188,712	23. Nágpúr	117,014
10. Bangalore	180,366	24. Howrah	116,606
11. Rangoon	180,324	25. Baroda	116,420
12. Lahore	176,854	26. Súrat	109,229
13. Allahabád	175,246	27. Karáchi	105,199
14. Ágra	168,662	28. Gwálior	104,083

The great gap between the three Presidency towns and the rest is filled, it appears, only by Haidrabád, in which is included the large suburban cantonment of Sikandrabád. As regards the claim to be the first city in India in population, it must be considered that Bombay is under one municipal body, and contained within well-defined boundaries, and has no suburbs on the island itself, which means none within about 12 or 14 miles. On the other hand, the extension of Calcutta is like that of London, laterally ; so that whilst the nucleus of the metropolis is much as it was 10 years ago, the outskirts are growing into suburbs in all directions. There is, again, the large town of Howrah, across the Hughli, which, though in another district and under separate municipal government, is as much a part of the city as Southwark is of London. Taking all these straggling units together, the metropolitan population rises to 961,670, under no less than six municipal bodies, with three different

Presidents. Irrespective, therefore, of the outskirts, Calcutta must be content with the second place, both in population and in homogeneity of administration. Madras covers a large area, and comprises within its limits several collections of houses that are almost separate units; but the whole is under one municipality, and there is no question of suburban aspirations. The floating population, too, is small compared to that of the other two cities, since there is little of the manufacturing industry on a large scale that attracts so many of the labouring class to Bombay or the banks of the Hughli. The shipping trade, too, in Madras is by no means large. Haidrabád includes, besides Sikandrabád, a considerable suburban population, but it is in itself a very large city of quite the native Indian type. Lucknow, like the rest of these large towns, includes a considerable cantonment population, and in several other respects resembles Haidrabád, in spite of a generation of British occupation. The population of Benares, its neighbour, fluctuates considerably from month to month, as a large proportion of it consists of pilgrims. It is not necessary to go through the rest of the roll in detail. Bangalore, Agra, Poona, Baréli, and Meerut, are largely maintained directly or indirectly, through their position as great military depôts, or as the head-quarters of civil administration of a considerable tract. In some degree this may be said of Lahore and Allahabád. Mandalay, Jaipur, Gwalior, Shrinagar, and Baroda, owe their position to the fact of their having been for so long the capitals of wealthy States. Nagpur is fortunate in having no rival near it, and in being surrounded by a fertile country, the produce of which finds its chief outlet through this town. Karáchi and Rangoon are practically the creations of British trade. Cawnpore and Ahmedabád may be bracketted together as combining to a great extent commerce, of the more extended kind, with manufacture on the modern system. Delhi is the admitted metropolis of the north-western and larger portion of the Gangetic basin, as Lucknow is of the north-eastern. The former has, moreover, entered into the movement of modern industry, and is not entirely given over to the system on which it grew up under former dynasties. We have, finally, Patna and Súrat, both formerly provincial capitals of note, but failing to keep up the population of 10 years ago.

Townward tendencies.

Their condition will fitly serve as an introduction for a few words on the difference between the nature of the tendency to town-formation that we find in operation at the present day, and that in pursuance of which most of the older cities of India were developed. The extent of the tendencies and the degree in which they are now in action are matters which appertain to the dynamics of society, which will be treated of, so far as they fall within the scope of the census, in the next chapter. But as offering explanations of the existing condition of things they are relevant to our present subject. In the minds of the great majority of the masses, city life and its attractions are no more than a "nebulous hypothesis," and the town might just as well not be in existence. To the upper classes it is distasteful, saving to a native Chief in his own capital, of which more anon. The local magnate in his own domain is a Triton amongst minnows, by hereditary right, but in the city the equality of all before the law, a feature in British administration which he despises, is at its full height, and liberty lords it over birthright. Thus the field is left open to the trader, the professional, and "business man" generally, and under the influence of railways and foreign commerce his horn has been greatly exalted, to the prejudice of the others into whose presence, a few generations back, he could not have hoped to be admitted. There is also to be considered the stimulating presence of the foreign element found in the centres of trade, which is thrown into the scale in favour of the middle classes. On the whole, then, the main factors in the development of the cities of the present day, such as the seaports, Presidency towns, and the few trading and manufacturing centres in the interior, have been foreign capital administered by foreigners, and the scope given to the talents of the native trading classes. To a minor degree, too, the artisan and professional has contributed to the growth of such towns.

Court stimulus.

Let us now turn to the conditions of town life in India before British influence began to make itself felt, or to where, in later days, it is confined to merely the protective functions of a paramount power. In former times, whatever the theory, in practice the State existed for the maintenance of the Chief, and his duties began at the outer edge of the frontier. The public revenue was sucked into the treasury, and the expenditure was limited to the army and the personal tastes of the chief, or the embellishment of his palace and capital. It has been said by Jacquemont, that in India the authority of the Chief "décroît au moins comme le cube de la distance du lieu où il se trouve," so that what with the quasi-feudal relations of the clansmen amongst the Hindus, and the system of payment by "jágir," or the assignment of tracts to skin, by the Moghals, there was little temptation to amass wealth that could

not be protected, except under the immediate wing of the chief's courtiers. This state of affairs was fatal, of course, to any growth of the smaller towns,* but excessively stimulating to the congregation in the capital of such professions and industries as ministered to the requirements of the court and army. The sole chance for an aspiring author or artisan was to attract the attention of the Chief or Emperor, as the case might be, or of the reigning favourite. To do this, he was obliged to go to the court, and, if lucky, to remain there till he had buried an ample fortune in some wall or garden. In fact, as Bernier says, "From the nature of the government of this "country, a capital city, such as Delhi or Agra, derives its chief support from the "presence of the army, and the population is reduced to the necessity of following "the Moghal whenever he undertakes a journey of long continuance. Those cities "resemble anything rather than Paris; they might more fitly be compared to a camp. "The king's pay is the only means of sustenance." We thus see how the dialect of Hindi spoken round the head-quarters of the Moghal came to get the name of Urdu, the *camp* language. It is not probable that in the older States, especially under the Rájpút clans, the concentration of trade was as great as is pictured by the genial physician, as the petty sub-chiefs each made a point of establishing a little court in imitation of their superior, but outside these cities of refuge, the trader had no protection and but little business. Then, again, looking at the nature of the demand in these towns, it appears that the greater and more lucrative traffic was in arms, ornaments, fine fabrics, cloth of gold, illuminated manuscripts, and other objects of what economists call unproductive expenditure. So factitious a stimulus could not long survive the régime under which it flourished, nor was it likely to be continued under the plain utilitarianism of the British system of government. Nowadays, whatever may be said by the denizens of the Presidency towns regarding the annual "exodus" of the Government to hill stations, the support, such as it is, to commerce, which is thus withdrawn, is insignificant in the mass of new openings that have sprung up independent of it.

In proof of this the general condition of the chief towns may be brought forward. The seaports and the manufacturing centres, and the great produce-markets in touch with the coast, all of recent birth or regeneration, are flourishing. Of the former capitals, apart from the presence of military forces, inferior in number and luxury, perhaps, to those of yore, but better paymasters, Delhi, which, as above mentioned, has entered into the race on the new conditions, is almost the only one that holds its head up. Vijianagar lies in a boulder-strewn waste. Bijapur, that once sucked in the wealth of the Deccan for miles round, is now but a skeleton into whose dry bones life is just returning under the magic touch of the iron horse. Agra and Dacca just hold their own, and that is all. Patna fails to do this, and Murshidabád is little more than a large village, overshadowed by the palace of those who were once graciously pleased to allow Calcutta to exist, but forbade it to grow. Lastly, look at Surat, the port of the Empire, the Gate of Mecca, which, with its foreign relations, was the only place that showed signs of taking rank with modern emporia. Its river has played it false, and it is now hopelessly stranded in the backwater of commerce. Of the latter-day towns that are still in motion, more will be said in the next chapter.

The village system.

A wider, and a more important subject is opened out in the consideration of the distribution of the rural population. There are few topics connected with India that more repay investigation than the different systems on which this population has formed itself into the microcosm which we know by the generic title of village, but it will be out of place here to enter into more than the outlines of it. In the first place, it should be explained that for the purposes of the census, the term village is used in most parts of India to denote the unit of administration of the land revenue, and this implies, as a rule, the existence of a congregation of the inhabitants on a fixed site, with occasionally some outlying hamlets. It is not so, however, in parts of Lower Bengal and of Assam, where the land settlement, not being subject to periodical revision, does not require the maintenance of minute administrative records, and the population scatters itself as it pleases within the limits of the village. It is not so, again, in most of the hill tracts, where the boundaries of the village, as a unit, may be surveyed or not, but the inhabitants thereof are not to be bound down to a fixed site, the spirits attached to which may at any time turn out suddenly malignant, leading to unexplained death or sickness in the resident families, or, still worse, to the loss of some of their fowls or cattle. In such localities, therefore, the tie to the site

* As this was passing through the press, Hofrath G. Bühler, C.I.E., to whom I referred this point, communicated a few instances, such as Páli, Nágara, and Siddhapur, in Western India, where a town flourished otherwise than under a local chief. There are doubtless others, but they seem to make the general rule stand out all the more clearly.—J. A. B.

is a very lax one, and it takes little to break it. Then, again, on the Malabar coast, the village, such as it is on the plateau above the Ghats, is almost unknown, so the unit taken is the collection of separate homesteads, known as the *Desham*, which corresponds to the *Deh* in the desert tracts of Sindh. When, too, we come to the constitution of the village, we find as much difference as there is in appearance between the walled and castellated mass of buildings that repels outsiders in the Panjáb and Deccan, and the unprotected bamboo-covered group of cottages that rises out of the rice swamp of Lower Bengal. The title of village community, which may be used of all, must not be held to imply that all possess the special feature so thoroughly described by Sir H. Maine in connection with the corresponding communities in the west, namely, the joint property of the whole body in the lands of the unit. This exists, though often in some modified form, in the north of India, and is the predominant form of village organisation in most parts of the Panjáb. Here the question of race comes in, as the communities from the north-west who have from time to time made their way into India across the mountains, have generally colonised the frontier Province in force, but have not strayed, save in small bodies, further into the plains. The great exception is that of the race known as the Aryas, who avoided the Panjáb and fixed their abode lower down the Ganges valley. Lastly, there is to be considered the race, or races, of darker colour and lower civilisation who were displaced by the immigrants, whether Arya or other. Inquiry stops here. Amongst these, who are generally called the Dravidian race, a term which may be used here for want of a better, it appears that the joint proprietary village was scarcely, if at all, recognised, though there were leaders of the community who held a predominant position in the village without interfering with individual property in the lands thereof, but who regulated the dealings of the community with the waste land and uncleared forest. It is possible that in most instances to this class was originally given a colonising or clearing lease of the village by the superior agent of the tribal Chief, who had the grant of a larger tract, which was subdivided as above. This is very different from the position of the joint owner of the northern frontier. Here, he is in most cases the sharer of all the land of the village, waste and occupied. In others, though the greater part of the land may have been partitioned off into individual holdings, it is subject, it is said, to occasional re-division, so as to give each cultivator of the village-family the chance of a share of the choicest soils, or, as is more probably the origin of the custom, to prevent any single set of occupants from gaining a permanent superiority over the rest of the sharing clan. It appears, however, that in this part of India, either the Dravidian element was not in existence, or that the repeated waves of immigrants of various races obliterated it in pre-historic times.

In the tract occupied by the Arya, on the other hand, which lay to the east of the Five rivers, there are, no doubt, traces of the imposition of hereditary proprietary right above the right of individual occupants; but in the present day, partly owing to more modern influences, the joint or landlord system of village property is universal throughout the North-West Provinces and Oudh, excepting, perhaps, in some of the hill tracts. Still further to the east, again, there is in Bengal, though not in Bihár, a village system created within the past century by the early British administrators, which, in the sense in which the term is used in connection with our present subject, is no system at all. The archaic form of holding these estates was stamped out wherever the Moghal got a fair grip on the country, as was the case with the half of Bengal that was populated at the time it passed into the hands of the British. In this province, accordingly, we do not find the more or less complete village organisation that distinguishes this community in the rest of India, whether joint or individual. In the Central Provinces, too, the system of village tenure is in great measure the creation of British administration, but differing from that in Bengal in the very important provisions made at the later settlement for the maintenance of the rights of the individual occupants against the encroachment of the newly-made proprietary title. Further south, the iron heel of the Marátha was exercised, like that of the Moghal in the north, in equalising subordinate rights, but the destruction of the former system was by no means so complete as under the more scientific procedure of the foreign absorbent of the revenue. Isolated instances of joint property are found in the west of India, one of which, in the north of Gujaráth, resembles in almost every particular the joint system of North-west India, whilst another is singular in the fact that the sharers are not necessarily connected by caste or blood. In a third we find the revenue system of the Maráthas perpetuated by the creation of what has now been confirmed as a proprietary title, that is, of a kind of farm of a village, or collection of villages, with the preservation, as in the Central Provinces, of tenant rights to occupancy at settled rates, instead of at will. One of the last distinctions between

the joint and the individual system of village tenure which it is necessary to mention here, is the existence in the latter of the headman, as the leader of the community, and not, as in the former, as merely a State official for the collection of revenue and the minor duties of administration. Under the joint system such an exaltation of the *status* of any one member of the proprietary body, would be inconsistent with the oligarchical rule implied by the tenure. In the southern system, on the other hand, the post belongs, if not hereditarily, at least by convention, to certain families, on the condition that the occupant of the post is in possession of a landed estate in the village.

The village community.

Such is the constitution of the village community, and the next point is its internal organisation. The Government is practically oligarchical, whatever it may be in name. If there be a headman, he acts as one of a body of "leading families." Where there is a coparcenary body, the village affairs are managed by a jury of the heads of the sharers. Megasthenes, on his travels, says that he found the institutions of the Panjáb democratic, and perhaps they were in those days, so far as the outside world is concerned. But the ambassador had been bred under democracy, and was predisposed by his training to find traces of it everywhere. We only see what we have been taught to look for, and the first judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court found in the absence of clothes on the part of the boatmen who carried them on shore, a proof of the poverty of the country, which poverty it was their duty to eliminate, whilst the British soldier is apt to attribute the want of muscle amongst the Indian peasantry to the unsatisfactory distribution of butchers' meat. But in fact, to the average villager, the notion of equality is scarcely "thinkable," and to those of higher rank it is abhorrent. If there chance to be a storm in the even tenor of country life, directed against the ruling body of the community, it will generally be found that the motive was, as Sully put it, not *l'envie d'attaquer*, but *l'impatience de souffrir*—some violation of the immemorial custom of the village.

In its economic aspect, the village aims at being self-sufficing, as may be assumed from its history. For not so very long ago, relatively to the life of a people, every village had to be in a state of continual preparation for defence against its neighbours. Community of interests was confined to the walls of the village, at least in the plains, and the ruling sentiment was towards peace internally, with distrust, if not actual hostility, in respect to all outside. No doubt, at a comparatively early stage in the development of the village in India, the local market was established for barter of surplus produce against articles of domestic use or convenience not to be made in the village itself, and these markets were regarded, according to Sir H. Maine, as the neutral ground of the inhabitants of the whole tract round. By-and-by, as matters settled down, room was made for the vendors of such articles within the village as residents, but not as members of the inner circle of the community, though they took rank above the groups of helots, who represent the displaced tribes found on the soil by the immigrant foreigners, and who were compelled to live in hamlets immediately outside the village site. Taking the "village community" of Sir H. Maine to refer to only the joint or northern Indian type of village, his work is still the standard authority on the subject, but, as shown by Mr. Baden-Powell, it should not be taken as of universal application to the whole country.

We find, then, that the community in question, in its normal stage, included only the differentiation of function necessary to supply the wants of an agricultural community, and, in the climatic conditions of India, these wants are few and simple. The spread of railways and other means of communication, and the general development of the trade of the country, have largely helped to add to the variety of the village population, but, as was remarked above, the new comers, in spite of their often greater wealth, occupy a social position considerably below that of the older members of the community. They make, accordingly, for the market town, so that out of the nine-tenths of the people of India, who, as shown above, dwell in villages, four-fifths at least belong to the classes that composed the original village community.* This is a matter that will have to be noticed in connection with the distribution of the population by occupation, but it is so far relevant to the present subject that it shows how, with the growth of the village in wealth and population, there is but little tendency towards extension laterally, as it were; in the direction, that is, of needs of a sort unknown to their forefathers.

* Where the tradition of hereditary title to the village lands is in its vigour, the rank of a well-to-do cultivator hailing from another village is far below that of the poorest of the "Old Standard." In the Deccan, for instance, there is a proverb that "the Pálki (marriage procession) goes to the door of the moneyless Mirásdár (hereditary landholder), past that of the Upri (new-comer) who has his five fingers in ghi (is rolling in wealth).—J. A. B.

The Statement G. on the next page, includes both towns and villages, but the marginal note gives the latter separately, but without territorial subdivision. It will be seen, however, that there are hardly any places of 10,000 inhabitants and over which are not classed as urban in character. The few in the highest group are almost entirely confined to the coast States of Madras, where the unit has been taken to be, not the Desham but the collection of Desham, known as the Provarti, a system of grouping which renders the return valueless for comparison. It must also be noted that the villages of the small State of Hill Tipperah, under Bengal, are omitted, for the reason already given. As regards the factors that determine the size of a village unit, a very few words will suffice. In former days the insecurity of a great part of the country no doubt led to the formation of comparatively large aggregates. In the north-west Panjáb, again, the tribal character of the occupation of the soil tended in some places to large, in others to small, villages. Thirdly, the fertility of the tract and the facilities for getting water where the rainfall is scanty, result in the establishment of small villages in favourable circumstances, and of large elsewhere. In the hill tracts, such as those of Assam, the Central Provinces, Bengal, and north Madras the want of arable land limits the village population to a very low figure. In some tracts, again, the custom of splitting up the original community into detached hamlets is increasing, now that life and property are secure, especially where the soil is so light that large holdings have to be taken up in order to provide for the family wants, and the cultivator would have to go long distances daily if he adhered to his ancestral homestead.

Varying size of the village.

Group.	Population.	No. of Villages.
20,000 and over -	314,481	17
10,000- -	1,455,214	109
5,000- -	3,883,938	606
3,000- -	12,854,322	3,469
1,000- -	70,025,695	45,830
500- -	67,475,109	97,846
200- -	71,180,018	222,996
Under 200 -	32,625,858	343,052
Unclassed -	20,478	—
Total -	259,834,813	713,925

Such offshoots are not, as a rule, counted as distinct villages, except in Bengal, east of Bihár, where the circumstances, as explained above, have been adverse to the formation of large communities. Then, again, in the Himalayan tracts of the Panjáb, the village, in its ordinary sense, is not to be found, the hamlet taking its place. Thus the return shows that whereas in the British portion of this tract, the revenue unit has been used, in the Hill States the return recognises only the *tika* or hamlet. On the whole, the latter seems to be the preferable course to be taken in future, as the members of the *tika* are usually connected by some bond or other, but the village, consisting of a number of hamlets founded by entirely independent sets of cultivators, is a mere unit of record, the collective name of which is not always even known to many of the inhabitants, and certainly is not in colloquial use. At the other extreme of India, in Assam, there is the revenue unit in the Bráhmapútra valley and in the upper portion of the Súrma; but elsewhere the people have squatted according to the convenience of their field work, and the village, as a community, is unknown. In the hills, too, there is only one large tribe that dwells in fortified units of population, and the rest move about in the forest, as need or inclination dictates. In Kashmér, we find much the same tendency as in the adjacent Panjáb hills to fix the abode close to the field, and as in such a hilly tract the area of land fit for cultivation is scanty and scattered, there is nothing in the shape of a large village except in the valley. In parts of Sindh, again, where the distances to be traversed are very great, the village unit occasionally includes from 10 to 20 hamlets, distributed over many square miles of almost desert country. With the above explanations Statement G. can now be examined.

The general mean population per village in India, as a whole, is 363. In British Provinces it rises to 374, and falls in the States to 330. But the exponential figures added to the mean of the chief Provinces prove that except in Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Berar, that mean is the result of very considerable district variation. In the case of the States, where such aid is wanting, one or two leading points of difference have been already explained. For instance, the high average of 2,727, in Madras, as compared with that of 567 for the British portion of the Presidency, is due to classification only. The same may be said of that in the Panjáb States, which is 190, as compared with 532, for the divergence is greater in the Hill tracts than elsewhere, the reason being the different treatment of the *tika* or hamlet.

Mean population of the village.

Table G.—Showing the General Distribution of Towns and Villages.

Province or State.	Average			Per-centage of Population contained in Places of							Per-centage of Places containing a Population of					
	Population per Unit.	Rural Population per Village.	Proximity of Villages in Miles.	Under 200.	200.	500.	1,000.	5,000.	10,000.	20,000 and over.	Under 200.	200.	500.	1,000.	5,000.	10,000 and over.
Madras	624	56·26 567	1·69	5·3	12·9	20·9	47·7	5·8	2·3	5·1	40·2	24·3	18·3	16·4	0·6	0·2
Bombay	845	30·57 605	2·05	3·8	15·9	22·0	37·8	5·4	4·7	10·4	24·6	35·4	23·3	15·7	0·6	0·4
Sindh	766	31·83 644	3·75	3·0	14·1	25·3	38·4	8·5	2·1	8·6	22·1	31·2	27·5	18·0	0·9	0·3
Bengal	314	41·13 299	0·88	16·7	30·4	24·0	23·4	1·1	1·1	3·3	53·6	30·8	10·9	4·6	0·1	—
N.-W. Provinces	418	20·97 367	1·09	10·0	25·1	25·3	28·2	3·1	2·1	6·2	44·6	32·4	15·6	7·1	0·2	0·1
Oudh	519	10·39 481	0·34	6·1	24·1	31·3	31·5	2·1	1·6	3·3	28·5	37·6	23·3	10·3	0·2	0·1
Panjáb	599	32·33 532	1·92	5·5	19·1	23·9	38·5	4·4	2·2	6·4	31·3	34·5	20·5	13·1	0·4	0·2
Central Provinces	314	15·35 293	1·71	16·1	35·2	25·4	16·1	2·4	1·6	3·2	50·0	34·8	11·9	3·2	0·1	—
Upper Burma	268	29·36 235	2·96	22·3	36·3	19·0	10·5	3·4	2·1	6·4	58·8	31·4	7·8	1·9	0·1	—
Lower Burma	262	27·82 230	2·39	22·9	39·9	17·7	7·9	1·5	2·5	7·6	57·4	33·9	7·2	1·3	0·1	0·1
Assam	319	60·70 313	1·82	12·9	45·1	23·0	17·6	0·9	0·5	—	40·2	45·2	10·9	3·7	—	—
Berar	496	13·21 439	1·87	7·6	23·0	25·8	31·1	5·8	3·5	3·2	37·4	34·7	18·4	8·9	0·4	0·2
Ajmér	728	572	2·05	4·9	13·8	18·6	35·1	7·0	—	20·6	33·3	32·2	19·5	13·8	0·8	0·4
Coorg	348	320	1·92	11·2	32·9	33·7	18·1	4·1	—	—	45·5	32·6	17·5	4·2	0·2	—
Total, Provinces	**411**	**374**	**1·44**	**11·0**	**24·8**	**23·8**	**30·3**	**3·2**	**1·9**	**5·0**	**46·2**	**32·0**	**14·2**	**7·3**	**0·2**	**0·1**
Haidrabád	573	522	2·18	5·3	20·8	29·1	35·4	3·3	1·6	4·5	27·8	35·5	23·9	12·4	0·3	0·1
Baroda	793	643	1·78	3·6	12·5	21·9	41·9	7·1	5·9	7·1	26·3	29·6	24·5	18·4	0·8	0·4
Mysore	293	257	1·37	19·3	34·3	21·0	17·6	2·5	1·2	5·1	55·6	32·1	9·3	2·9	0·1	—
Kashmér	306	282	3·36	17·3	31·5	23·5	19·8	1·9	—	6·0	54·8	30·7	10·5	3·9	0·1	—
Rajputána	395	346	2·24	11·8	24·4	22·6	28·6	4·4	3·2	5·0	50·0	30·2	13·0	6·4	0·3	0·1
Central India	317	289	1·68	16·6	31·2	21·5	22·5	2·7	1·6	4·9	54·0	31·6	10·1	4·1	0·1	0·1
Bombay States	522	449	2·29	7·5	20·2	25·2	33·0	4·9	4·1	5·1	38·5	32·1	18·9	9·9	0·4	0·2
Madras States	2,831	2,727	—	0·4	2·5	5·8	22·0	25·1	34·9	9·3	8·8	20·6	22·7	30·0	9·4	8·5
Central Province States	207	204	1·80	27·6	41·0	20·2	9·4	1·8	—	—	65·4	27·0	6·3	1·2	0·1	—
Bengal States	175	174	1·49	32·0	35·6	18·7	12·2	1·1	0·4	—	71·6	21·6	5·3	1·5	—	—
N.-W. Province States	442	298	1·60	12·0	45·1	19·2	11·9	2·1	—	9·7	38·2	49·1	9·8	2·8	0·1	—
Panjáb States	212	190	1·48	18·9	20·7	21·2	30·0	4·3	2·6	2·3	76·0	13·6	6·4	3·8	0·1	0·1
Total, States	**367**	**330**	**1·83**	**12·7**	**25·7**	**22·4**	**26·6**	**4·7**	**4·1**	**4·8**	**53·1**	**28·7**	**12·1**	**5·8**	**0·2**	**0·1**
INDIA	**400**	**363**	**1·59**	**11·4**	**24·8**	**23·5**	**29·4**	**3·5**	**2·4**	**5·0**	**47·9**	**31·1**	**13·7**	**7·0**	**0·2**	**0·1**
Villages only	—	363	1·59	12·6	27·4	26·0	31·8	1·3	0·6	0·1	48·1	31·2	13·7	6·9	0·1	—

Panjáb.	British.	States.
Hill Tracts	828	60
Submontane Tracts	516	474
Salt Range Tracts	547	—
Western Plains	440	616
Eastern Plains	666	419

Panjáb. But in other parts of the Panjáb, also, there is little agreement between the two, except in the submontane tract, in which the village is less populous than where the arable area is less productive.

Baroda. Baroda, again, shows the high average of 643, the same as that of Sindh, but the cause is less artificial, as the size of the village seems determined chiefly by the circumstances of the northern division of the State, the soil of which is light, and the area under each unit relatively large. In the most fertile division, omitting the capital city, the mean is a little below that of the adjoining British districts, where the forest belt along the eastern edge, is narrower, and has less lowering effect on the average.

Baroda.	State.
Southern	535
Northern	853
Western	485

N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. In the case of the two States under the North-West Provinces, we find a curious coincidence of the averages, in spite of the very different density of the two. As, however, the British hill tract shows only 106 per village, and the Hill State gives over 300, it is clear that the method of classification differs, as in the corresponding tract in the Panjáb, only here, the *tika* is apparently recognised in British territory, and the village in the State. In the rest of the province the mean of different tracts is less uniform than usual. It is low in the southern hills, rises a little in the densely peopled south-central division, and very considerably in the Upper Doáb, where the population, though still thickly spread, has to undertake the cultivation of a wider area.

North-West Provinces and Oudh.	British.	States.
Hill Tracts	106	301
Submontane Tracts	375	—
Upper Doáb	565	—
Central Doáb	501	—
North Central	416	297
South Central	425	—
Southern	363	—

Bengal. The Bengal States are chiefly in the hill tracts above mentioned, where land is scarce, and the population is obliged to move about more frequently than in the plains, in search of fresh fields. On the eastern frontier, too, shifting cultivation is the rule, and when a forest tract has been wastefully burnt down for ash manure, by which the harvest of a single year is raised, the whole settlement migrates elsewhere for perhaps 10 or 12 years, by which time the low scrub has probably grown up again sufficiently for a second course of destruction. In the British portion of the hills and on the plateau of Chútia Nágpúr, the average size of the village is a trifle less than in the States. The highest average of the Province is found in North Bihár, where the village organisation is on the same footing as that of its neighbours in Oudh and the North-West Provinces. The high average of Eastern Bengal is in part attributable, probably, to the paucity of elevated building sites available for that amphibious population. In the only State found in the plains, Koch Bihár, the average is higher than even in Bihár itself, a result due, perhaps, to classification of hamlets in the sub-Himalayan portion of the State, but no explanation is given in the returns.

Bengal.	British.	States.
Northern	268	492
Western	240	—
Eastern	388	86
North Bihár	489	—
South Bihár	329	—
Orissa	216	149
Chútia Nágpúr	170	189

Assam. The case of Assam requires little comment. The two valleys, in spite of their different densities, show nearly the same average population per village, but in neither is the village a compact unit, as in the rest of India. In the hill tracts, the size of the village is determined, as in the hills of Bengal, by the necessities of agriculture, and is very nearly equal to that for Chútia Nágpúr, as given above.

Assam.	British.
Súrma Valley	348
Bráhmapútra Valley	353
Hill Tracts	155

Bombay and Sindh.

The four tracts included in the Bombay Presidency, excluding, of course, Sindh, how very different figures. The averages of Gujaráth and the South Deccan, or Karnátak, are both high, but in the former the aggregate is that of a generally homogeneous community, on a single site, in the midst of a comparatively small area of irrigable land. In the latter, on the other hand, hamlets are common, since the black soil, though fertile, is not irrigable to any great extent, and thus necessitates the occupancy of larger areas for dry-crop cultivation. The States falling within these two divisions show a different distribution. In Gujaráth, the average is below that of British territory, by reason of the wide belt of forest-clad hills that is included in the Eastern States. In the South Deccan the villages are a little larger than in the surrounding British districts. In the northern portion of this division, which includes Khándesh, and the forests at the foot of the Ghâts, the States, which lie for the most part in the latter, show, as a rule, smaller villages. Along the coast, on the other hand, owing possibly to a different treatment of hamlets, the reverse is the case.

Bombay.	British.	States.
Gujaráth	748	403
Konkan	483	541
North Deccan	588	345
South Deccan (Karnátak)	715	752
Sindh	644	849

Madras.

The Madras average, on account of the very different tracts into which the Presidency is divided, is by no means a useful one. Allowing for the special constitution of the unit on the western coast, we find the largest villages on the Deccan plateau, where, as in the case of the Bombay portion of that tract, the congregation is due to the large holdings necessitated by the lightness of the soil, with the consequent growth of hamlets, subordinate to the main village. A third very distinct class of village is found in the Agency tracts of the east coast, which form a continuation of the hill-belt of Orissa and the Central Provinces. Omitting this, the provincial average rises to 692, the highest in India. This is probably the true light in which the distribution should be regarded, for throughout the rest of the province the average is remarkably above the general mean. The Malabar States have been already discussed in connection with the present subject, and the rest are so small that they need no special comment here.

Madras.	British.	States.
North Coast Tracts	674	—
Agency Tracts	106	—
Northern Tracts	891	545
East Central	476	—
West Central	708	—
South Central	653	1,164
Southern	707	—
West Coast	982	3,469

Burma.

Burma comes last of the British provinces. It has not much of the village organisation of the rest of India, in which caste, from which this province is free, plays a considerable part in holding together the community. A trace of the village system is to be found, though slightly developed, in Upper Burma. The distribution in the different divisions calls for no remark, save that it does not seem to follow at all the density of the population in general.

Burma.		British.
Upper.	Northern	203
	Southern	286
	Central	237
	Eastern	194
Lower.	Arakan	172
	Pegu	247
	Irawádi	254
	Tenasserim	228

Haidrabád.

There remain the larger States and agencies about which a few words are required. Haidrabád is returned in three linguistic divisions, the Maráthi, the Kanarese, and the Telugu-speaking tracts. There does not seem to be much difference between them so far as the village average is concerned, and the two first agree in this respect pretty closely. In the north-east corner of the last there is some hilly country that contains a number of small villages, but the average is raised by the size of those in the plains.

Haidrabád.	State.
Maráthwáda	523
Karnátak	423
Telingána	537

Mysore.	State.
Eastern - -	265
Western - -	241

Kashmér.	State.
Kashmér - -	221
Jammú - -	320
Hill Tracts -	354

Mysore and Kashmér.

Mysore presents no special features, except a generally small village. In Kashmér, the unit apparently varies in definition, so comparison is out of the question.

Rajputána.

In Rájputána, the three divisions are very different from each other. In the desert the villages are large, as they are in Sindh and the lower Panjáb, and for the same reason. In the south the Hill tracts are still in the occupation of wild forest tribes, who are averse from populous settlements, and so disperse by clans all over their territory. The Eastern States form the mean. They include more than half the population, and the extreme divergence between the other two gives them the preponderating influence in the general average.

Rajputána.	State.
Western - -	468
Southern - -	243
Eastern - -	351

Central India.

The Central India Agency is such a mixture of race, jurisdiction, and geographical subdivisions, that the differences in the size of the village in the three great sections into which it is alone practicable to divide it may be purely arbitrary. The tract bordering on the Gangetic basin contains the largest villages, and Rewah, where the population lies thickest, comes second in order. The extreme west, like the south of Rájputána, is the refuge of the wilder tribes driven out of their former haunts in the valleys of the Tápti and Narmada, and their villages are little more than small collections of huts scattered over clearings in the forest.

Central India.	State.
Western - -	256
Northern - -	385
Eastern - -	287

Mean proximity of villages.

In a former part of this chapter the mean proximity of towns to each other was shown, and in the statement now under review, the corresponding figure will be found for the villages. It may be worth while, perhaps, to explain that the proximity is a function of the square root of what Dr. Farr calls the areality of the unit selected. For example, in Sindh, where cultivation is sparse, each village, assuming equal distribution, is the centre of 12·17 square miles of country, and the average distance between it and any one of its neighbours is found to be about $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles. On the other hand, in Oudh, the villages are but $2\frac{2}{3}$ furlongs apart, and in the North-West Provinces, just over, and in Bengal just under, a mile. The three tracts last mentioned contain over 46 per cent. of the total number of villages, which are there so closely packed that they determine in great measure the general mean, which is a little under $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Table G. shows that in all other provinces this mean is exceeded. In the States, the average distance is greater, and falls just short of two miles, but Haidrabád, Rajputána, Kashmér, and the Bombay States, all show a higher mean.

The remainder of this table is given up to the proportional distribution of the places, whether town or village, according to population groups, and also of the population under the same groups. Nearly one half the total number of places contain less than 200 inhabitants. In British territory the proportion is a little lower, but in the States it rises above that figure. If we raise the limit to 1,000 inhabitants, it will be found that 93 per cent. of the places, with 66 per cent. of the population, falls within it, and the admission of the smaller towns makes but an insignificant difference. The table shows how this ratio varies in the different Provinces and States. Omitting the exceptional cases of Ajmér and the Malabar States, nowhere does the proportion of population in villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants fall below 38 per cent., whilst in some, as in Assam, Burma and the small States of Bengal and the Central Provinces, it rises above 80, and even to 89, facts which speak for themselves when the rural element of the population is in question.

House-room.

In discussing the density of the population it is usual to treat, also, of the question of house-room, in connection with either the inhabitants or the area. In the one case, the mean number of persons per house is generally taken as the subject for comment. In the other, either the mean number of houses per square mile, or

the mean area of which, on the assumption of equal distribution, each house is the centre. The proximity, too, which has been shown above to be a function of the areality, to use the nomenclature of Dr. Farr, is also in some cases a matter worth consideration. But it is with reference to urban tracts, principally, that these statistics are of importance, and to render the data complete, information is necessary regarding both the inhabited and the empty houses. In India, as we have seen, the conditions of town life affect but a small fraction of the people, and looking at the heterogeneous items of which a town in that country is often composed, and the large area of open land generally included within the municipal limits, it was held to be superfluous labour to do more than register the unoccupied buildings at the enumeration, without compiling the results. For the same reason, the areality of occupied houses is not a point, at present, of moment, except, perhaps, in two or three of the largest cities. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that where it is the custom to build the village in a compact mass, often surrounded by a high wall of masonry or hard mud, the sanitary conditions are deteriorated to the level of those in a large town, and if the commingling indoors, on intimate terms, of human beings and cattle, be an evil, the village is even at a disadvantage; for the measures of purification introduced into the former on the initiative of British administrators, is highly honoured in the breach in rural India. But the compact, or castellated, type of village is confined to the dryer tracts of India, and throughout Bengal, east of Bihár; in Assam, Burma, the hill tracts, and along the coasts, the structure of the houses, as well as their arrangement on the village site, is quite different. The material is lighter, and the distance between the buildings is usually considerable, so that air circulates more freely than where the street, or continuous block of buildings, is the rule; but the habits of the people are the same, and the drainage, especially in the comparatively level tracts, is very obviously deficient. The heavy rainfall seems to counteract a good deal of the effect of this negligence, but when an epidemic has once got a lodging in one of these places, it is, no doubt, harder to dislodge than in the dry dirt of the north and centre of the country.

Definition of house."

After it was decided to restrict the census inquiry to a return of the inhabited houses only, the usual difficulty arose as to the definition of a house. In England, after the matter had been discussed at an International Congress of Statists, the house was held to comprise by definition "all the space within the external and party walls of the building." The committee of the aforesaid Congress that reported on the question, was unanimously adverse to the substitution of a proposed restriction of the term to what may be generally called a "tenement." In Scotland, and now in England, the latter term has been recognised, but subordinate to the general definition of the house. In India, the variety of structure with which the census has to deal is so great that it has been found impossible to frame a definition that would meet all the cases that would occur in the process of registration. In the Hill tracts one meets with collections of leaf huts that are here to-day and gone to-morrow, because, perhaps, the *genus loci* has brought about the untimely death of some of the family poultry, or a forest-guard has threatened a visit of inspection to the adjacent reserve. In Haidrabád, on the other hand, there are the residences of the high officials, or connections of the Chief, covering several acres of ground, with numerous courtyards and detached buildings, into some of which none but a member of the household is permitted to go, and the whole is surrounded by what would be the "external wall" of the English definition. Between these, come numerous varieties of house or hut. First, the portable arrangement of matting and bamboo that is slung on a donkey by the vagrant classes, though sometimes stationary on the outskirts of a village for months together, according to the patience of the permanent inhabitants. Then, the more stable erection for the cultivator whilst engaged in watching his crops; and so on, to the really permanent abode of the lower grades of village menials, with wattle and daub walls, which last for years, and a roofing of thatch or palmyra leaves, renewed as necessary, before each rainy season. The house, properly so called, is equally varied. In some parts of India it is the practice to wall in, with a thick hedge of thorn or rattan, a considerable space, over which the family expands in separate buildings as the sons marry; but all is considered to be a single "house." In the north of India, where family exclusiveness is carried to the highest pitch, all well-to-do people adopt the walled enclosure, with a courtyard or yards, and a small room or verandah along the outer wall in which to receive visitors and strangers. In Pesháwar, for instance, which is a city pre-eminent in this respect, and, in a lesser degree in Lahore, there is street after street with hardly a single window in it. In the centre and south of India publicity is less disliked, and the

house, both town and country, presents a less forbidding aspect. The material, too, is less solid, and, as a rule, the buildings seldom run to more than one story in the village, or two in the town. Pitched roofs, tiled or thatched, are usual in the moister tracts; flat-topped mud or brick buildings are almost universal in the dry plains of the Deccan and Upper India.

Extremes of climate.

One great cause of this diversity, and probably the most important, is the variety of climate that is experienced. The range of rainfall has received due attention in the introductory chapter, but in connection with the housing of the people, the average range of temperature has also its value. From the following table it will be seen that in the drier parts of the country the range of temperature is considerably over 20 degrees, whereas the mean temperature is not excessive, as compared with that of the moister tracts.

TABLE H.—Showing the Temperature and its Monthly Range.

Range of 20° F. and over.				Range of less than 20° F.			
	Station.	Average Monthly Range of Temperature.	Mean Monthly Temperature.		Station.	Average Monthly Range of Temperature.	Mean Monthly Temperature.
Panjáb	Dera Ismail Khán	28·3	74·3	West Coast	Cochín	12·5	80·3
	Multán	26·7	76·3		Mangalore	12·6	78·6
	Ráwal Pindi	27·2	69·2		Kárwár	13·5	78·6
	Pesháwar	26·9	70·6		Ratnagiri	14·5	79·2
	Lahore	26·7	73·3		Bombay	10·8	79·5
Ganges Valley	Meerut	24·3	75·0		Karáchi	17·2	77·2
	Agra	23·4	77·8	East Coast	Negapatam	13·7	81·5
	Lucknow	24·5	77·7		Madras	15·9	81·8
	Allahabád	23·3	77·8		Masulipatam	16·1	81·2
	Benares	23·0	77·8	Bengal and Assam	Calcutta	15·8	77·8
Deccan	Poona	23·5	75·8		Dacca	16·1	77·8
	Sholápur	25·0	79·0		Chittagong	14·8	76·3
	Belláry	22·7	80·6		Dhúbri	14·8	74·2
	Karnúl	22·6	81·8		Sibságar	16·3	72·3
Central Plains	Khandwa	25·0	78·0	Bihár	Darbhanga	17·0	76·7
	Jabalpúr	23·8	75·5		Patna	19·7	77·3
	Nágpur	23·3	79·5	Lower Burma	Akyáb	14·0	78·5
	Amraoti	23·6	78·2		Rangoon	16·4	78·8
Indus Valley, &c.	Haidrabád	24·7	79·3		Maulmein	16·0	78·5
	Jacobabád	30·3	78·7		Mergui	15·6	78·5
	Bhúj	22·3	78·3		Toungú	19·8	78·1
	Deesa	26·3	79·7				

In these last the range is very slight, especially along the sea coast. The result is that in the region of great extremes, in the north of India, the houses have to be built to keep out the burning heat of the summer and also the biting frost of the winter. In the Deccan, though the heat is great, the winter is mild, whilst the Central Plains furnish a very fair example of the medium between the two. Now, along the coasts and in the Delta, even up to the Assam valley, the people enjoy a hot but equable climate, and have thus only the rain to guard against. But as soon as we get into Bihár, the extremes recede from each other, and a more substantial class of residence becomes desirable.

The above is the principal physical cause for the diversity of building in India, and another is the material that happens to be most convenient. But, what with the climate that allows the people to spend most of their time out in the open air, and their main occupation, which compels them to so spend it, the house comes to be but a relatively insignificant item in the domestic comfort of the masses. In the dry season, as soon as it begins to get hot, shelter at night is considered in many parts of the country a troublesome and ridiculous excess, and the open spaces outside the houses are covered with cots or mattresses. In crowded streets, even, the footways are blocked by rows on rows of long white bundles, giving it the appearance in the moonlight of an exaggerated edition of the slab at the Morgue. But with the upper classes throughout the country, and with the middle also in the north, custom prohibits to the women any participation in this freedom, so the roof of the house has to be specially protected for their use, and in a large establishment, sometimes a small courtyard affords the means of taking the air, with such exercise as is held to be necessary for the fair sex.

Social custom.

Social custom, too, has a good deal to do with the construction and arrangement of the dwellings of the people in more ways than the above. The relative prevalence, for instance, of what is known as "joint" or "divided" family life amongst the Brahmanic classes, that is, the bulk of the population of India proper, determines the partition of the house inside, or even the number of doors. Then again, there are numerous degrees of detachment. If the link is only severed so far as property is concerned, the family often continues to eat together, and to cook at the same fireplace. But it may be deemed necessary to reverse the operation, and then the property remains in its integrity, but the family adds to its fireplaces, and eats in separate messes. The due arrangement of these fireplaces, too, has to be considered, as there is risk of offence to the supernatural if the mouth does not open towards a certain point of the compass. In many parts of the country, in the present day, it is said to be the custom for the younger branches to build themselves entirely separate houses, and to leave the paternal nest altogether, on which matter the provincial census Superintendents have in some instances found evidence in the returns. Amongst certain classes, again, chiefly in the Central Belt of hills, there is a general refectory or meeting-room for the whole unmarried population, and the spinsters are sent off after the evening meal to a dormitory at one end of the village, and the bachelors to one at the other, the houses of the Benedicts of the community intervening. The results of this arrangement are not said to be different from those of any other.

Varying definition.

Upon considering all this variety, and the difficulties in getting a uniform interpretation of a general definition that arose in 1881, it was decided to prescribe a standard on which the provincial census Superintendents were to engraft special additions to suit the circumstances of the different parts of their charge. It was the object to thus obtain a return that would be uniform for the province or State, though it might be inconsistent with that of other parts of India. Clearly, therefore, the subject had to fall out of the ranks of the Imperial series. So far as the latter is concerned, the chief aim was administrative; namely, to show the enumerator what buildings he had to visit. It has, however, been treated provincially in all the reports, so that a certain amount of useful information has been recorded on it. It is not proposed to review the return generally, though this work would be incomplete without the quotation of the figures for the different provinces and States that have compiled them. For the sake of comparison, the corresponding return of 1881 has been added. The reduction of the average number of persons per house from 5·8 to 5·4 is due to the changes in Bengal and the North-West Provinces, and these, in turn, are clearly attributable in great part to a change in definition. In the last-named province there are numerous cases in which a courtyard surrounded by many separate tenements opening on to it is entered by a single gateway. These were formerly treated as one building, but on this occasion they were enumerated by tenements. In Bengal, again, the test on this occasion was the custom as regards eating together, or what the Provincial Superintendent calls by the convenient name of the commensal test. Each separate cooking place was counted as a house wherever the building was obviously outside the standard definition. In the city of Bombay, too, it is plain that the enumeration must have been by tenements on this occasion, probably counting as such those which had an independent entrance from some space either public or common to all the residents of the building in question. For further details the reader is referred to the provincial reports on the census.

Table J.—Showing the Average Number of Persons per House.

Province, &c.	1891.	1881.	State, &c.	1891.	1881.
Ajmér	5·2	5·3	Haidrabád	5·1	5·3
Assam	4·8	5·4	Baroda	4·5	4·6
Bengal	5·4	6·3	Mysore	5·5	5·7
Berar	4·9	5·7	Kashmér	5·7	—
Bombay	5·6	5·6	Rajputána	5·5	4·9
Sindh	5·6	5·5	Central India	5·3	5·6
Upper Burma	5·3	—	Bombay States	5·0	5·1
Lower Burma	5·4	5·5	Madras States	5·1	4·9
Central Provinces	5·0	4·2	Central Province States	5·3	4·6
Coorg	7·0	7·9	Bengal Province States	5·3	5·6
Madras	5·3	5·5	North-West Provinces States	6·0	5·8
North-West Provinces	5·8	6·8	Panjáb States	5·8	5·9
Oudh	5·5	5·5			
Panjáb	6·9	6·7	Madras City	7·5	8·4
			Rangoon Town	6·4	6·5
Calcutta	9·6	11·6			
Bombay City	14·4	26·3	**India**	**5·4**	**5·8**

CHAPTER III.

The Movement of the Population.

The true greatness of a State consisteth essentially in population and breed of men.—*Bacon.*

In the foregoing part of this work the population has been regarded as stationary, that is, as it existed at the time of the census was taken. It has now to be considered as in motion, in its relation, that is, to what it was 10 years ago, on the one hand, and, on the other, to the general change that, judging from recorded experience, is likely to have taken place in it by the time the next statement of account is obtained, at the beginning of the 20th century.

General conditions.

In this, its dynamical aspect, a population is the resultant of certain opposing forces, whose combined action tends ultimately to equilibrium. In the present stage, however, of the world's development, there is an almost rhythmic variation in the intensity of each, effecting continuous change, the bias of which is just now in favour of the positive, as distinquished from the preventive, elements. There are various ways of grouping these elements, and, on broad lines, we may adopt the two classes of the physical, or domestic, and the political, or foreign. Under the former head come the natural forces of birth and death; in the latter we place war and migration. Underneath these general combinations, again, may be distinguished influences that are practically constant from those which are accidental or temporary. The reproductive instinct, for example, is constant, but its results are stimulated or repressed by artificial considerations, such as, amongst others, the prevailing views on marriage or inheritance. It may even be qualified, some hold, by a modification of type in a community which has reached a certain stage of development, in which case the restriction borders on the permanent. Death, again, is a debt due by all, though most of us are like Falstaff, loth to pay it before its time; but is liable to receive the fortuitous assistance of war, pestilence and famine. The change, too, resulting from migration may be accidental, or else part of the ordinary process of internal expansion.

The conclusions arrived at by Malthus on this important subject have been severely criticised, and often misquoted or misapprehended, but, in the main, they have not been disproved. In certain particulars, no doubt, his deductions were too sweeping, and in others, modern science, in the progress of physiological investigation and in the experience drawn from a wider field of observation, has had to introduce qualifications derived from sources of which Malthus was ignorant. For instance, in estimating the means of subsistence, he seems to have depreciated the results of an increased and improved application of human industry to the production of food from natural sources, and to have laid too little stress on the power of dispersion in sustaining any particular population. His view, too, that the power of multiplication was only restrained by what he termed the preventive checks, appears to be controverted by what we know has happened since he wrote. For, allowing that the proportion of married women of the reproductive age is the main factor in the natural increase of the population, we find that instead of the maximum number of children that could be produced during the 20 years included, as a rule, in this period, the average, even under highly favourable conditions, physical and moral, is about four per marriage, and only six at the maximum. We see, also, that in countries where every circumstance is in favour of multiplication, unrestricted by either postponement of marriage or abstinence from it, by war, starvation or disease, and stimulated, perhaps, by the immigration of adults of both sexes, the rate of increase is considerably below that which might, *ex hypothesi*, be possible. There is every reason to suppose, accordingly, that Malthus' view ignores some important physiological sequence that has not even yet been ascertained. We have, however, the suggestion, to call it by the least assumptive title, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, that pressure of population consequent on excessive fecundity, tends to provide, in some degree, its own corrective. For this pressure implies an increased demand upon the intellectual and nervous qualities of life to meet it, and the stock of nutriment being the same, these latter can only be satisfied at the expense of the reproductive faculties. The more the former are brought into play, the less there is left for the sustenance of the others. Life may be, and probably is, lengthened, but the community is neither so numerous or so physically well equipped as the well fed savage. If this doctrine be correct, and it has much to recommend it, one of its consequences may fitly be mentioned here. It is, that according to the theory, every community has to pass through a stage of what we may call

probation. Between races and even the larger political entities, such as nations, a higher type of civilisation in the one and of character in the other, is pretty sure to prevail, and this is apparently what Bacon implied in the latter portion of the phrase quoted at the head of this chapter, and what one of our greatest modern statists, Dr. Farr, meant when he said that the "character of every race of men, "allowing for accidents of position and time, is the real limit to its numbers in the "world." But in the case of smaller aggregates than the above, where, that is, competition lies within narrowed limits and is actuated by more individualised impulse, intelligence and what are called the social virtues, must be, for a time, and a considerable one, at a discount. For, by the hypothesis, they result in diminished fecundity, so that, until they have permeated widely through the community, the class which exercises them must inevitably fade into numerical insignificance relatively to the reckless prolificity of those who have nothing to lose by the indulgence of their strongest instinct. This is an aspect of the population question which it has luckily not been necessary to take into consideration hitherto in connection with India, but the peculiar social organisation of the great mass of the people of that country renders it impossible for enlightenment to progress at anything like the rate of its numerical growth. The period of probation, therefore, during which these multitudes will have to be passing through the discipline of hardship before they are mentally adapted to their new circumstances, must be a peculiarly long and trying one. Luckily it seems to be still far off, and the approach to it is by steps almost imperceptible. For before pressure of the character above described can be felt by a community it is necessary that dispersion should have reached its limit. By dispersion is not here meant solely the migrations of a single community, but the corresponding movements of all communities to tracts which allow of their providing food to supply the wants of others, over and above the stock raised for their own maintenance. It is the facility of this transfer of the results of labour together with the greater industry and intelligence brought to bear on the soil where the arable area is fully occupied, that makes it possible to say that in the present day the food supply has increased not only in line with, but even in advance of, the growth of the population, and, other things being equal, this will continue to be the case, so long as there is land to be found on the globe fit for remunerative tillage.

Conditions in India.

We can now consider the part respectively played in the movement of the population of India by the birth-rate, by famine, by epidemic disease and other causes of death, and by migration. War has happily been, for this generation, a factor in abeyance. Of the rest, the natural causes of change, that is, the birth and the normal death rates, are necessarily entitled to the first place in the list, and in connection with them, the special causes of mortality, by epidemic and famine, will have to be discussed. Migration will then be treated separately.

Marriage customs.

Now, the number of births depends, as was remarked above, very much on the proportion of married women of the reproductive age, so we are here brought face to face with the marriage customs of the people and the tendency towards matrimony prevailing in India. In anticipation of a more detailed examination of this wide subject, which will be specially handled in a later chapter, a few general observations must suffice to explain its connection with our present topic. We should omit Burma, for the present, from the question, since the social system of that province is entirely different from that of the rest of the country. In India, as thus restricted, marriage is regulated by a few leading principles which nominally prevail amongst at least three-fourths of the population. Strict conformity with all is probably confined to a not very large minority, but such is the pervading influence of the system indigenous to the country, that a good many of its special tenets have been adopted by most of those communities that are brought into close contact with it, even though the orthodox prescriptions of their own system may be opposed to them. One of the most prominent universal duties imposed by this heterogenous public opinion is that of marriage. In the case of the Brahmanic community this is intelligible, as their current system dooms a man to a particular region of pandemonium unless he leave a son to perform the proper obsequies for his release. The duty is also connected with the law of inheritance which is, to some extent, binding on the masses. The forest tribes conform as they become civilised and are incorporated with the rest. The Musalmáns, who are, for the most part, converts from the ranks of Brahmanism, have not abandoned it, and the rest of the denominations of Indian growth equally observe the obligation. Then, again, amongst the higher and middle classes of all denominations there is the general feeling that the paternal hearth is disgraced by

the presence of a girl who has arrived at womanhood unmarried. Polygyny, too, though undoubtedly rare, is allowed to all, whilst polyandry is confined to two or three comparatively small communities. It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the main fact indicated by these tendencies, that is, the enormous number of births that is likely to result from them. At the same time, it must be pointed out that it is the universality of marriage, not the early age at which it is contracted, that is here in question. The latter has sometimes been erroneously put forward as one of the causes of an increase in the child population, whereas its chief and direct effect in India seems to be only to shorten the mean lifetime of a generation, and not to increase the number of births per marriage, possibly owing to the physiological cause mentioned above, the nature of which has not yet been ascertained. Furthermore, the relative age at marriage is largely a matter of local custom, as well as of social position, and in certain tracts the upper classes marry, as a rule, at a higher age than the lowest in others. It should also be borne in mind in regard to this part of the subject, that the term marriage includes both the formal betrothal, which is the principal ceremony, and the subsequent handing over the bride *in manum viri*, the interval between the two being, as above mentioned, dependent on the local custom or the rank of the contracting parties, as the case may be. Amongst the Hill tribes and many of the labouring classes, the ceremonies are not distinguished, as girls are not married in either sense till they are grown up. In its ceremonial aspect, the betrothal is the binding and more important part of marriage, but from our present standpoint it is superfluous to pay attention to more than the later stage of this social arrangement. Thus we find that 94 per cent. of the unmarried females are below 15 years of age, and that though the proportion of women between 15 and 40 years of age is but a trifle in excess of the corresponding ratio in European countries, in India, no less than 84 per cent. of them are married, whereas in Europe, if we omit Hungary, where the ratio rises to more than 63, the average is not above 40.* The period in question, too, contains in India about 70 per cent. of the total married female population, but in Europe, excluding Hungary, as before, the average is only just above one half. This fact takes us a step further in the analysis of the return, for if we sub-divide the period into two, it seems that of women in India between 15 and 25 years old 87 per cent. are married; but in Europe the highest proportion, to the west of the Leith, is in France, where it is only 22. In the remaining period, from 25 to 40, the ratio of wives in India falls to 81 per cent., whereas in the West, it advances to about 70. The divergence is here due to the Indian custom as to widow-marriage. The orthodox Brahmanic view, whether it be well founded or not we need not inquire, absolutely prohibits the marriage of females whose husbands are dead, so that a girl betrothed in infancy, whose affianced happens to die before the latter part of the ceremony has taken place, is as much a widow as she who enters that condition at the decline of life. This rule is only strictly observed amongst the comparatively small communities of the upper classes, and throughout the masses there is great variety of practice. The lower and lower middle classes are, on the whole, influenced chiefly by local opinion on the matter, and where adult marriage is the rule, there is generally found no objection to the "maimed rites" and less expensive procedure involved in bringing home a housewife at second-hand. On the other hand, the general tendency of social aspirants to adopt the customs of those immediately above them, is extended to the case of the widow of course, and when a man of this class has, as the French say, "arrived," he makes the fact apparent by secluding his womenkind and abjuring widow-marriage. The above remarks apply to the Brahmanic community only, or, at most, to the fringe of Hill tribes that border on the plains. The Musalmáns have no prejudice in the matter, *teste* the first matrimonial venture of the Prophet himself, but even amongst them the pervading atmosphere of Brahmanism has had a certain effect. On the whole, the proportion of women who are returned as widows is 17·6 per cent. of the total of the sex, or about 3·5 to every widower. In Europe, the average ratio is about one half the above, and there are only about 106 widows to 100 men in the same condition. To some extent, therefore, we may take into consideration this rejection of second marriages amongst females as a check on the number of children that might be brought into the world under the operation of the great stimulus given by the religious sense of the majority to the indulgence of the strongest animal instinct of humanity. But, looking at the prevalence of marriage, it is clear that more than the existence of a few millions of widows, more

* The more correct period for Indian women would be from 13 to 35 years of age, but for the sake of comparison the higher limitation has been adopted.

or less, is required to account for the comparatively slow growth of the population under the impetus of so enormous a number of births. The clue is to be found in the accompanying high mortality. The birth-rate is indeed very far above that of any European country, if we except Russia, and reaches nearly 48 per mille on the whole country. But the death rate is equally abnormal, even if we omit the more frequent occurrence of famine and epidemic disease in India, and may be taken to reach, on an average, 41 per mille. This matter will be discussed in its due sequence, but, speaking generally, it can be attributed to an excessive mortality amongst infants of both sexes, a large mortality amongst young mothers in childbirth, and a general want of "staying power" after about 50 years of age. Of these factors, the first is the most prominent, as about 26 per cent of the children born do not live to the end of the first year of their life. In England the rate is not higher than 15·6. The operation of the second cause is more difficult to determine, as the return is complicated by the admitted repugnance in some parts of the country and amongst certain classes to communicating any information about the married or nubile women of their household. As to the last, the returns as they stand uncorrected indicate more than five per cent. deficiency of persons of 40 years old and upwards, as compared with the age-tables of Europe. The general divergence of the constitution and age distribution of the two communities can be appreciated to some extent from the average duration of life, which is little more than 24 years in India, against nearly 44 in England. These figures are given merely for the purpose of comparison. They do not show the actual mean age of the population, as it stood at the census, but the higher estimate obtained by considering the community as stationary. The former averages would, necessarily, in the case of increasing populations be some years lower. Still, the fact is made prominent by them that in India the generations must succeed each other with much greater rapidity than they do in the West.

Approximate birth-rate.

In estimating the growth of the population of India by what we have termed the natural increase, that is, by the excess of births over deaths, we are without the aid of complete registers of these occurrences. Registration has been in force for a considerable time, and a good deal of attention has been paid to it, but the circumstances of the country are against it. In municipalities, especially where town-duties are levied on imports, the deaths are registered with approximate accuracy, as the corpse has to be carried out to the cemetery or burning-place past one of the toll-bars. Births, however, even here escape registration to a very considerable extent. In the rural tracts, where the country is open, the villages close together, and their staff of officials fairly complete, the results are, on the whole, very good; the births, indeed, are probably as correctly entered as in the towns. But in the hill tracts, where locomotion is difficult and the villages far apart, even if stationary, and the people not only illiterate, but suspicious of everyone who is not equally so, the returns are too often altogether neglected, or kept by the headman by means of knots in a piece of string hung up to a beam in his roof till the next visit of the accountant or other officer, who writes up the register from dictation. In many parts of Bengal, too, the absence of a village staff placed registration for a long time in the hands of the lower grades of the rural police, so that the return was trustworthy in towns only. Then again, there are tracts where registration is not even attempted, owing partly to the density of the forest and the sparsity of the inhabitants, or again, to the nature of the tenure, which varies greatly in its degree of independence of State control. The large area under the feudatory Chiefs is excluded from the returns. In a few cases, such as Mysore and Baroda, there is a system of registration, but in most of the larger States information of this sort is not available. Finally, we come to the personal grounds of objection to the system. The householder of rank dislikes inquiries of any sort as to his family affairs. The rest do not fall in with the official idea of its utility, even if they understand the question. The death of an adult male member of a family is an event known to the whole village, and is registered accordingly, so is the birth or the death of a son. But mothers, wives, and daughters pass away without leaving a ripple on the surface of village life, and it is with respect to them that registration is most deficient. It is plain, however, from the returns, that greater accuracy is annually being obtained, and in one or two provinces, as was remarked above, the results for the 10 years that elapsed between the two enumerations so nearly coincided with those of the census that both operations may be congratulated on their successful issue. Elsewhere, the latter is the only means of, as it were, taking stock of the population. Even in England, where registration of domestic occurrences has reached so high a degree of accuracy, the last census showed that the results, apart from migration, were not quite what were expected. There is

Birth and death registration.

another point in connection with these returns for India that requires notice. The increasing accuracy of the registration, especially where the latter has been hitherto backward, is likely, if not duly discounted in the returns, to lead to the assumption that changes are taking place in the birth and death rates which, in fact, are not taking place. This is the more noticeable when the population on which the rates are calculated is maintained, as it often is, at the figure of the last census throughout the decade, so that even though the registration may have been uniform in its degree of accuracy during the whole interval, there is a sudden descent in the rates when the increase of perhaps 10 or more per cent. in the population, shown by the census, is brought into the returns. With all their deficiencies in respect to the absolute figures, these returns afford most useful data in comparing one year with another; for the error to be found in them is in all probability constant and uniform throughout the whole series. It is in this capacity that they have been used in preparing the corrections to be applied to the age-returns, which, as will be shown in a later chapter, enable us to dispense, to some extent, with the actual numbers.

Epidemic disease.

Having thus disposed of the main normal factors in the natural increase of the population, it is necessary to refer to those which we may call incidental, the first of which is the check on the increase produced by the prevalence, in annually varying proportionate strength, of certain epidemic diseases. It is not easy to treat this subject otherwise than very generally, for the diagnosis of the village accountant or the local constable is very liable to error, and except in the hospitals and dispensaries, the classification of the causes of death leaves much to be desired. Small-pox and cholera, however, if, indeed we may call them epidemics in India where they are always present, are probably more correctly registered than most other fatal maladies. The symptoms are too well known, and the disease, too, in both cases, is under the special control of a certain female divinity, who is to be propitiated only through the mediation of the classes descended from the pre-Aryan population. The rest of the ills to which Indian flesh is heir to, excepting accidents and snake-bite, mostly come on to the returns under the generic title of fever. Taking the return for what it is worth, we have had, during the past 10 years, a population under observation averaging about 197¼ millions, with a mean annual number of deaths amounting to 5,140,000, which seems to indicate an omission of at least one in three. Of those registered, the 10 years' average includes about 309,000 deaths from cholera, yearly, with the maximum of 475,600; 126,750, from small-pox, the highest number being 333,380, and 3,397,300 from fever, with the corresponding limit of 4,110,000. Of the remainder, a number just short of a thousand is unclassed; and accidents and what are grouped under the head of bowel complaints, account for the rest. Thus, to fever are attributed 66 per cent. of the deaths, to cholera, 6; to small-pox, 2; to bowel complaints, 5; and 21 to injuries and unclassified causes. The latter include, roughly speaking, 60,000 accidents, of which a considerable proportion are due to drowning, and 20,000 deaths from snake-bite.

Cholera and small-pox.

Cholera and small-pox are the two main causes of abnormal mortality in India, apart from famine and certain special outbreaks of fever, which will be noticed below. Not a year passes without cholera in some part or another of the country, and there seems to be no sign of its becoming rarer or less fatal. Whatever may be its origin, its dissemination is no doubt largely due to the immense congregations of pilgrims at certain seasons of the year, especially about the hottest time, to bathe and drink at one of the many sacred rivers or pools of the country, just about the month when the water is at its lowest. In spite of all the sanitary precautions adopted, the outbreak is still a matter of chance, and once it happens there is no limit to its local extension. As to small-pox, though it cannot be said to have been stopped by the greater prevalence of vaccination nowadays, it is said to be of a milder type in some parts of the country where it was formerly frequent and severe. The returns of blindness seem to indicate this to a slight extent.

Fevers.

Fever, as has just been remarked, includes a variety of diseases, amongst others, influenza, in the form in which it was prevalent during the past three years. There are, however, certain classes of fever that seem confined to special localities, which they ravage for a few years, and often disappear as unexpectedly as they broke out. For instance, in the Bráhmaputra valley of Assam, the "black sickness" (kála azár), that broke out some years since, has been peculiarly destructive to life along the southern bank, and has also crept across to a few tracts on the northern. For some time it baffled medical research, but its nature was thoroughly investigated in 1890 by a competent expert, who found the disease to be largely due to the insanitary habits of the villagers. The name he proposed for it was parasitic anæmia, or

anchylostomiasis. Whatever it may be, its results are painfully apparent in the two districts where it has been rife for the longest period, and the Provincial Superintendent of the Census attributes to it a loss of over 100,000 people during the decade. Another instance of epidemic fever is that popularly known as the Bardwán outbreak, from the name of the district where it was specially prevalent some years ago. The tract, however, has obtained this bad eminence unjustly, for it seems that the disease originated further in the delta, about Midnápur, where it is attributed to the water-logging consequent on the choking of the natural drainage channels of this part of Bengal, by reason of the gradual changes in the course of the main estuaries. This process has been in operation, too, high up the delta, even to the border of the submontane tract, and affects the returns of four large districts. It is not only in the lower part of the Gangetic basin that water-logging has occurred. In the south-east of the Panjáb the natural drainage has been obstructed to some extent, and portions of the Karnál and Dehli district have passed out of popular favour, apparently for good sanitary reasons. Remedies have been tried, and others are about to be applied to the condition of the tract by Government. The case of the southern portion of the Ganges Doáb was mentioned in the last chapter. Here, however, there does not seem to have been so much an increase of mortality as the abandonment of the soil because it deteriorated for agricultural purposes. Along the borders of the Tarai, or sub-Himalayan forest and grazing tract in Rohilkhand on the other hand, fever has increased in prevalence during the last decade or so, though it is not said to be of so special a type as that of Bardwán or Assam. On this point the report of the Provincial Census Superintendent, which has not yet been submitted, will no doubt contain full comment. In other parts of the country there have been outbreaks of fever due to some local cause, such as that in Amritsar in the Panjáb, where the city population fell off by 11 per cent., whilst the rural tracts surrounding it continued to increase. In other cities, too, the malady we now call influenza grew to the intensity of an epidemic, and carried off numbers of the inhabitants in a few weeks. These examples, though not covering the whole field, suffice to show that in India the abnormal influences affecting the death rate are by no means as rare as the equable climate and the healthy outdoor life of the population at large would lead one to suppose they would be.

Famine.

The next of the influences that we have to consider is that of famine, with which we have in India always to reckon. Most fortunately, the 10 years under review have been almost free from this calamity, and the one or two cases of serious failure of crops that did occur were purely local and restricted to very narrow limits, both territorially and with respect to the population affected. In fact, the only occurrence of this description worth mentioning is the scarcity that prevailed in the northern portion of the east coast of Madras, in 1889, and even here the direct effects were comparatively small. The season following the census, however, was unluckily marked by distress in the south-east Deccan, as well as in Rajputána, and by scarcity of a milder type in Bihár, but this is a period falling beyond the limits of the present subject. It is otherwise with the great famine of 1876–78 in the Deccan and South India, which has impressed itself rudely on the census returns. Here, as in the case of Orissa, in 1886, and Rajputána, two years later, and again, of the North-West Provinces, in 1861, the effects will be marked out in the age-tables until the generation that suffered them has passed out of life. But for the present, we have only to consider famine as one of the checks on the growth of the population, not in its detailed action on the latter. That check is exercised in a twofold manner, directly and indirectly. It not only increases the number of deaths, but it tends to diminish that of births otherwise than by merely destroying possible parents, as was the case in Thebes of old,

. . . . . οὔτε γὰρ ἔκγονα
Κλυτὰς χθονὸς αὔξεται οὔτε τόκοισιν
Ἰηίων καμάτων ἀνέχουσι γυναῖκες.

As regards the first, the number of people who die from actual want of food is probably small compared to the deaths which result from the greater hold which disease gets on those who are enfeebled by diminution of their usual supply of nutriment. Thus, in times of scarcity, the mortality from ordinary causes, such as bowel complaints and intermittent fever, rises considerably above the normal rate, since many succumb who would in ordinary times offer a successful resistance. The second of the results just mentioned was very prominent in the age returns at the census of 1881 for the Deccan and Southern India, and reappears at the age of 10 to 14 in those of 1891. From these data it is clear that famine is most felt in the first four or five years of life. It then seems to pass lightly over the adults, and to fix on the aged, but only

where the distress is acute, for the evidence on this point is not conclusive, as it is on the other. Now, as the reproductive ages are the least affected, one would expect to find the process of replenishing the gaps in the depleted population in full operation within a year of the return of normal prosperity. But even where the famine was followed by a bumper harvest this did not happen, and the cause of the check in reproduction was undoubtedly physical weakness, resulting from the long spell of insufficient nourishment endured by the masses. It took from three to four years, according to the returns, to restore the vitality of the worst tracts, but the marginal table shows that since then a considerable amount of lee-way has been made up. In regard to this table, it should be borne in mind that the famine was far more severe and of longer duration in Madras than in Bombay. There is also an indication that the resistance offered to distress is greater on the part of females than of males. On the whole, we have only to read of the terrible mortality that accompanied the historic famines of 100 or 150 years ago to appreciate the advance that has been made within the present generation in administrative experience of how to deal with these calamities, so that their effects may be mitigated, though to prevent them is impracticable. By the aid of lines of railway and telegraph, the tract threatened with scarcity is brought into speedy communication with those in which the harvest has been abundant, so that from the latter food pours in as long as the prices at the markets of the former keep the transport remunerative. The case of the classes thrown out of work by a failure of the crops, who have neither grain of their own nor cash in hand to buy what is physically within their reach, has been duly considered, and so far as a crisis of this sort is concerned, the problem of State aid for the unemployed has been solved. An estimate based on local inquiry, collated with the census returns of caste and occupation is prescribed for each district, showing the approximate numbers of the community that are most prone to suffer, classified according to the order in which they are respectively likely to be thrown upon State support. Estimates and plans of undertakings of public utility involving the employment of the requisite amount of unskilled labour are kept in readiness by the Public Works Branch of the Local Government, and by each of the latter a code of rules regarding famine administration has been framed, which includes minutiæ of sanitary arrangements, daily tasks, the laying out of camps of work and refuge, with other measures of relief that the experience of the last 30 years has proved to be the most efficient in the circumstances of the tract and population to which they are to be made applicable. The loss of life which is inevitable in time of famine is thus likely to be reduced to a minimum.

TABLE A.

		Males.		Females.	
		Famine.	Normal.	Famine.	Normal.
MADRAS	Total increase -	20·56	11·20	19·58	12·10
	Increase of children under 5.	72·83	19·69	71·82	19·14
BOMBAY	Total increase -	20·03	10·05	19·11	10·63
	Increase of children under 5.	66·34	15·87	66·60	16·97

Probable diminution of normal mortality.

The present system of administration is conducive also to the preservation of life in less abnormal circumstances. The spread of vaccination, though uneven, is doing much to mitigate the ravages of small-pox. Cholera, which it seems impossible to prevent altogether, is localised by segregation, or by the strong measure of prohibiting religious gatherings, whenever they are likely to lead to an outbreak of this scourge, and in all such cases the sanitary arrangements of the locality are placed under the control of special Superintendents. As for normal disease, every year sees an increase in the number of dispensaries, which are, in fact, small hospitals under trained men, scattered about the rural tracts, whilst in larger towns the lower grade of medical practitioner, turned out by the Universities, is growing in popular favour against the rivalry of the herbalist and exorciser. There seems, again, no immediate prospect of any general amelioration of the views of the populace respecting marriage, which will continue, therefore, to be one of the chief duties of man, whilst the extension of trained obstetric aid of late years will in time probably do something to counteract the results on immature mothers and their progeny of the ruthless empiricism of the barber's wife, who at present is the chief officiator in this capacity. But can there be any doubt as to the result towards which all these provisions tend?

In countries where there are no large tracts of unoccupied arable land, the rate of increase of the population is, other things being equal, inversely as its numerical growth. Every census shows that in compliance with the tendency noted in an earlier portion of this chapter, as a country fills up, the annual rate of increase diminishes.

'he conditions on which that rate can be maintained at a uniform level are either the ıcrease of return from the cultivated land, to which the limit is soon reached, or ispersion of one of the two kinds already specified. The community must betake :self to occupations other than food-producing, and indent for their nutriment on ther parts of the world, where the products of their industry are in higher demand han food; or the dispersion must be over fresh land in their own country. Whilst nd where this last is to be got, pressure of population amounts to no more than local ongestion, for so long as there is room, actually or potentially productive, relief is nly a matter of time, more or less according to the character of the people concerned, heir adaptability to change, and the nature of the tract within their reach.

Quality of agriculture.

Now, in India, there are several tracts where the agricultural skill and experience f the people have been said by experts to get the maximum yield out of the soil. In thers, the harvest does not respond so thoroughly to the care bestowed on it owing o the scanty or uncertain rainfall, but the aid of irrigation can be called in to preserve he crops. In most parts of the country there is a great waste of the material vailable for fertilisation. Cattle are very numerous, but they are turned out to tray over waste land, or where they can pick up a little grazing more or less scanty, o that their droppings are either wasted or collected only for fuel, and their bones ıre being exported for use in Europe in increasing quantities. In some parts of the ;ountry sheep and goats are systematically hired out to be penned at night on the ield, but this practice can affect but an insignificant portion of the dry-cropped area. As to rotation, experts have a good deal to say against the somewhat primitive cycle eceived by the Indian husbandman from his forefathers, and it may, perhaps, be possible to increase or sustain the productiveness of the soil by a change in system, but this, like so many other suggestions in the same direction, is at present a matter of conjecture. The variety of character amongst the cultivating classes, too, is a factor in the situation, as well as that of the soil. The chance, under the present conditions, of many more tracts in India rivalling the fertility of Oudh and the great deltas is about equal to that of the scratcher of the hillside in the forests, or the many-acred driver of the Maratha plough, settling down into a market gardener. So far as lies within our present purview, neither one nor the other is probable or impossible.

Prospects of dispersion.

It appears from what has been sketched above, that throughout the greater portion of India the occupied land has, probably, not yet reached the limit of its productiveness, and in the preceding chapter it was shown that congestion of the population was at present found to comparatively a small extent. We have to consider now the question of dispersion, whether vertically, by change of occupation or produce, or laterally, by change of locality. As to the former, circumstances seem to point to a long continuance of the present position of India as a self-sustaining country. With its existing population it manages to set aside very considerable areas for the production of raw material other than food, and throughout the decade under review, the outturn of this class of produce seems to have increased rather than to have been restricted by the growth of the population. From one quarter, cotton and wheat, from another, indigo, jute and tea; rice from a third, and oilseeds and opium impartially, pour into the seaports, in close response, apparently, to the opportunities offered in foreign markets. The easier task for the cultivator would doubtless be to confine his efforts to the growth of food-grain or pulse, so his free adoption of the alternative proves that he appreciates its superior advantages. As for manufacturing industry, its progress, though rapid of late, has not been diverse enough, either in kind or locality, to make much impression on the country at large. It has certainly hitherto won only a comparatively small portion of the community away from the agriculture to which the letter is traditionally devoted. For one thing, India is at present at a disadvantage in comparison with many of its compeers as regards a sufficient native supply of good coal and iron. Its labour is plentiful enough; whether it is cheap or not depends on its quality relatively to that of the more highly paid wage-receiving class elsewhere. Some branches of industry, it is true, have taken root to an extent that seems to open out the way for the transfer of capital to India from countries where, for various reasons not yet prevalent in the East, profits are, to put it mildly, uncertain. Amongst these are, of course, cotton and jute works, to which may now be added paper-making and articles of leather. The wider extension of any of these operates towards the dispersion of the population from the land, and so far tends to lighten the burden as it becomes heavier in the course of years.

Finally, there is the question of lateral extension. To measure the possibilities in this direction it is necessary to ascertain the area of arable land still available for

cultivation, and this, as was shown in a previous chapter, we are unable to do, wi even approximate accuracy, for the country at large. It will be more convenien, therefore, to touch briefly upon the point in connection with the provinces for whic the best information is available. For our present purpose, the returns of birthplac, which form part of the general series, will enable us to appreciate to some extent th tendency towards migration within India. This tendency, it is clear from the table, is at present remarkably weak; and that this should be the case is no more tha is to be expected from a community so devotedly agricultural, a class invariab opposed—

Migrare vetusto
De nemore, et proavis habitatas linquere silvas.

Migration.

In India, too, there is the additional attractive power of the village organisatio and the prevalent connubial system. With regard to expansion within the limits o the land appertaining to the village itself there is no difficulty, but cultivators fro outside are, as a rule, only admitted with considerable reluctance, and in many par of India would not obtain land at all. Then, too, where the available waste land lie in a compact tract within an easy distance of the ancestral village, the population able to advance on it, as it were in line, and is thus in a position to form fres communities on exactly the old model, and to keep in touch also with the home an tradition of their forefathers. The objection to agricultural migration begins wher the tract to be occupied is separated from the native land of the emigrants by population differing from the latter in race or language, and except in a few specia cases, attempts at migration of this sort, to any great extent, have not yet bee successful. In Assam, a good many of the immigrant labourers on tea plantation have settled down on plots of land near the scene of their work, made over to them for home cultivation. In the west of the province, too, there is a flourishing colon of the same class, under missionary supervision. An attempt to relieve parts of Biha by means of State grants of land in Burma has been made within the last few years and though it is too soon as yet to judge of the results, the progress made on a smal scale seems encouraging. The difference in race and language, however, will pro bably be found an obstacle to any great extension of the movement. Temporar displacement of the population, however, both agricultural and other, is by no mean rare, and is increasing in both number and variety. The movement is not ye extending to any significant degree to foreign countries. For instance, during the las 10 years, the number of emigrants registered was only 130,483, the greater portion o whom were bound for the West Indies and Guiana. But to Burma and Ceylon from Madras, and from Bengal to the tea gardens of Assam, the annual movement is con siderable. The docks and mills of Bombay and Calcutta, too, and the wheat harvest of various parts of northern and central India, and the plantations of Coorg, attrac a considerable number of extra hands, the proceeds of the labour serving to sustain the whole family during the period when the cultivation of their plot of land at home does not entail their presence.

Immi-gration.

There is then to be considered the accretion to the population due to immigration from beyond India. This movement is mostly confined to the tracts immediately bordering on Nipál and the north-west frontier, and most of the immigrants come from the first-named State and from Balochistán, Afghanistán, and the strip between the last and the Panjáb, called Yághestán, or the independent territory. We have no corresponding returns from these countries to show how far the inward movement is balanced by one in the opposite direction from India, but where the boundary is merely political, and denotes no distinction of race or customs, the larger proportion of the movement is probably restricted to villages immediately contiguous to the frontier line on both sides.

The marginal statement shows how small a part immigration plays in the constitution of the population of India. Taking 10,000 of the people at random, only 23 will be found to have come from across the frontier. Of these last, the nine from Nipál are chiefly along the frontier of Bengal and the north-west, and the rest in the Native Army. Balochistán supplies only Sindh, except for a few Mekránis and others entertained as guards in native States. The natives of Afghanistán and its neighbour are mostly on the Panjáb frontier, or scattered in small bodies of pedlars all over

Birthplace.	Number.
British Provinces	7,708
Feudatory States	2,269
Total within India	**9,977**
Balochistán	2
Afghanistán	3
Yághistán	3
Nipál	9
Asiatic Countries remote from India	2
Elsewhere	4

northern and central India. Of the other Asiatics, one will probably be a Chinese, and the other an Arab; the former in Burma, the latter in Aden. There are, of course, numbers of other birthplaces returned, but under none but the United Kingdom do the figures approach the proportional limit above given, of one person in 10,000. The statement B, below, shows the main facts ascertained with regard to the birthplace of the foreign population.

The full return at the present census will be found in Table XI. (A. and C.) of the general series. It should be remembered that in this statement we are dealing simply with birthplace, not with nationality. Though the relative numbers involved are insignificant, it is worth while to compare them with those of the census of 10 years back, so the returns for Kashmér and Upper Burma are not included in the marginal table. On the last occasion, Yághistán was not distinguished from its neighbour, and there were, no doubt, good reasons at that time for the population to refrain from entry into India. The increase of people from Nipál is mostly due to immigration into Dárjiling and the adjacent territory, for work on tea gardens. There are settlements, too, of this race in the North-West Province Tarai, as well as in Benares, the object of the aspirations of all devout Gúrkhas. Passing over differences which are probably due to classification, we come to China, which has furnished a comparatively large contingent to Rangoon since last census. The addition to those from Arabia is due, chiefly, to the development of Aden, which accounts, too, for the great number of those born in East Africa. The bulk of the persons returning birthplaces in Europe beyond the United Kingdom, is to be found in the centres of commerce and missions. The Scandinavians, especially, affect the seaports. Of the rest, the Germans and French are the only nations strongly represented, though most of them show a slight increase since 1881. The return for America is obscured by the confusion between the States and Canada, more especially in the army and railway schedules. Australia contributes a good many more

TABLE B.

Birthplace.	Number returned.	
	1881.	1891.
ASIA.		
Afghanistán and Yághistán	125,141	158,655
Belochistán	60,318	61,433
Túrkestán	429	977
Thibet	2,756	1,641
Bhotán	4,964	4,353
Nipál	135,166	233,553
Ceylon	2,774	5,574
Further India, &c.	4,662	8,259
Arabia, &c.	23,430	28,065
Persia, &c.	3,501	4,386
China and Japan	12,783	19,704
EUROPE.		
United Kingdom	89,015	97,921
Gibraltar, &c.	171	302
Germany	1,208	1,439
France	1,131	1,230
Italy	812	878
Austria	350	414
Sweden, Norway, and Denmark	586	540
Holland and Belgium	261	335
Spain and Portugal	240	376
Greece	212	236
Russia	205	262
Turkey, &c.	379	295
Europe unspecified, &c.	869	851
America and Canada	1,504	2,325
East Coast of Africa and Mauritius	3,537	9,568
Other places in Africa	1,194	1,997
Australia	378	503

than it did 10 years ago; probably the horse trade has something to do with this, but there seems also a tendency to settle in the south on the part of people who have long worked in India. The rest of the table needs no special comment.

We can now deal with the return as a whole, and to facilitate reference a proportional summary is given below :—

TABLE C.

Province or State, &c.	Born in India.			Born in Asia beyond India.		In other Continents.	Mean Number of Females per 1·000 Males.	
	In District or State where enumerated.	In contiguous Districts or States.	In non-contiguous Territory.	Contiguous Countries.	Remote Countries.		Born in District, &c.	Born in contiguous District, &c.
Madras and States	9,601	313	83	1	—	2	1·011	1·221
Bombay and States	8,808	683	496	2	3	8	·946	1·452
Sindh and Khairpur	8,824	809	325	25	5	12	·854	·727
Bengal and States	9,142	391	442	23	—	2	1·025	1·044
N.-W. Provinces and States	8,910	885	200	1	—	4	·860	1·926
Oudh	8,911	933	152	1	—	3	·902	1·565
Panjáb and States	8,692	922	320	56	—	10	·899	1·218
Upper Burma	9,289	365	307	9	20	9	1·136	·860
Lower Burma	8,141	499	1,293	17	38	12	1·002	·664
Central Provinces and States	8,664	1,079	254	1	—	2	·996	1·108
Assam	8,868	262	845	23	—	2	·980	·665
Berár	7,678	1,814	505	3	—	—	·925	1·159
Ajmér	7,996	1,382	612	2	—	8	·832	1·425
Coorg	6,942	2,768	280	2	1	7	·950	·552
Haidrabád	9,054	575	362	2	4	3	·952	1·211
Baroda	8,629	1,026	343	1	—	1	·868	1·720
Mysore	9,219	533	241	—	—	7	·994	1·062
Kashmér	9,726	262	4	8	—	—	·877	1·089
Rajputána	9,120	724	155	1	—	—	·840	1·902
Central India	9,271	609	116	1	—	3	·899	1·218
Total India	**9,038**	**623**	**316**	**17**	**2**	**4**	**·947**	**1·370**

Interchange of wives between contiguous villages.

Now, the important feature in the above is the fact that no less than 9,661 persons out of every 10,000 were born in or touching the district or State where they were enumerated, and that by far the larger proportion of these were natives of the place in which the census found them. Then, again, the movement from the contiguous territory is not migration, in the ordinary sense. Instead of being the transfer of families, it is mainly the interchange of children in marriage, a practice which obtains to a greater or less extent according to the predominance of the influence of Brahmanic prescription, with its strict observance of endogamy, as it is usually termed, within the caste or tribe and the accompanying prohibition of marriage within certain degrees of relationship, of which some are, according to western motions, rather remote. In order to make this clear, two columns have been added to the statement, giving the ratio of females to males, first, amongst the district-born, and, again, in the case of those who come from other parts of the country, but touching the unit of tabulation. There are, of course, other factors that enter into the proportion, such as the complexity of territory with other districts or States, which is the case in Bombay and Baroda. But, on the whole, the marriage system is at the bottom of the divergence. Thus, in Bengal, where it will be noticed that the difference in this respect between the two groups is small, it appears from the more detailed tables of the Province that the ratio is but 687 females to 1,000 males in the eastern division. though there, too, the females are on the whole, in excess. But here the bulk of the people

are Músalmán, on whom the strict marriage law of the Brahman is not binding, and we find in all the rest of the province a proportion varying from 812, in the north, where women are altogether in defect as compared with men, to 1,934 in Orissa, the population of which is wholly Brahmanic in belief. It is the same, though to a smaller degree, in Bihár, where society and the village are organised very much as in the neighbouring territory to the west. In this last, the proportion of females from across the district border is remarkably high, and for this the small size of the unit may be to some extent accountable. Not to dwell too long on this point, it will be seen that in Burma, where the Buddhist form of faith is predominant, the ratio is low, and the same feature results in Assam and Coorg from the prevalence of male immigration to the plantations.

Migration from a distance.

Outside the above two categories, there remains but 3½ per cent. of the population, and of this, again, 3·16 per cent. comes from tracts within India which do not actually touch the district of enumeration. There must be, accordingly, a good deal of accident connected with entry in this group. For instance, most of the immigrants into Berár that do not come from territory immediately adjacent, are probably from parts of the Deccan not far off, as the population there is very homogeneous in structure. So, too, with Baroda and Haidrabád. In Bengal and Bombay, the internal migration of the temporary character that has been described above raises the average proportion that is there found in this group, for in the former province the migrants place central Bengal between their home in Bihár and the scene of their labours, and in Bombay, too, the recruits are mostly from a distance, whether in the capital or in the wheat fields of the North Deccan.

Variation in migration.

On the whole, then, permanent migration outside the district and State unit is very rare, and the only question regarding it that need be here discussed is its relative prevalence now and 10 years ago. This point is dealt with in the marginal table, so far as British provinces are concerned. Any slight difference that may be found between the figures given in the last column and those in the more general tables quoted hereafter is due to the exclusion in the former of the number of persons who did not return their place of birth. In the case, too, of Madras and Bombay, it has been thought advisable to separate the famine area of 1876–78 from those in which the circumstances of the last 15 or 20 years have been normal, in order to show, to some extent, how much of the replenishment that has been going on of late is due to births within the district, and how much to immigration. The data are not, however, sufficient to distinguish, in the case of the latter, between those who have come in as new men from outside and those who left the district during the time of distress, but who have returned since the last census. There can be little doubt, however, that the primary factor is the first, as is indicated in the age-returns for the two enumerations. The return of the temporary migrants is a feature in the increase in some of the Bombay districts, but is not mentioned in the report on the corresponding tract in Madras, where it was no doubt less marked, though not entirely absent. In the former, the hill-lands of the west and north were comparatively near the affected tract, and as fodder for the cattle was to be got there, many of the inhabitants accompanied their flocks and herds to these favoured parts of the country, and there was also a slight movement in the direction of the central plains of Berár and Khándésh, on the part of agriculturists in search of fresh land under better auspices. In Madras, the area affected was larger, and the lands of promise further off. On the other hand, there seems to have been a considerable increase in the latter Presidency of migration to Burma and to Mysore. The former

TABLE D.

Province.	Per-centage of the District-born.		Per-centage of Increase amongst the	
	1881.	1891.	District-born.	Total Population.
Madras { Normal	95·16	95·76	12·27	12·21
Madras { *Famine*	*96·22*	*96·01*	*19·84*	*20·11*
Bombay { Normal	84·81	84·21	9·35	10·13
Bombay { *Famine*	*90·63*	*90·60*	*19·50*	*19·54*
Sindh	87·10	87·89	20·05	18·97
Bengal	92·54	91·75	5·98	6·88
North-West Provinces	88·23	89·04	5·51	4·56
Oudh	88·05	89·11	12·42	11·08
Panjáb	87·56	87·49	10·66	10·74
Lower Burma	78·93	81·22	28·19	24·59
Central Provinces	88·17	90·12	12·03	9·61
Assam	92·48	89·39	7·58	11·30
Berár	76·59	76·77	8·66	8·40
Ajmér	74·59	79·96	26·21	17·72
Coorg	58·01	69·42	16·11	— 2·94

is but the continuation of a tendency of some standing, but the latter is a new departure. It is attributable, it is suggested, in some degree, to the opening offered by mining enterprise in this State, and this is most likely true, since the chief mining district runs far into British territory on three of its side, so that change of domicile to one of the labouring class, is a matter of little difficulty. Of the increased number of natives of Madras found on this occasion in Haidrabád, the Provincial Superintendent finds no explanation. It seems, however, that the increase is but small, and deducting the probable figures due to frontier marriage transactions, the rest may be easily absorbed by the large cantonment of Secandrabad, which returns a large Madras-born population, or by the attractions offered to the enterprising labourer of the south by the mining works in hand in the north of the State. Until we have the detailed account of the Haidrabád Superintendent, however, which is not yet published, conjecture is at a discount.

Some of the other provincial figures present no complications. In Sindh we find the growth to be nearly entirely that of the home born, and by this term we mean no more than those born in the district where they were enumerated at the census. In Lower Burmah the same feature is very apparent, in spite of the great absolute growth of the immigrant labouring population. The case is the same with Berár, Oudh, the North-West and Central Provinces to a less extent, and with Ajmér to a greater. On the other hand, Assam, it will be seen, depends very largely on immigration for the increase it shows as a whole, a fact which is partly connected, of course, with the bad health of some of the districts during the decade, as has been mentioned above. Coorg presents the unusual feature of a large increase of its native population with a falling off in the total, the result being partly due to the early season on the plantations in 1891, and partly, perhaps, to a decline in the labour market. The Panjáb shows very small divergence from the figures of 1881 in regard to the ratio of its home-born population. There is a good deal of difference, however, between the east of the province and the west in the character of what movement there is. In the former, the reciprocal marriage system is in vogue, so that the figures tend to approach those of the North-West Provinces. But in the west, the ethnological differences are more striking, and the tribal system of connubium does not entail so constant a search for a wife at a distance. The settlements, too, are further apart, owing to the nature of the tract, and, altogether, the migration that is apparent here seems due mainly to special causes, such as the opening of new irrigation works, of a new railway, and so on. It is remarkable to find that in the congested districts of the submontane tract, emigration has advanced by only 17 per cent. in the 10 years, whilst immigration shows an increase of 23 per cent. It is true that much of this movement is merely that of brides from neighbouring villages, but the fact remains that the proportion of females to males entering the tract is on the increase, whilst in the other direction the reverse is the case. The continual demand for females in this tract gives rise to suspicions of infanticide, as the Provincial Superintendent has hinted in dealing with the population in connection with the subjects of age and sex distribution. In both Bengal and Bombay the tendency to migrate seems a little more pronounced than it was 10 years ago, but in the latter province the real movement is confined to a few districts, notoriously those of the Deccan and the coast, where life is hardest to the lower class of the agricultural population, whether small landholders or merely field labourers. The way the districts in this province are mixed up with small States, especially in the north and south, reduces the proportion of the district-born, owing to the custom of reciprocity in disposing of marriageable children. The return shows some noteworthy differences in the case of the migrants to and from parts of India outside the Presidency, as compared with the corresponding figures for 1881. The most instructive, perhaps, are those for Berar. After the famine of 1876–77, the movement from the Deccan to the plain was largely composed of males, but in the interval, though the males still preponderate, it is in a much smaller proportion, whilst the return from Berar is almost doubled in number, and the sex-proportion shows that it is chiefly based on marriage considerations. Something hitherto unexplained seems to have happened in regard to the connubiality of the Haidrabád frontier, for whilst the Bombay receipts have risen, the gifts of the province to the State have declined by more than 40 per cent. Baroda, on the other hand, keeps up its reputation, apparently, for both wives and husbands. The returns for Bengal have been minutely analysed by the Provincial Superintendent of the census, owing to the great importance in so dense a population of a knowledge of local movements. It seems, to speak

generally, that the course of migration is almost entirely from west to east, but the sex-proportions indicate that the transfer of the family, or permanent migration, is confined to very small limits. It is curious to see that the Bihár labourer is very averse from venturing further south than the Ganges into the Delta, whilst all round Calcutta and in the inland districts of Eastern Bengal both he and his neighbour from across the Ghágra are comparatively numerous.

Migration to Feudatory States.

In concluding this portion of the subject, a few words may be said about a matter that has sometimes been brought forward in connection with internal migration in India. This is an alleged tendency, due either to the greater arable area available or to political motives, according to the predilection of the writer, for agriculturists to leave British territory and to settle in the Native States. It is difficult to deal with this point so far as the smaller States and groups of States are concerned, for in many cases birth within them is returned under some general term, or by the name of the adjacent and probably better known British district. But the following table gives the more important data regarding the principal States :—

TABLE E.

State.	Gives to British Territory.		Receives from British Territory.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Haidrabád—Total	**167,557**	**201,314**	**152,583**	**166,955**
Bombay	74,406	100,968	69,250	90,472
Berar	53,264	57,641	19,650	24,194
Madras	27,023	30,437	46,642	44,458
Baroda—Total	**64,774**	**101,596**	**75,555**	**106,209**
Bombay	64,384	101,414	67,143	103,740
Mysore—Total	**69,280**	**68,833**	**103,848**	**83,213**
Madras	45,458	48,350	89,487	71,268
Bombay	8,591	9,156	11,652	9,474
Coorg	14,413	10,726	775	996
Kashmér—Total	**38,857**	**46,875**	**32,173**	**34,465**
Panjáb	36,415	46,158	31,375	34,237
Rajputána—Total	**270,644**	**259,245**	**106,012**	**153,301**
Ajmér	34,707	46,800	18,261	31,702
North-West Provinces	54,178	71,880	40,820	58,577
Panjáb	69,685	87,413	35,159	52,537
Bombay	38,379	13,147	7,491	6,767
Central India—Total	**197,948**	**258,212**	**231,676**	**265,962**
North-West Provinces	79,529	145,865	109,576	156,702
Central Provinces	95,402	95,428	52,884	64,983
Bombay States	220,973	254,224	232,682	320,336
Madras States	13,387	18,908	45,702	54,391
Central Province States	11,446	13,837	287,733	287,634
Bengal States	40,106	46,383	269,099	257,447
North-West Province States	25,544	36,786	28,350	39,388
Panjáb States	149,986	283,569	175,671	266,395

Haidrabád, it appears, gives Bombay and Berar more than it takes, and in both cases the female element predominates. As to its dealings with Madras, the gifts seem to be those of intermarriage, but the movement from the Presidency in question includes a superfluity of males, attributable, as has been already suggested, to the attractions of a large cantonment to a class very numerous in Madras, that of domestic servants and town labourers. Baroda is so mixed up, territorially, with British districts, that the interchange across the ever recurring frontier, is prevalent throughout the State. Here, as in similar tracts elsewhere, the larger choice is on the side of the British, so fewer are taken from the State than are given to it. The case of Mysore

is, so far as Madras is concerned, like that of Haidrabád, and the State receives from Bombay, too, rather more than it returns. The latter fact is partly due, possibly, to a real immigration of cultivators of the predominant caste in the South Deccan State, who took advantage of the gap left by the famine of 1876–77. The Kashmér movement is affected in part by the famine of 1878, previous to which emigration from the State was forbidden. On the removal of the embargo, numbers rushed into the Panjáb, many of whom have now returned, though the balance is still against the State. In Rajputána we have an instance of a heavy exportation of the inhabitants, whilst the opposite movement is almost entirely that of intermarriage, regarding which the rules are closely observed by the orthodox of these States. Apart from the military classes who are in service away from their native place, Rajputána furnishes India with a large proportion of its traders, as was mentioned in the first chapter of this work. Central India apparently loses population to the Central Provinces, and gains it from the North-West. As neither the first nor the last have submitted reports on the results of the census, explanation is not available. As to the Central Provinces, the inroad seems to have followed the scarcity of 1877–78. All the rest of the groups, except the Pánjab, seem to be affected by the return of the birthplace under the title of the Province, instead of the State. This is very marked in the Central Province group and that under Bengal. In the Panjáb, the Superintendent points out that the immigration from the States to British territory exceeds that in the reverse direction, and the balance is due to the omission in the North-West Province return, to distinguish between the States of the Panjáb and British territory. In any case, the females outnumber the males, so the movement, as a whole, is insignificant. Taking the feudatory territory all round, it is clear, according to the above statement, that there is no general tendency to migrate from British dominion, and in some cases, it is a pity that it is so. In Mysore there are special attractions, and, to a less extent, in Haidrabád, but they are not agricultural, so they can do little to relieve the soil of the relatively more burdened tracts. Taking the return of birthplace, as a whole, it will be seen from the marginal statement that British territory gives to the feudatories about 916,000 above the number received from the latter; and that the excess contains about 24,000 more males than females; but looking at the large omissions in the returns of the immigrants from the smaller groups of States, such as those under Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces, it is clear that the difference is but nominal. It is to be expected that between now and the next census there will be a larger transfer of population from one political section of the country to the other, for there is no doubt that unoccupied land of good quality exists in the States in far greater quantity than is left in the provinces. The actual assessment in the former is said to be higher, but the system of realisation is less efficient and more elastic, a difference which has its recommendation in the eyes of the peasant. The administration in some of the larger States no doubt leaves much to be desired, especially in the rural tracts at a distance from the chief town, but in all will be found the greatest boon yet conferred by the strong hand of British rule—Peace.

TABLE F.

—	Total.	Males.	Females.	Females to 1,000 Males.
Migration from Provinces to States.	3,776,780	1,741,084	2,035,696	1,169
Migration from States to Provinces.	2,860,784	1,271,002	1,589,782	1,250
Difference	915,996	470,082	445,914	948

Pace Ceres laeta est; et vos optate, Coloni,
Perpetuam pacem.

Summary of conditions.

Summing up what has been said above as to the conditions that affect the growth of the population of India, it seems first that the number of children annually born into the country is a very high one, and that there is no prospect of its speedy or extensive decrease. Then, again, that the tendency of British administration is to prolong the normal life, and to protect it, as far as possible against the abnormal attacks to which it is there liable. As regards provision against the contigencies to which the above conditions give rise, there is, first, the prospect, of, for a time, at least, increasing the yield of food supply from the soil. Secondly, the resources for the purchase of food may be increased by the production of material in demand abroad, or in home manufacture. Thirdly, the growth of the non-agricultural

industries, and, fourthly, the increase of the area of land under tillage, due to either the extension of irrigation or, still more, to the slow migration of the surrounding population, as pressure increases, to land as yet untouched by the plough. Thus, in brief, may be stated the population question, as it exists at present in India, and after the statistics bearing on the movement that has taken place within the last 10 years have been discussed, there may be room for a few words on the question of how far, up to the present date, has the growth of the resources of the country been commensurate with that of the people.

General variation in population.

The second table in the general series gives the figures showing the variation in population that has taken place since 1881. It is divided into two sections; first, the tracts for which returns at both the enumerations are available, and, again, the total accretion to the population in the decade, both by growth and addition. In the last category will be found Kashmér, which was not enumerated in 1881, and the Quettah settlements, as well as Upper Burma, Fort Steadman, and North Lushai land, which are new acquisitions. Internal modifications, such as transfers or exchanges, will be found noted on the fly-leaf of the table. The remarks that follow refer, of course, only to the nett variations, and exclude the increase that may be called accidental. The territory that was enumerated in 1881 returns an increase during the decade of 27,821,420, a number exceeding the whole population of England, and nearly equal to that of the kingdom of Italy. The British Provinces account for 19,294,509, nearly the population of Spain and Norway together, and the Feudatory States for 8,526,911, a little short of that of Scotland and Ireland. But, large as this growth seems in absolute numbers, if we take it with reference to the population to which it has been superadded, it shrinks into very moderate proportions. In British provinces it amounts to 9·70 per cent., and in the States to 15·52 or to 10·96 for the whole country. It is composed of an increase of 11·52 per cent. over 94·56 per cent. of the population of 1881, accompanied by a decrease amounting to 2·40 per cent. over 5·44.

The annual rate of increase is thus 9·3 per mille. That this is but average is shown by the marginal table, in which, out of 28 countries, India comes 20th. It is indeed an open question whether the actual rate is not a little below this. The details of age and sex indicate a certain growth of confidence, as well as of population, so that there are persons, especially amongst the forest tribes, who now appear for the first time in the return, though, no doubt, they should have been in that of 10 years back also. Then, too, the return of girls between the ages of 10 and 15, or even 20, is considerably better than it was in 1881, but it still affords evidence that reticence about this portion of the household is by no means uncommon, more particularly in the north of India. There the example of the Musalmán conquerors, and the traditions of the military tribes of the Arya and some of the other settlers, are all in favour of the strict seclusion of women of the upper classes, and the middle, as is its wont, follows suit. In other parts of the country the practice is common, but as an imitation, not an indigenous growth, so that there, it seems, the objection to the census inquiry regarding the females of the family stops at a demand for inspection. This demand was specially prohibited in the rules, and the head of the family manifests, as a rule, no unwillingness to dictate to the enumerator all particulars about the secluded class, barring their names, though, of course, all information thus obtained has to be taken on trust. In the north, where the custom is of immemorial standing, or is a point of racial distinction, it is too probable that

TABLE G.

Country.	Annual Increase per cent.*
1. New South Wales	5·10
2. Queensland	4·39
3. Victoria	3·22
4. United States	2·48
5. Saxony	2·00
6. New Zealand	1·70
7. Algeria	1·56
8. South Australia	1·40
9. England and Wales	1·28
10. Egypt	1·25
11. Holland	1·18
12. Prussia	1·15
13. Portugal	1·14
14. Hungary	1·08
15. Germany	1·07
16. Canada	1·07
17. Greece	1·05
18. Belgium	0·99
19. Denmark	0·99
20. *India*	*0·93*
21. Austria	0·76
22. Switzerland	0·64
23. Bavaria	0·64
24. Italy	0·62
25. Norway	0·60
26. Spain	0·55
27. Sweden	0·50
28. France	0·06

* Between the last Census and that which preceded it.

an inquiry, even as to the bare numbers, would meet either with no response, or a denial of the existence of such persons. On these considerations, the omissions at the census of 1891 may be to some extent set off against those of 1881 which were repaired on this last occasion. But the general ratio of females to males at the two enumerations, in the absence of special cause for disproportion, such as may be found, for example, in famine tracts, is a measure of some value of the confidence of the people in the intention of the State in making the inquiry. Judged by this test, the census under review brought on to the register a greater number of those left out in 1881 than it omitted of those concealed till they creep out 10 years hence. Instances of this will be seen in the returns for Rájputána, Central India, and some of the smaller groups of States, of which mention will be made below.

Variation by density-groups.

Before entering, however, into the discussion of the figures piecemeal, it will be as well to show how the variation is distributed over the whole country with reference to the specific population. For this purpose, portions of tables embodied in the preceding chapter are reproduced below for convenience of reference.

TABLE H.—SHOWING the INCREASE of the POPULATION according to DENSITY-GROUPS.*

Per-centage of Variation from Mean Density.	1. Provinces and States.			2. Provinces only.		
	Population (1891).	Group-density.	Per-centage of Increase of Population.	Population (1891).	Group-density.	Per-centage of Increase of Population.
75 and under	5,075,771	25	25·06	3,151,519	24	17·75
66–74	2,062,222	53	20·57	4,062,242	70	14·66
50–65	13,469,447	74	21·29	9,776,473	96	14·17
33–49	13,725,889	109	13·65	17,271,758	136	14·40
20–32	32,521,492	135	14·68	12,212,297	166	13·00
10–19	15,539,809	157	16·40	5,649,449	196	14·02
0–9	6,158,606	172	12·12	9,623,352	224	10·69
Total below mean	88,553,236	87	16·28	61,747,090	102	13·64
1–9	10,426,794	191	11·99	5,190,662	236	10·24
10–19	4,057,716	214	11·61	8,008,238	262	15·95
20–32	13,179,523	229	12·18	10,454,625	290	15·64
33–49	12,300,679	259	14·10	3,013,600	326	9·05
50–65	10,737,381	290	15·42	9,069,745	371	8·37
66–74	2,557,190	318	14·30	5,886,168	395	8·73
75–99	6,686,137	347	10·00	14,300,585	434	4·99
100–149	30,808,664	410	6·17	44,044,392	514	6·68
150–199	40,714,414	509	7·00	25,507,620	617	7·00
200 and over	59,157,765	701	7·43	28,670,567	838	8·06
Total above mean	190,626,263	395	8·78	154,146,202	464	8·19
Total	**279,179,499**	**184**	**10·96**	**215,893,292**	**230**	**9·69**

* This statement does not include Upper Burma, North Lushai-land, Kashmér, and the detached Settlements, or the four towns of Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, and Madras.

In both sections of the statement the most distinctive feature is the way the rate of growth decreases as the density rises. But in the first portion of the table, that dealing with both Provinces and States, the irregularity of the unit of compilation in the case of the latter somewhat obscures the fact. In the remarks that follow, therefore, only the British section will be discussed. Here, with a few exceptions, such as the groups with a density of from 10 to 33 per cent. above the general mean, which contain several of the famine districts of Madras, where the increase has been

abnormal, the rate of increase varies with remarkable regularity inversely as the specific population. The most thinly-peopled tracts, such as those of Sindh, Lower Burma and the Assam Hills, show a rate nearly double the mean. This diminishes to about one and a half times that rate as the North-West and Central Province hills, the western plains of the Panjáb, and the southern portion of the Bráhmapútra valley in Assam, come on to the list; and here it remains, until the mean density is nearly reached. Just above that point, there is a drop, caused by the preponderance of the Berar districts with a few of those in the south of the North-West Provinces. The fall continues through the next group, where the non-famine districts of Bombay are strongly represented. Then follows the rise consequent on the rebound from scarcity in Madras. The decline then continues, and takes a sudden drop again where the average density is 434, that of the water-logged tract of the North-West Provinces, where there has been a slight recession of the population. In the groups where the density is more than double that of the average there is a curious rise, though not quite as high as that in a few groups above on the list. It is worth noting that the rate of the last group but one is determined by districts of the Upper Ganges valley, with three out of the four in Bengal that have lost ground since 1881, whereas the last group includes the pick of Oudh, Bihár, and the Delta. Calcutta and its detached suburbs are excluded, so it is a remarkable testimony to the fertility of these tracts that, starting with 767 people to the square mile, they have managed in the decade to pile on about 70 more. In Eastern Bengal the fishing industry is perhaps sufficiently prevalent to add materially to the food resources of the people, and a portion of the burden on the land, too, may be only temporary, and removed after the cultivating season is over. But in North Bihár and the Ghógra tracts immigration is insignificant, and agriculture engrosses nearly the whole of the labour supply. Fortunately, in some of these districts, special products, such as indigo and opium, are largely grown. These are highly remunerative to the cultivator, and the advances made on account of them come in just at the right time to help him to tide over the interval between one harvest and the next. This resource is not within the reach of the peasant of the decreasing tracts in Bengal, where there is only jute to fall back upon. Here, a tract of 14,252 square miles, with a population in 1881 of about 592 to each, has been reduced by 1·40 per cent., owing, as previously mentioned, to the deterioration of the drainage. Nor are the waterlogged tracts of the North-West Provinces more fortunate. Over an area of 5,162 square miles, with a specific population of 477 per mile ten years ago, the decade has resulted in a decrease of $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. But these instances are exceptional, and the detailed return from which the statement under review was compiled, shows that in the case of the higher densities there are comparatively few districts that have approached near to the stationary stage, though the present rate of increase will probably not be maintained through the next decade. The variations in the various Provinces and States, and their main physical divisions, are shown in the Statement J. on the next page, about which a few words of comment are necessary.

In the North-West Provinces the highest rates are in the Himálaya tract, where the census on this occasion was probably more correct than before, and in the submontane districts, where there is more waste land available. Then comes the south-central division, throughout which there is an average density of more than one person per acre. In Eastern Bengal, which supports 531 per square mile, the rate of increase is higher than in any other part of this large and varied province. It is of no consequence, in connection with this question, that the presence of a considerable temporary labouring population is indicated by the returns, since these are regular annual visitors, and are supported out of the produce they are called in to garner just as much as the residents, and most of them come from tracts in the same province where the mean density is 667 per mile. Take Tanjore, again, in the Kávari delta, where the increase has been only 4·56 per cent. in the decade, according to the returns as they stand. But, looking at the migration figures, it will be seen that a nett population of nearly 100,000 has to be accounted for, and will be found in Ceylon or Burma. Thus, the real rate of increase is set down at 9·12 per cent. If we go northwards, again, we find that in the Panjáb submontane tract, where the density is 381 per mile, the rate of increase is $11\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., which, though not quite equal to that in the west of the province, is above the rate in the Himálaya tract and the eastern plains. In the latter there is even a decrease in one district, attributed to the attraction of the town of Dehli, and the unhealthiness of the surrounding country. In Assam, again, and in the Central Provinces, the rate of growth is highest in the most densely peopled divisions. In the former this is perhaps accidental, as, had it not been for the effects of the epidemic with the

TABLE J.—SHOWING the VARIATION in POPULATION since 1881 in PROVINCES and STATES, according to their MAIN PHYSICAL DIVISIONS.

Province.	Mean Density.	Variation per Cent.		
		Total.	Males.	Females.
Madras	252	15·58	15·48	15·68
North Coast	279	13·55	12·73	14·38
„ Agency	68	24·17	23·04	25·38
Northern	134	18·32	18·53	18·14
East Central	359	17·43	18·11	16·76
West Central	249	21·07	22·44	21·40
South Central	458	11·66	11·08	11·83
Southern	319	16·98	17·51	16·40
West Coast	391	11·55	10·85	12·23
Bombay	207	13·71	13·97	13·44
Gujaráth	301	8·41	8·22	8·61
Konkan	210	9·50	8·73	10·28
Bombay Island	—	6·28	11·47	*−1·54*
Deccan	162	17·01	17·33	16·67
Karnátak	192	19·88	20·37	19·38
Sindh	60	18·97	19·12	18·79
Bengal	471	6·89	7·10	6·67
Bengal — Northern	459	4·69	5·66	3·66
Bengal — Western	562	5·34	6·56	4·14
Bengal — Eastern	531	11·81	12·69	10·92
Bihár — Northern	667	6·35	5·13	7·53
Bihár — Southern	520	2·79	2·08	3·47
Orissa	411	6·79	6·14	7·42
Chutia Nágpúr	134	9·53	8·79	10·25
N.-W. Prov. & Oudh	436	6·23	5·96	6·52
Himálayan	81	15·58	15·47	15·84
Sub-Montane	486	12·06	12·18	11·94
Upper Doáb	509	3·32	2·88	3·59
Central Doáb	470	*−1·40*	*−1·72*	*−0·97*
North Central	499	6·50	6·45	6·54
South Central	652	6·77	6·46	7·08
Southern	221	3·22	3·15	3·90

Province.	Mean Density.	Variation per Cent.		
		Total.	Males.	Females.
Panjáb	188	10·74	10·32	11·23
Himálayan	83	4·25	3·95	4·56
Submontane and Central.	381	11·29	11·23	11·36
Salt Range	158	12·58	11·19	14·24
Western Plains	81	13·40	12·57	14·37
Eastern Plains	265	6·36	6·06	6·72
Central Provinces	125	9·61	8·83	10·40
Eastern	142	13·76	12·85	14·66
Southern	124	7·51	7·42	7·60
Central	91	10·23	9·70	10·76
Narmada	136	6·24	4·98	7·58
Lower Burma	53	24·67	23·67	25·81
Arakan	46	14·36	12·33	16·75
Pegu	156	24·59	22·92	26·63
Irawádi	88	33·68	33·46	33·91
Tenasserim	21	19·41	19·52	19·28
Assam	112	11·30	11·71	10·88
Surma Valley	333	11·46	11·99	10·90
Bráhmapútra	117	10·8	10·54	9·59
Hill Tracts	25	11·32	11·27	11·36
Berár	163	8·41	8·06	8·78
Ajmér	200	17·72	15·86	19·89
Ajmér	204	17·55	16·02	13·32
Mérwára	187	18·30	15·31	30·67
Coorg	109	*−2·94*	*−4·51*	*−0·92*
Aden	—	26·44	35·97	8·57
Port Blair (Andamans).	—	6·70	5·80	12·37
Total, British Provinces.	230	9·70	9·63	9·80

TABLE J.—SHOWING the VARIATION in POPULATION, &c.—*continued.*

State, &c.	Mean Density.	Variation per Cent.		
		Total.	Males.	Females.
Haidrabád	**139**	**17·18**	**17·41**	**16·94**
Telingána	111	21·11	21·93	20·27
Maráthwáda	145	13·26	13·13	13·40
Karnátak	141	26·96	27·17	26·75
Haidrabád City, &c.	—	12·96	15·14	10·68
Baroda	**294**	**10·54**	**9·96**	**11·18**
Southern	263	8·22	7·49	9·03
Northern	349	11·15	10·47	11·87
Western	152	22·18	21·79	22·61
Baroda City	—	9·30	10·78	7·61
Mysore	**177**	**18·09**	**19·06**	**17·13**
Eastern	191	20·7	21·8	19·6
Western	149	11·7	12·5	10·8
Rajputána	**92**	**20·22**	**17·56**	**23·34**
Western	45	46·53	38·05	57·12
Southern	131	33·84	19·12	24·36
Eastern	181	9·15	8·43	9·99
Central India	**133**	**9·92**	**9·00**	**10·95**
Bombay States	**116**	**16·35**	**15·59**	**17·16**
Gujaráth	110	17·00	15·89	18·18
Konkan	184	9·42	8·02	10·81
North Deccan	106	11·33	11·14	11·53
South Deccan	243	18·28	18·56	17·99
Sindh (Khairpur)	22	2·15	2·80	1·36

State, &c.	Mean Density.	Variation per Cent.		
		Total.	Males.	Females.
Madras States	**385**	**10·63**	**11·51**	**9·77**
Northern	110	13·55	14·26	12·84
South Central	339	23·48	24·57	22·51
West Coast	405	9·30	10·23	8·37
Central Province States.	**73**	**26·36**	**25·51**	**27·25**
Eastern	118	22·02	21·23	22·82
Southern	27	51·33	49·40	53·43
Narmada	120	10·64	9·59	11·73
Bengal States	**92**	**18·30**	**17·75**	**18·87**
Koch Bihár	443	*−3·9*	*−2·9*	*−4·9*
Tipperah	34	43·71	39·13	49·04
Orissa Group	118	20·31	19·21	21·44
Chutia Nágpur Group.	55	30·28	30·25	30·32
North-West Province States.	**155**	**6·84**	**6·44**	**7·27**
Rámpúr	583	1·72	3·09	0·23
Garhwál	57	20·71	15·67	26·01
Panjáb States	**111**	**10·42**	**10·05**	**10·87**
Hill Group	77	9·54	8·39	10·87
Submontane	349	16·58	16·01	17·28
Eastern Plains	263	8·71	8·66	8·78
Western „ (Baháwalpúr).	38	13·34	12·96	13·81
Total, States	**111**	**15·52**	**14·81**	**16·29**
Total, India	**184**	**10·96**	**10·77**	**11·16**

fromidable Greek name, the upper valley, where there is so much waste land available would no doubt have outgrown in this respect its elder sister. The eastern division of the Central Provinces has been connected during the decade with the outside world by a through line of railway, so that its surplus produce, much of which used, it is stated, to rot on the ground for want of carriage, is now sold by the cultivators to foreign dealers. The whole division, too, is the most fertile in the province. At the same time, the sex proportions indicate that some of the increase must be attributed to better enumeration, especially in the extreme east. The same remark applies to the hill country in the centre of the province. Bombay, on the other hand, shows the lowest rate in the most densely populated division, that is, in Gujaráth, and not along the coast strip, where, as before stated, the population approaches nearest to the sustaining power of the land. On comparing the details of the last two enumerations, it seems that the rate in the latter division is in part nominal, for, owing to local causes, the women who used to accompany their male relations to Bombay for the working season, now stay at home in the Konkan. The Deccan and Karnátak rates represent, it is needless to point out, the rebound after famine, and in both cases the males have outgrown, relatively speaking, the other sex. We are justified in attributing this fact to the greater vitality of the latter in time of distress, and partly also to the return of some of the adult males that left their home for the hills in 1876–77. The corresponding tracts in the Madras Presidency indicate the same influences, though none of them returns the astonishing rate of increase, or rather replenishment, of one or two of the Bombay Deccan districts. Moreover, except in the west central tract, the divergence between the rates for the two sexes is not so marked, a fact which appears to show that in the northern tracts of the Deccan, immigration, or the return of the native, was a more prominent feature than it was further south. In the Agency tracts, or the south-eastern slope of the Central Hills, the increased proportion of females is entirely due, no doubt, to more accurate enumeration. The Berár return shows simply a slow rate of increase, with one instance of recession. A part of this is attributed to the return of immigrants from Bombay and Haidrabád to their native districts after the famine. But the local authorities seem to think, too, that all the best portions of the arable area have now been taken into occupation. Such immigration as there is, therefore, will be confined to the labouring classes, and not be more than seasonal. Coorg has been already dealt with, and Ajmér owes its increase mainly to railway extension, and in part to the better enumeration of Mérwara. The rural part of the little province is probably nearly filled up. We then reach Lower Burma, which returns the highest rate of increase of all the provinces. The average annual addition to the cultivated area during the 10 years has been 159,000 acres, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on that cultivated in the first year of that period. The estimated yield of husked rice per annum is about 1,940,000 tons, and the quantity required for the support of the population is said to be 1,050,000 tons. The average exports for the 10 years have been 1,003,000 tons, so that obviously a short crop only reduces the latter, and there is no question of want of sustenance for the home population, or even for that of Upper Burma, where failure of this harvest has sometimes occurred. The average provincial rate of growth is found in the delta, but the highest is to the north-west, where, in Thongwâ, many acres of rice land have been reclaimed of late from the sea by dykes to keep out the high tides. The littoral districts of Arakan and Tenasserim show the lowest rate of expansion, but even here the growth has exceeded that of most of the Indian provinces.

Variation in Feudatory States.

As regards the progress of the States, in five, no doubt, the census was as well taken on both the last occasions as in British territory, whilst in the other six a good deal of the increase returned in 1891 is attributable to greater accuracy rather than to actual growth. A glance at the figures for Rajputána, for instance, will show this. The males have increased by $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whilst the females are more numerous by over 23. In the desert tracts the increase amounts to 38 per cent. of males, and 57 for the fair sex. The hill tracts of the south, too, exhibit similar vagaries, though to a less degree. The rate in the case of the eastern division is about normal, but here, too, the female rate is in excess of that of the males to an unusual extent. One State only, Bharatpúr out of the whole group shows a decrease, and of this exception no explanation is recorded. For Central India details are not available. The tract was enumerated by States, but tabulated by Agencies, and as the larger States are scattered over several Agencies, comparison is not at present practicable. The report, which is not yet to hand, will probably supply the defect as far as possible. The tract, as a whole, shows a normal rate of increase, though with a leaning towards excess in that of the females, which, as in other instances cited, is apparent only.

It is the same with the Central Province group, but to an exaggerated degree, and in a lesser one with the States under Bengal. Here, however, we have one, Kóch, Bihár, which has receded to the extent of 3·9 per cent. This is probably due to the same causes that have affected the neighbouring British districts, as mentioned above. In the North-West Provinces, the Himálayan State of Garhwál shows the usual feature of a better census, namely, the high rate of increase unequally shared between the two sexes. The small State of Rámpur is practically stationary. As regards the Panjáb group, the most interesting fact is that whereas migration is flowing out of the States into British districts in the eastern and Himálayan portions of the province, in Baháwalpur, on the western plains, the reverse is the case, and from both the southern Panjáb and from Sindh there is a tendency to settle in that State. The general result of the movement is to keep the rate of increase very much at the level of that in the British districts. There are signs of the effects of the famine in the small States in the north of the Deccan portion of Madras, but on the west coast only Cochin shows an expansion similar to that of the neighbouring British district, and the Provincial Census Superintendent gives reasons for doubting the accuracy of the enumeration in Travancore, where the female increase is in a lower ratio than that of males, without the influence of famine to account for the discrepancy. In Baroda and Mysore, on the contrary, the results are thoroughly trustworthy. In the former the growth during the decade was normal, and the relatively greater increase of the females is much the same as is found in the surrounding tracts of British Gujaráth, where there has been a movement of males to Bombay. Mysore was severely dealt with by the famine of 1876–77, and the changes in the 10 years have most of the characteristics noted in the case of the similarly afflicted tracts in Madras and Bombay. Last comes Haidrabad with a very high rate of increase, attributable partly to the recovery from the famine of 1876–77, and partly, as indicated by the sex-proportions, to immigration. We have already seen that this is the case as far as the movement to and from the Madras Presidency is concerned, and the fact receives confirmation from the great disproportion between the rates of increase in the two sexes in the chief town and its suburbs, which are places of great resort for the servant class from the south. In the Telugu-speaking division, too, immigration has been probably instigated by railway and mining enterprise, but for the full explanation we must await the report of the local Census Superintendent.

Urban increase.

Such has been the growth of the population of the country, as a whole, and the last question that needs comment here is the attraction of the town relatively to what it was 10 years ago. The marginal statement, in which are summarised the figures found in full in Table IV., Parts 1 and 2 of the general series, shows the progress of the urban population, classified according to the size of town. The relative number of females to males is added, as the change therein is a matter of considerable importance in connection with the migration in question. In comparing the figures with those of the general population, it must be borne in mind that in the latter the mean rate of increase is 10·77 per cent. for males, and 11·16 for females, or 10·96 for the whole. Again, the proportion of females to the other sex throughout India was 954 in 1881 and 957 at the last census. In the urban, as previously in the general, comparison, all areas not included in the census of 1881 as well as in that under review, have been omitted from consideration, so that the town limits are identical in both years. In special cases, where the distinction between certain transferred areas was not preserved for the purpose in hand, the town has been left out of the comparison, as will be seen from the full Table IV. above mentioned.

TABLE K.

Group of Towns.	Increase since 1881.			Females to 1,000 Males.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	1881.	1891.
I. 100,000 and over.	10·58	12·89	7·68	798	707
II. 75,000 -	6·54	8·41	4·46	931	868
III. 50,000 -	13·60	15·00	12·05	898	875
IV. 35,000 -	9·48	11·12	7·74	943	914
V. 20,000 -	11·58	12·98	10·07	926	902
VI. 10,000 -	10·66	11·21	10·08	953	944
VII. 5,000 -	7·54	7·31	7·78	953	957
VIII. 3,000 -	1·54	1·47	1·62	929	31
IX. Under 3,000 -	0·86	0·28	1·53	862	873
Total -	9·40	10·44	8·24	903	886

The statement, taken with the above qualifications and explanation, shows that the urban population has increased, on the whole, at a rate less by 1½ per cent. than that of the population at large, whilst that of females, instead of being the higher, is lower than that of males to a considerable extent. The growth of the larger towns, of those of middle size, and of the larger market towns, seems to have been the greatest. The rate declines suddenly in the case of those below 10,000, and the smaller groups are practically stationary. The last group comprises all the small places that have gained the title of town from some special cause, so their case is altogether exceptional. On the whole, the sex proportions are considerably below the normal in respect to the number of females, showing a good deal of immigration. But where the town contains less than 10,000 inhabitants, it will be seen that the proportion of females has risen since 1881, instead of falling, as it has done in the larger town groups. The relative increase of the male element in the population is highest in the two first groups, and in the fourth, where the supply of labour is required to be on a high scale. The causes of this have been generally described already. In the case of the first three classes, it is due to commerce and manufacture, with the trade that is accessory to the establishment of large military garrisons. The next two classes are largely the creation of new lines of railway. Before entering upon the statistics of individual towns, selected as examples of the general tendencies towards aggregation, it is convenient to give, as in the following statement, the figures of the urban growth in the different Provinces and States, as compared with that of the whole population thereof :—

TABLE L.

Province.	Increase per Cent. of Population.		State, &c.	Increase per Cent. of Population.	
	Urban.	Total.		Urban.	Total.
Madras	10·75	15·58	Haidrabád	11·09	17·18
Bombay and Sindh	10·29	14·51	Baroda	7·02	10·54
Bengal	7·37	6·89	Mysore	13·55	18·09
North-West Provinces	2·32	4·55	Rajputána	12·22	20·22
Oudh	6·18	11·09	Central India	7·27	9·92
Panjáb	7·93	10·74	Bombay States	12·67	16·35
Lower Burma	17·86	24·67	Madras States	0·85	0·63
Central Provinces	7·11	9·61	Central Province States	12·09	26·36
Assam	10·37	11·30	Bengal States	8·85	18·30
Berar	8·49	8·41	North-West Provinces States	2·01	6·84
Ajmér	22·44	17·72	Panjáb States	6·77	10·42
Coorg	*—7·36*	*—2·94*			

As regards the generally low rate of increase in the towns, as compared with that prevailing in the Province or State as a whole, it may be observed that in the former the nominal increase due to greater accuracy at the later census is reduced to a minimum, as in towns the enumeration blocks are smaller and more compact and the supervision more close, owing to the better supply of trained and competent men that is available. But this is not enough to account for the whole of the difference between the rural and the urban rates of increase, for the statement shows that in all, except Berar, where the difference in favour of the towns is trifling, and in Bengal, where the scale is probably turned by three or four of the larger items, the towns are considerably below the general population in their rate of expansion. The case of Ajmér is peculiar, and due to the dominating position of the chief town in the centre of Rajputána, as well as to the increase of traffic that has been drawn to both Ajmér and Beáwar by the through line of rail that had not been yet developed at the time of the last census. In the case of the Madras States, the return is available for only

two or three of the towns, because the population of certain areas which were included in 1881, but have been since excluded from town limits, is reported to be not now ascertainable. In other respects the return offers no features requiring special notice here.

We can pass on accordingly to the consideration of the change in the population of some of the more representative of the larger towns. These are mentioned in the following table:—

TABLE M.

A. Commercial or Manufacturing Towns.		B. Military Stations or Provincial Capitals.		C. Capitals of States, past or present.		D. Religious Centres.	
Name.	Percentage of Variation.	Name.	Percentage of Variation.	Name.	Percentage of Variation.	Name.	Percentage of Variation.
1. Bombay -	+ 6·28	1. Lahore -	+12·44	1. Haidrabád -	+16·92	1. Benares -	+ 2·19
2. Calcutta -	+ 8·25	2. Allahabad -	+ 9·45	2. Lucknow -	+ 4·49	2. Gáya - -	+ 5·19
3. Madras -	+11·50	3. Bangalore -	+15·72	3. Patna -	— 3·20	3. Amritsar -	— 9·96
4. Rangoon -	+34·39	4. Poona -	+24·38	4. Agra - -	+ 5·28	4. Mathura -	+ 6·00
5. Karáchi -	+43·01	5. Meerut -	+19·91	5. Súrat -	— 0·56	5. Násik - -	+ 2·79
6. Cawnpore -	+24·61	6. Baréli - -	+ 6·72	6. Jaipúr -	+11·45	6. Mádura -	+13·78
7. Dehli - -	+11·06	7. Nágpúr -	+19·04	7. Baroda -	+ 9·30		
8. Ahmedabád -	+16·29	8. Jabalpúr -	+11·59	8. Gwalior -	+18·19		
9. Howrah -	+10·83	9. Pesháwar -	+ 5·26	9. Dacca -	+ 4·10		
10. Trichinopoly -	+13·71	10. Ambála -	+17·53	10. Mirzápúr -	— 1·44		
11. Sholápur -	+ 3·38	11. Bellary -	+11·24	11. Rámpúr -	+ 3·34		
12. Calicut -	+15·75	12. Ráwal Pindi	+39·30	12. Jodhpúr -	+ 8·10		
13. Cocanáda -	+33·22			13. Tanjore -	— 0·65		
14. Maulmain -	+ 5·04						
15. Negapatam -	+10·13						
16. Mangalore -	+27·49						
17. Ajmér -	+41·26						
18. Hubli -	+43·40						
19. Bhaunagar -	+20·63						

Modern or commercial centres.

Taking first the modern or commercial towns, there is a point that must strike one as remarkable at the very outset. This is the small increase in the two leading cities of India. Whilst seaports like Karáchi and Rangoon, which are centres of distribution and nothing more, have increased by 43 and 34 per cent. respectively, Calcutta and Bombay, which are not only great centres of trade, but also manufacturing towns of notable prosperity, have only an increase to show of $8\frac{1}{4}$ and $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The explanation is the same as could be given for London, so far as Calcutta is concerned; namely, that the tendency is now to live in the suburbs, where rent and food are cheaper, taxes less burdensome, and with the extension of railways, access to the city within the reach of all. Bombay is not so fortunate in its surroundings as Calcutta, but the middle classes engaged in that city have betaken themselves to residences some distance out of the town in far greater numbers than were shown at the census of 1881. But the main cause of decrease, or rather of the reduction in the rate of increase, is the withdrawal of women from Bombay in the decade. Whether there is less demand for their labour in the cotton and other mills, or whether the greater facilities of intercourse with the coast have induced men to keep their wives at home during the open season, and to indulge in an occasional run to visit them, instead of bringing them up with their children to the more expensive life in the city, is not stated in the reports hitherto received. But, at any rate, the fact remains that a considerable number of the women who were to be found in the city in 1881 were located in the Ratnagiri district at the time the last census was taken.

The marginal statement will serve to show clearly the difference between the four chief cities in respect to their relative attractiveness to outsiders. Madras, for instance, in spite of its large increase, is chiefly maintained by local prolificity, whilst Bombay breeds only a quarter of its population, and neither of the others more than a third. But it is only in Bombay that the home-born show a decrease. In Madras there is a tendency towards immigration, but the natural increase has nearly kept up with the total growth. In Rangoon, on the other hand, the former is remarkably high in rate, but the immigration from outside the province quite outtops it. The figures for Calcutta are open to doubt, as the areas have been much changed since 1881, and the last column clearly refers to the old city alone irrespective of the suburban portion that has since been included. But the increase of the relative strength of the city-born is not affected by this change, and it is here that this town differs from the rest. The other towns in this class may be dealt with more generally. Cawnpore is the rising commercial centre of the fertile tracts under the government of the North-West Provinces. It is increasing, too, in manufacturing importance. Amongst other innovations it has taken the lead in the leather trade of India, and with such success that much of the work that used to be done for the army and police in England has been assigned to the manufactories here. Dehli, too, is not left stranded by the stream of modern commerce. Like Cawnpore, it is the great wheat market of the surrounding tract, and manufacturing industry also is alive there. It has, moreover, the prestige of former metropolitanism, and is well known to many of the country folk all over north and central India, to whom Calcutta and Bombay are names of no significance. Calicut, Cocanada, Mangalore, and Negapatam are all seaports of rising trade. Maulmain has been outshone by its younger sister Rangoon. Bhaunagar is not only the chief port of the peninsula of Káthiawár but the seat of a wealthy feudatory Thákur, or Chief. It has thus the advantage of both commerce and patronage. Húbli and Trichinopoli resemble Ajmér in owing much of their prosperity to the extension of railways. Howrah is part of Calcutta, and Sholápur, which began well as a cotton centre, seems not to have recovered from the results of the famine, which pressed very severely on the weaving classes of the Deccan.

TABLE N.

City.	Per-centage of City-born.		Per-centage of Variation.	
	1881.	1891.	City-born.	Total Population.
Bombay - -	28·41	25·10	− 4·17	+ 6·28
Calcutta -	27·42	30·49	+15·67	+ 4·10
Madras - -	72·68	71·97	+10·40	+11·50
Rangoon -	36·41	33·68	+24·29	+34·39

Provincial and military centres.

About the second group of towns there is little to be said. Poona has the advantage of being both a political and a military centre, and has a good deal of the prestige of former times, like Dehli. Ráwal-Pindi, which shows so large an increase, is purely a military station, and probably some of its rise accounts for the comparatively small increase of Pesháwar, which has a good deal more trade but less garrison, now that Pindi has been found more advantageous from a military standpoint.

State-centres.

The third class of towns can be taken with the remarks made in the last chapter as to the position of the capital of a Native State. Patna, Súrat, Mirzápur, and Tanjore, which have descended from that eminence, are all on the wane. Lucknow, Agra, and Dacca show less than half the general rate of increase. There are, no doubt, special reasons to account for the slow progress of Rámpur and Jódhpur, since the latter at all events might have been expected with the increase to have been more in sympathy with the surrounding State. Finally, the centres of religious pilgrimage claim a little comment. Of the six given in the table, Madura, perhaps, should hardly be taken in the same line as the rest, since it has its reputation as a place of trade as well as its sacred associations to support it. If we exclude it, the general rate of growth of the class is very slow. In the case of Amritsar, there is, as has been already mentioned, a special cause for the falling off in population, and it is possible that in addition to the epidemic of fever nine years or so ago, there may have been a loss by the return to Kashmér of some of the artizans who fled that State in the famine of 1878. On the other hand, as regards all towns of this sort, it may be said that no rapid increase is to be expected, since there is a temporary influx of purchasing power at periodic intervals, perfectly well known beforehand, so that the vendors of

Religious-centres.

all goods that can be easily transported merely join the throng of visitors at the times in question, and do not waste their time in residing permanently in a place where trade is so spasmodic.

Parallel movement of population and material prosperity.

The increase of the population has hitherto been discussed merely in its relation to the number of people who were enumerated 10 years ago, and this is, of course, the only aspect with which the census has to deal. But there is another of equal importance, but which, as the facts concerning it do not arise out of the operations under review, can be only treated here in the barest outline. Still, it will not be altogether out of place, as it bears on the question of the probability of the continuance during the current decade of the rate of growth that has prevailed in that which has just passed. The point is, whether, judged by the facts by which the progress of a country from a material standpoint is usually tested, it can be fairly assumed that in India the increase of the population has been accompanied by a parallel development of its resources. The simplest way of treating so complex a mass of statistics is to make use of a base-line or index-year. It may be admitted at the outset that for anything like a detailed examination of the conditions such a method is faulty, but our present object is to give a sketch only. The table given on the next page, then, shows the figures for each year of the decade in their relation to those of the year which immediately preceded that period. For instance, taking the first column, the land revenue of 1880–81 being 100·00, that for 1881–82 is represented by 103·96, and the average for the decade by 107·94. On the other hand, the imports of kerosine oil were only 90·96 in the first year of the decade, but rose to 542·30 in the last. To save space, however, the 100·00 has been omitted in favour of the appropriate sign. Now, the increase of the population in British provinces is 9·70 per cent., and what with recoveries from famine and the greater accuracy of the returns, it may be safely assumed that this rate is above the normal, and the latter can be set down at about 8·50 for this territory as a whole. This, then, is the ratio with which the figures should be compared in the several columns relating to revenue, post, and currency. In the case of the States the rate is no doubt higher, and may approach 10·00; and with the latter we may take the figures regarding railways and trade generally, since the whole country contributes to their support. In the former case, that of the Provinces, it appears that the increase, except in the assessment on the land which, for reasons that are too lengthy to be stated here, moves slowly, is generally above that of the population. Salt, for instance, the only tax paid by the lower classes, shows a remarkable increase in the amount consumed as compared with the revenue from it, taking the whole of the 10 years together, though the two last years of the period indicate a less satisfactory divergence, which proved, however, only temporary. The postal system shows a marvellous development, especially in the matter of cards; and telegrams, too, are now sent to an extent unheard of even 10 years ago. In connection with the railway passengers, it must be noted that in India the traffic by the upper classes is comparatively insignificant, so that the bulk of the growth is to be set down to the third. It is also noticeable that the rate of increase in both passenger and goods traffic is considerably above that in the open mileage, and the same remark applies, though less forcibly, to the net earning of the lines.

With reference to the trade returns, it is perhaps advisable to present the actual as well as the proportional figures, so as to indicate the general distribution of the whole amount entering and leaving the country. This is done in the marginal table, which represents the average values for the 10 years in question. Speaking generally, the import branch is so much more varied than the other, that the articles mentioned, though the most important, form but two-thirds of the whole value. On the other hand, the chief articles of export leave a comparatively little remainder. In the proportional tables quantities, it should be mentioned, are taken instead of values, owing to the complications introduced into the latter by the vagaries of exchange of late years. On the whole, it will be noticed that as to merchandise the increase in

TABLE O (1 = 1000).

Imports.		Exports of Indian Products.	
Total.	Rx. 57,787.	Total.	Rx. 86,491.
Cotton Goods	23,732	Raw Cotton	14,762
Cotton Twist	3,650	Cotton Goods	2,437
Hardware	921	Cotton Twist	3,601
Iron	2,110	Hides	4,731
Copper	1,837	Wool	1,302
Oil	1,470	Opium	10,786
Silk Goods	1,393	Tea	4,668
Sugar	1,866	Oil Seeds	9,225
Woollen Goods	1,403	Raw Jute	5,953
Others	19,405	Jute Goods	1,734
		Wheat	7,172
		Rice	9,162
		Others	11,058

Table P.

Variation per Cent. from the Returns for 1880–81 of Main Items of Revenue, Commerce, &c.

Year.	State Revenue from			Consumption of Salt.	Post and Telegraph Transactions (Non-Official Correspondence only).			Value of Currency Notes Issued.	Railways.				Private Trade (*Value*).				Ratio of Net Excess in value of Exports over Imports including Treasure.
													Merchandise.		Treasure.		
	Land.	Stamps.	Salt.		Letters.	Post Cards.	Private and Inland Telegrams.		Miles Worked.	Passengers.	Goods.	Net Earnings.	Imports.	Exports (of Indian Produce and Manufactures).	Imports.	Exports.	
1881–82	+ 3·96	+ 4·02	+ 3·52	+ 3·49	+ 7·97	+ 47·68	− 0·86	− 1·16	+ 4·16	+ 12·61	+ 12·28	+ 9·80	− 6·59	+ 10·12	+ 25·97	− 23·65	+ 66·26
1882–83	+ 3·61	+ 3·97	− 13·18	+ 8·52	+ 17·62	+ 100·77	+ 13·92	+ 11·11	+ 7·80	+ 24·51	+ 29·36	+ 21·21	− 0·61	+ 11·98	+ 40·68	− 27·66	+ 28·25
1883–84	+ 5·92	+ 8·08	− 13·63	+ 10·32	+ 28·16	+ 159·92	+ 18·39	− 2·02	+ 12·54	+ 41·18	+ 26·13	+ 13·77	+ 4·76	+ 18·22	+ 43·28	− 29·86	+ 36·53
1884–85	+ 3·41	+ 10·95	− 8·56	+ 13·66	+ 38·87	+ 227·60	+ 30·72	+ 6·42	+ 17·00	+ 54·67	+ 43·25	+ 31·26	+ 5·65	+ 11·59	+ 54·52	+ 36·81	+ 0·78
1885–86	+ 7·01	+ 12·69	− 10·83	+ 12·03	+ 53·29	+ 295·92	+ 46·34	+ 7·67	+ 28·07	+ 69·15	+ 48·18	+ 40·57	+ 2·99	+ 12·17	+ 72·20	− 23·06	− 13·78
1886–87	+ 9·20	+ 15·40	− 6·44	+ 19·05	+ 63·60	+ 355·81	+ 61·26	+ 3·94	+ 42·72	+ 82·49	+ 52·87	+ 34·69	+ 16·60	+ 17·97	+ 22·98	+ 19·44	+ 6·40
1887–88	+ 9·83	+ 19·25	− 6·26	+ 16·06	+ 72·94	+ 410·29	+ 78·18	+ 18·29	+ 46·11	+ 97·30	+ 69·50	+ 42·25	+ 24·00	+ 20·00	+ 53·82	+ 11·40	− 24·85
1888–89	+ 9·02	+ 20·81	+ 7·86	+ 17·00	+ 84·80	+ 477·96	+ 102·65	+ 20·26	+ 46·76	+ 111·64	+ 68·41	+ 45·50	+ 32·32	+ 28·72	+ 54·03	+ 23·88	− 16·83
1889–90	+ 13·59	+ 25·76	+ 15·06	+ 16·98	+ 96·63	+ 535·30	+ 109·90	+ 18·21	+ 70·64	+ 118·20	+ 71·16	+ 49·02	+ 32·30	+ 37·69	+ 94·25	+ 32·44	− 3·79
1890–91	+ 13·89	+ 25·18	+ 19·78	+ 18·29	+ 105·01	+ 579·80	+ 126·51	+ 67·53	+ 79·16	+ 133·22	+ 96·77	+ 82·50	+ 37·22	+ 33·25	+ 144·04	+ 47·40	− 64·25
Mean of Ten Years	+ 7·94	+ 14·61	− 2·23	+ 13·54	+ 56·31	+ 319·11	+ 58·70	+ 15·02	+ 34·86	+ 74·50	+ 51·79	+ 37·06	+ 14·86	+ 20·17	+ 61·47	+ 6·70	− 1·83

Year.	Imports (Quantities).							Exports (Quantities), Indian Produce or Manufacture.							
	Iron.	Hardware.	Copper.	Kerosine Oil.	Sugars.	Cotton Piece Goods.	Cotton Twist and Yarn.	Raw Cotton.	Rice.	Wheat.	Oil Seed.	Raw Jute.	Raw Wool.	Cotton Twist and Yarn.	Cotton Piece Goods.	Jute Manufactures.
1881–82	− 7·99	+ 13·40	− 11·42	− 9·04	− 21·33	− 8·56	− 11·15	+ 23·96	+ 5·95	+ 167·33	+ 1·73	+ 29·27	+ 3·92	+ 14·44	− 1·63	− 19·69
1882–83	+ 18·25	+ 43·30	+ 17·92	+ 105·36	− 31·80	− 7·53	− 2·22	+ 35·86	+ 14·64	+ 90·66	+ 27·60	+ 78·13	+ 2·46	+ 68·68	+ 36·69	+ 27·40
1883–84	+ 32·94	+ 47·29	+ 38·92	+ 35·23	− 25·29	− 2·95	− 1·09	+ 31·83	− 0·83	+ 182·11	+ 68·46	+ 20·80	− 1·99	+ 85·41	+ 82·87	+ 21·49
1884–85	+ 35·14	+ 52·84	+ 44·73	+ 171·34	+ 63·93	− 2·89	− 2·35	+ 11·63	− 19·12	+ 112·92	+ 77·22	+ 44·04	− 0·85	+ 144·96	+ 57·67	+ 58·02
1885–86	+ 31·05	+ 40·54	+ 71·08	+ 81·54	+ 18·74	− 1·86	+ 0·08	− 7·71	+ 3·51	+ 183·02	+ 68·09	+ 33·95	+ 21·67	+ 190·85	+ 69·58	+ 21·71
1886–87	+ 23·06	+ 56·62	+ 61·14	+ 219·47	+ 77·38	+ 21·35	+ 6·83	+ 19·69	− 1·42	+ 199·07	+ 54·38	+ 42·98	+ 31·07	+ 241·26	+ 75·62	+ 23·26
1887–88	+ 62·12	+ 97·98	+ 39·55	+ 211·59	+ 83·36	+ 3·52	+ 12·35	+ 18·35	+ 4·65	+ 81·86	+ 56·08	+ 65·99	+ 36·26	+ 321·73	+ 128·52	+ 41·96
1888–89	+ 50·17	+ 99·47	− 74·20	+ 295·01	+ 64·01	+ 19·70	+ 14·63	+ 17·40	− 15·12	+ 136·57	+ 51·13	+ 81·64	+ 36·39	+ 379·18	+ 131·18	+ 90·49
1889–90	+ 35·37	+ 98·39	+ 49·05	+ 434·85	+ 74·70	+ 12·42	+ 1·10	+ 39·23	− 0·61	+ 85·40	+ 53·32	+ 76·53	+ 48·64	+ 427·67	+ 95·70	+ 85·99
1890–91	+ 45·43	+ 116·74	+ 16·97	+ 442·30	+ 197·26	+ 13·39	+ 11·10	+ 30·46	+ 28·23	+ 92·37	+ 43·65	+ 106·30	+ 32·57	+ 529·24	+ 122·61	+ 88·50
Mean of Ten Years	+ 32·56	+ 66·66	+ 26·68	+ 198·77	+ 50·10	+ 4·71	+ 2·93	+ 22·07	+ 1·99	+ 133·13	+ 50·16	+ 57·96	+ 21·01	+ 240·34	+ 79·88	+ 43·91

the exports has been continuous, and in rate above that of the imports, whilst, including treasure transaction, the balance is inclining a little in favour of closer correspondence. But here, as in the case of the post, telegraph, and railway, one of the main points worthy of note is the increase in the apparent reserve available for spending on what are to the masses of India, objects of luxury. Then again there is to be noted the growth of the export trade in raw produce, though it is here as everywhere else, subject to annual variations of a somewhat irregular character. Lastly, the competition between imported piece-goods and yarn and that made in India. As to the first, the marginal table O shows that the absolute quantities manufactured abroad and sent to India are very largely in excess of the others, but the proportional statement indicates the relatively far higher increase that has taken place in the exports of this sort of goods from India in the 10 years under review. The yarn from abroad, again, is being beaten in the race, just now, by that made in the country, but there is probably a check to be expected in this rapid increase of foreign demand, as there has been to a slight extent in the jute trade of late. Finally, a few words must be said about the absorptive power of India for the precious metals, which, in discussing the circumstances of the country, is a point too often overlooked. In the last 10 years India took in an amount of gold which is valued in what is known as Rx, or "tens of rupees," at no less than 44,051,255, whilst it disgorged in the same time only 3,144,069. Simultaneously, the corresponding amount of silver introduced into the country was 101,086,766, of which only 12,225,899 has left it. Thus there remains in round numbers, the equivalent of Rx. 41,000,000 in gold and 89,000,000 in silver, which has been added to the hoards already in the possession of the people previous to the period under review. We have every reason accordingly to assume that the present rate of increase amongst the people of India is well within their means of subsistence. If maintained, which of course it will not be, it would be 75 years before the population doubled itself, and the problem of their support would then, no doubt, be a hard one for our successors.

CHAPTER IV.

The Occupation of the Population.

"By ceaseless action all that is subsists.
Constant rotation of the unwearied wheel
That nature rides upon, maintains her health,
Her beauty, her fertility. She dreads
An instant's pause, and lives but while she moves."—*Cowper.*

The statistics that have been dealt with in the foregoing chapters of this review are of a comparatively simple character. In some particulars inaccuracy is admittedly present in the returns, but it is not difficult to trace, and it can be localised within certain fairly well defined limits, so that its effects can be adequately discounted in discussing the points in question. Uncertainty, therefore, as to the true meaning of the statistics prevails to but an insignificant extent. For example, the deliberate omission of adult females is attributable to a single cause operative amongst certain classes or within certain tracts. The return of birth-place, again, is well known to be often characterised by excess of minuteness on the part of the native of India who happens to be sojourning at a distance from his home, and by equal want of definition on that of the foreigner. The one insists on entering his native village, without adding the name of the State or district in which it is situated, whilst the other too often considers that the name of a continent is sufficient to satisfy reasonable curiosity on this matter. A still more striking case is that of the age-table, with which we have yet to deal. Here, the prevailing ignorance is so uniform and so widely spread, that the error tends to group itself into certain easily recognisable forms throughout the whole country, so that in accordance with the general tendency of such large aggregates, the very irregularity of the figures becomes, to a considerable extent, the test of their accuracy.

Special difficulties met with in enumerating occupation.

But with regard to occupation, the conditions are more complicated and the opportunities of going wrong proportionately increased. To begin with, the difficulty in formulating the question is considerable, for the circumstances are so various that it is hopeless to attempt to frame instructions or illustrations comprehensive enough to cover the whole subject. Then, too, there seems to be in all countries alike a tendency towards certain classes of error, generally in the direction of the use of terms too indefinite to indicate sufficiently the precise nature of the occupation, or which bear a special local signification alien to the usual meaning. Lastly, owing partly to the difficulty of the subject itself, partly to the defects above mentioned in the original record, a return of occupation may be, and too often is, grievously handicapped by the system adopted for the grouping and classification of the enormous amount of detail that has to be thus worked into shape.

Scope of the inquiry.

As regards the first difficulty, the main point is to settle exactly what is to be the scope and extent of the inquiry and this necessarily differs in every country, according to the stage of its development. In all cases it is held necessary to ascertain the numerical proportion of the main classes of occupation, such as agriculture, manufacture, mining, commerce, or the liberal professions, not to mention the less definite category of the unskilled, which has sprung into such prominence in some countries within the last few generations. In most instances, too, it is advisable to estimate the relative strength, in the majority of the above classes, of possession and proletarianism, the wage-paying and the wage-receiving population. But the question then arises whether the return is to be that of the working members of the community only, or that of the supporting power of each means of subsistence at the time of the census. In the first case, it would include only those who actually work, or who are in the immediate receipt of the means of livelihood which render them independent of work. In the other, the scope is widened so as to comprise not only the working members of the household, but all who immediately depend upon them for their support. Similarly, in the case of those who have the means of living without the need of working for them, the return would include, in addition to the person actually in possession of the income, those supported out of it by him, otherwise, of course, than by way of charity or wage for special service rendered, since the last named are not indissolubly connected with the income in question, but constitute independent means of livelihood. The relative advantages of these two rest mainly on local considerations. The reason for selecting the latter, or wider, system for India will

be found later on in this chapter. Another question under this head is the amount of detail in returning the occupation that should be asked for. Whether, that is, a general title or class is considered enough, or whether greater accuracy should be demanded. The answer to this depends, obviously, on whether the object is to get a complete industrial survey, or merely a general view of the distribution of occupation on broad lines. Connected with this point, too, as we are on the topic of difficulties, is the much vexed question of how to deal at the census with the numerous instances in which a single individual or family, as the case may be, has more than one means of livelihood, or where, as frequently happens, and not in India alone, the return is that of a title that may include all or any of several occupations.

Inaccuracy in the entry of occupation.

The second of the above mentioned obstacles to a complete return will be found well illustrated in the course of examining the details of the figures for India, though, as was hinted before, the inaccuracy in question is by no means confined to that country. A few entries of this sort, however, may be here quoted in explanation of the difficulty. We have thus a lot of people returned as "shopkeeper," without any guide as to the goods sold. "Labour," again, leaving it uncertain whether it is agricultural that is meant, or the general unskilled labour that chiefly haunts towns and extensive public works. "Service," is another term that is used without qualification, more often, probably, in India than elsewhere. It may there be that of the State, or of the household, or of the shop, or in a merchant's establishment. The profession of a "writer," is as common in India and as various in its application as that of "mechanic" in England. It has no connection, however, with authorship. Numbers of others of the same description suggest themselves, but it is superfluous to quote them.

Objects of classification.

The general question of the classification of occupation is a highly complicated one, so it is not proposed to enter into it minutely in the present work. The distribution of industry varies from country to country so much that comparison is both valuable and interesting, but the field of inquiry is so extensive and full of detail, that however desirable it may be to make such a comparison, for which, of course, a general scheme of classification is essential, it has been found impracticable hitherto to carry it out in a trustworthy manner on the basis of a census return alone. The subject, therefore, has not been recognised as one falling into the category of international statistics, and there seems abundant reason for not placing India side by side with western countries in such a return. If once we abandon the idea of international comparison, the object of classification is confined to the exhibition of the leading characteristics of the local population with reference to their occupation, irrespective of the sociological considerations of a general nature to which weight has to be attached when the field of comparison is enlarged. How many of these have been dropped out of sight in dealing with the returns for India on this occasion will be seen from the comments made below on the system of arrangement herein adopted, but, so far as the main purpose, that of indicating the general features of the social organisation of the country, will admit, the obvious advantages of theoretical consistency have been retained.

General value of the returns.

It may be gathered from these remarks that a high value is not attached to the results of the census of occupation. This is true, and the opinion is not confined to those who have had the administration of the operation in India alone. In some of the countries of Europe the subject is excluded altogether from the enumeration, and in one, at least, which need not be named, much forethought and many elaborate instructions were rewarded by results which the census authorities thought it advisable not to mislead the public by including with the rest. In Germany as well as in the United States, it has been decided that a comprehensive industrial survey, obtained by dint of detailed inquiry spread over a considerable time, is preferable to the rough and ready return which is all that it falls within the capacity of a synchronous census to furnish. The elaborate and in many respects admirable tables that contain the results of the occupation return at the last census of England and Wales have been shown by experts in industrial economics to be incomplete in several important particulars. Italy, on the other hand, is a staunch supporter of the census of occupation, and the opinion of a statist of the eminence of Commendatore Bodio, who has brought his country's statistics to such a pitch of efficiency, carries great weight. Still, he would be, no doubt, the first to admit that the section in question of his Confronti Internazionali can only be digested with a copious sprinkling of explanatory salt. This usually takes the shape of the enumeration of the various ways of going wrong, as above, which has

the further advantage that many minds of a complacent order take the admission of statistical error as incense offered in some way or other to what they speak of as common sense. India, it is true, is, in its present stage, at an advantage in respect to the enumeration of occupation, as compared with countries which are more adapted by situation or natural products to commercial or manufacturing development, since, in the former, the specialisation of functions is, relatively speaking, in its infancy; the organisation of labour is of the simplest, and the multiplication of the various means of subsistence proceeds at a rate barely perceptible, except at considerable intervals of time. But, from a census point of view, the very simplicity of this almost exclusively agrestic community has its drawbacks, and the complication that arises is largely due, not to the manifold differentiation of occupations, as it might be in England, but to their combination; as, for instance, when one individual lives by the exercise of several which are otherwise totally unconnected with each other, and he is probably unable to specify which of them may be by preference termed his chief means of support. In fact, in the most favourable circumstances, the completeness and accuracy of the enumeration is a matter of very considerable uncertainty, and to those who have acquired knowledge of the subject by experience, it is scarcely possible to conceive a state of society at all above that of primitive savagery in which it would be otherwise.

System of enumeration.

Before discussing the results of the enumeration of India by occupation, as qualified by the above general admissions of imperfection, some explanation is necessary of the scope of the returns and of the system on which they were prepared, because important innovations have been introduced into both since the preceding census. It has been stated above that the object of the present census was to obtain a view of the supporting power, at the time of the census, of each means of livelihood, whereas in 1881 the return was that of workers only, and persons of, so to speak, independent means. Thus no less than 53 per cent. of the population, or, as the return was by sexes, 37½ per cent. of the males, and 69½ of the females, was excluded. If, therefore, the total strength of any particular group was in question, such as, for instance, the agricultural or the artisan class, recourse to approximation was necessary, and this had to be based on estimates of the probable number of heads of families, and of the numerical strength of their respective households. As there was no general tabulation of occupation by age, except in a few of the larger towns, the above computations had to be purely conjectural, and the postulates and methods of calculation differed in each province. But even as a record of the working population only, the results, in the opinion of the Superintendents of the census operations, in their respective provinces, were very defective, and so far as the return of working females is concerned, the figures were found by Sir W. Chichele Plowden, the then Census Commissioner for India, to be unworthy of examination. A few facts in confirmation of this view may as well be cited, which will show that the abandonment of the former system was neither premature nor based on inadequate grounds. First of all, of course, stands the inconsistency of practice in regard to the entry of the occupation of women, which is based to a great extent on social considerations. Where there is a strong and well defined line drawn between the upper and the lower grades of society, owing to distinctions of caste or race, the women who actually do work are generally returned as workers in the lower section only, although they may be similarly engaged in various occupations in many of the higher classes. On the other hand, there is noted a general tendency to return the women of the middle classes, all over India, as following the occupation of the head of their household, whether they actually do so or not. This last fact was one of the inducements to adopt the scheme of return indicated by this inclination. Then, again, the distinction between the principal and his dependents or sharers is much valued in certain occupations, so the chief worker, especially the artisan, is disposed to ignore, in making the return, the aid rendered by the others with whom he may be connected. There is a similar inconsistency with regard to occupations dependent on the land. In some cases, the nominal occupant will alone be recognised, and the rest of the family returned as labourers, whereas in others, where the participation of the soil is based on different principles, the number of occupants or sharers will include all who have any interest therein, irrespective of the position of the patriarch. The young children of agriculturists, too, are as often as not entered as graziers, though their attention is gratuitously devoted to the family live-stock only. Elsewhere, they will be found to have been omitted from the workers altogether, or returned, in some instances, as farm servants. Other cases of a similar tendency can be adduced, but, on the whole, they reduce themselves to the

above categories of inconsistency of treatment of subordinate or subsidiary interest in the family means of livelihood.

Now, under the present scheme of enumeration, though the number of workers is ignored, the whole population is accounted for under some head or other, with the exception of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, who either did not fill up the column at all or returned some term which was unintelligible, or, as is more frequent in India than in the West, frankly disreputable. The object of the return renders the distinction of sex immaterial, since man, woman, and child are alike supported by the occupation in question. From the provincial returns, however, it is possible to get the number of adult males under each head, since in these the detail of both age and sex has been retained. In the Imperial series of tables it has been omitted, first, because for a considerable portion of the population in the Feudatory States and for some in Southern India the age was not tabulated for occupations; secondly, because, as will appear in a later chapter of this review, the ages, in the crude state in which they are extracted from the schedules, are by no means correct in two, at least, of the periods selected for the occupation table; thirdly, because the detail of age and sex, added to that of rural and urban population for British and Feudatory territory, would swell the return to the dimension of a considerable volume with incommensurate advantages; Lastly, because, as shown above, these details are irrelevant to the general purport of the statistics in question. But although the distinction between worker and dependent is obliterated in the final results of the census, it was retained, as will be seen from the instructions quoted below, throughout the enumeration. This, however, was done merely as a measure of administrative convenience, not with the view of tabulation. There are numerous prejudices on such matters amongst the people in India which deserve consideration, and by prescribing the addition in this column of the schedule of the word "dependent" to the entry of occupation made against such as do no work, the awkardness was avoided of appearing to attribute to these persons the exercise of various functions which are impossible or prohibited to those of their age or sex. Had the distinction been carried into the tables, it is very plain that the defect that vitiated to such an extent the results in 1881 would have been perpetuated, and casual readers would have been liable to be misled by assuming the number of the active members of the population to be that set forth as such.

Instructions to enumerators.

The instructions for filling up the occupation column were the fullest and most elaborate in the code, for it was decided that as this was the most difficult portion of the task imposed on the enumerating agency, it was only fair to carry the explanations of what was wanted as far as the time available for their instruction and the limits of their intelligence would allow. It was also held desirable to obtain in the first stage of the operations as much detail as possible, so that any reduction that might seem advisable could be postponed till the whole field of the subject came under the eye of the Provincial Census Superintendent during compilation. If general terms, or classes of occupations, had been considered sufficient, the instructions could easily have been curtailed into a few lines. In order to show precisely the nature and scope of the inquiry under this head, and the difference between it and the corresponding procedure at the census of 1881, the heading of the column in the schedule and the rules for filling in the entries to be made on the two occasions are here reproduced:—

1891.	1881.
Occupation or Means of Subsistence.	Occupation of Men, also of Boys and Females who may do work. N.B.—Boys at School, Girls, Small Children and Women who perform no regular Work, should not be shown at all in this Column.
Instructions:—Enter here the exact occupation or means of livelihood of all males and females who do work or live on private property such as *house rent, pension,* &c. In the case of children and women who do no work, enter the occupation of the head of their family, or of the person who supports them, adding the word "dependent," but do not leave this column unfilled for any one, even an infant. If a person have two or more occupations, enter only the chief one, except when a person owns or cultivates land in addition to another occupation, when both should be entered.	*Instructions:*—Only such persons are to be shown in this column as actually do work contributing to the family income. Mere employment in such domestic occupations as spinning will not entitle women to be shown in this column, unless the produce of their labour is regularly brought to market. When a person has two or more occupations, he should be entered as following the occupation whence his income is chiefly derived, but if he combines agriculture with any other profession or trade, such as that of vakíl or money-lender, carpenter, or smith, both occupations should be shown.

1891. (*continued.*)	1881. (*continued.*)
No vague terms should be used, such as *service*, *Government service*, *shopkeeping*, *writing* and *labour*, &c., but the *exact service*, the *goods sold*, the *class* of *writing* or of *labour* must be stated. When a person's occupation is connected with agriculture it should be stated whether the land is cultivated in person or let to tenants; if he be an agricultural labourer, it should be stated whether he be engaged by the month or year, or is a daily field labourer. Women who earn money by occupations independent of their husbands, such as *spinning*, *selling firewood*, *cow-dung cakes*, *grass*, or by *rice-pounding*, *weaving*, or doing house-work for wages should be shown under those occupations. If a person makes the articles he sells he should be entered as "maker and seller" of them. If a person lives on alms, it should be stated whether he is a religious mendicant or an ordinary beggar. When a person is in Government, railway, or municipal service, the special service should be entered first, and the word Government, railway, or municipal, &c., after it as:—clerk, *Government*; sweeper, *municipal*; labourer, *railway*. If a person be temporarily out of employ, enter the last or ordinary occupation.	General terms, such as servant, workman, dealer, must not be employed. In each case the specific service or trade in which the person is engaged must be named, *e.g.*, watchman, office-messenger, digger, ploughman, cloth-seller. General expressions [such as *pesha-i-khúd*] must not be employed. In every case the occupation must be indicated by the common vernacular term by which it is known [and not by the Persian name; thus *Kumhár* for potter, not *Kasgar*].

The changes made in 1891 are chiefly in detail, always excepting that shown in the beginning of the rules. One or two points were treated at greater length, where it had been found that the first code led to misunderstanding. For instance, the phrase "regularly brought to market" is said to have excluded a good number of the class to whom it was intended to apply. Again, in some few but important cases, the name of the caste is a better indication than that of the principal occupation, so the penultimate provision of the older code was omitted. The greater detail as to the connexion with the land was intended to serve as a guide to the relative strength of the cultivating class and the non-agricultural proprietor or occupant, and a special provision was held necessary in order to prevent the entry of "household work" against those who were not getting their living by it as an independent source of livelihood. The bulk of the rest of the modifications simply met cases of doubt that had arisen in the course of the operations of 1881. It should be mentioned, by the way, that the new rules were framed for the sanction of the Government of India by a Committee of the census Superintendents of 1881, appointed for the purpose on the suggestion of Sir W. Chichele Plowden, the Census Commissioner on that occasion, as affording the best means of making use of the experience then gained. There are two points, besides that of the obliteration of the distinction of the dependent classes, which are of sufficient importance to justify a few explanatory words in this place, as they appertain to matters of somewhat wider interest than those above-mentioned. The first is the application of the final sentence of the 1891 rules to the inmates of prisons or asylums. The general instructions, as they stand, seem to imply that at all events temporary prisoners and inmates of asylums should be returned according to the means whereby they lived before their withdrawal from public life. On the other hand, the special rule issued to those in charge of the census of the above institutions prescribed that the inmates should be returned as such, irrespective of their former or ordinary employment. The discrepancy is based on two arguments. First, that the results of the census represent, so to speak, the people photographed at a given time without reference to that which preceded or was to follow it. Clearly, therefore, the persons in question were not at that time exercising any occupation by which they lived, but were, for the moment, withdrawn from the active section of the population. Then, again, we should look at the source of their means of support, which is the taxation of the public, or private charity, as the case may be, but not the result of their own labour. They are thus in an entirely different position to that of the free agent temporarily out of employ, who is presumably living on the proceeds of previous work of the sort he intends to resume. A somewhat kindred point which has occasionally arisen is that of the entry of the original occupation by those who have ceased to exercise it. Here, too, there is a withdrawal from work, and the means of

subsistence are either investments or, at best, capital derived through a past occupation, just as, with reference to the present question, the officer of the State is in a different position when he is in receipt of salary from that he occupies when on pension, quite apart from the celebrated definition of the latter in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary.* The second matter which seems to be open to comment is the way of dealing with the people who have more occupations than one. It will be seen from the rules that only one class of such cases has been recognised, namely, where the second means of livelihood is connected with the land. This is in India by far the most prevalent form of such pluralism; the next to it is, perhaps, money-lending, which is practised to a greater or less extent, by most men of substance, except Musalmán, and then comes a miscellaneous group of occupations which are associated under the name of the caste which exercises them. Both these last have been lost to us in the census return, owing to the selection of the main employment only, and as regards the first of the two, it is very doubful whether the return would have been anything like complete had it been prescribed, because the inquisitiveness about subsidiary sources of income would possibly have raised suspicions connected with taxation, from which, as it was, the proceedings were fortunately free. The omission of the second is undoubtedly to be deplored. As to the general question, it must be admitted that the rule followed in England, of entering all the occupations in their order of importance to the total income of the family or householder, is the best, though for the reason above given, it may seem inadvisable to apply it at present to India.

Abstraction of the results.

Such was, in brief, the scope of the information it was sought to obtain. After the census, the abstraction from the schedules was effected for the rural and urban tracts respectively by sexes, showing for each the distribution of every occupation by three age periods; first, those under five, which would include all who are too young to work; secondly, between five and fifteen, an interval which covers the school-going age of those of the upper classes, and that of casual help in the home occupation on the part of the youth of the lower and middle. The third, which includes all over fifteen, though it contains probably a good many of both sexes who are either still at school or who are not engaged in regular work, represents, as fairly as can be expected, the working age of the masses. A subsidiary object in selecting these periods should not be forgotten, and this was the check afforded by this independent tabulation on the age tables. It has been stated above that in the Imperial tables no use has been made of the details of sex and age, but in most of the Provincial reports comments have been made on them by the census Superintendents. It requires note, too, in connection with the present topic, that under the general instructions for abstraction, the whole of the detail found in the schedule was recorded, so that all grouping could be handled by more experienced agency at a later stage in the operations. Lists of all doubtful cases were sent for decision to the Census Commissioner, and in several Provinces the complete index was so treated.

Classification.

The object of the above provision was obviously to ensure as much uniformity in the final return as the nature of the information allowed. To further this end, the scheme of classification, which is explained below, was accompanied by a lengthy list, showing under their correct classification all the occupations and means of livelihood that were either returned at the census of 1881 or had been noted down in the course of tours of inspection from the schedules of that under review. They were also indexed alphabetically, in pursuance of the system adopted in such cases in the English census. The grouping and distribution by class are inevitably elaborate, but it is satisfactory to find that the scheme was found workable and convenient by those who had the duty of applying it to their results. It is undoubtedly nearer to what was wanted for India than the scheme on which the returns of the preceding census was based, but it is admittedly far from being completely adapted to its object, and the experience gathered from its use shows plainly that so far as the return of caste for occupation is concerned, and this is one of the main difficulties to be met, the practice in one part of India is so different from that in another, that it is out of the question to deal with the matter under a single set of rules. In the Panjáb, for example, the Superintendent found from the returns that the number of caste entries in the occupation column were so few compared to that which returned one or other of the actual means of subsistence, that no difficulty was experienced in classifying them. On

* "An allowance made to anyone without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country."

the other hand, the Bengal Superintendent writes of Orissa that about 20 per cent. of the population seem to have returned their caste instead of some form of agriculture, by which they really live. Thus, instead of the almost purely agricultural character of the people of this division of his charge being shown in the returns, Orissa is the only part of the province in which more than half the population are entered as non-agricultural. He points his comments by comparing the general results in this respect of the occupation census amongst a Musalmán population, where caste is not functional to any preponderating extent, with those of a purely Brahmanic population, such as is found in Orissa.

The best and shortest way of explaining the system of classification seems to be to reproduce *in extenso* the instructions regarding it. These, then, ran as follows:—

"The object in view is to group the entries in the census schedules as far as possible in accordance with the distribution of occupations in India in general, and at the same time to allow room for the designation of special features found only in certain provinces. It is superfluous, therefore, to discuss the classification in use at the census of communities further advanced in economic differentiation, or one based simply on the abstract laws of sociological science. The classification now published is not altogether scientifically correct, but it will serve its purpose if it collects under one head occupations known to be akin to each other, and keeps apart others which are but nominally related.

"2. There are certain classes of occupations in India which require a few general remarks before the details of the scheme are reviewed. In the first place, Government service is so comprehensive a term in this country, that for the purposes of classification it is necessary to restrict its application to the functions which cannot be dissociated from the main end of administration—protection and defence. Thus, special functions undertaken by the State in India beyond the primary duties above quoted are to be classed, not under the head of Government service, but under their special designation. Public instruction will come under education, and engineering, meteorology, agricultural training, medical practice, and administration under these heads respectively. It will be almost impracticable to affect a complete separation from the general title to which objection is raised above, as the combination of these special functions with that of the military or civil service of the Crown has been retained too closely in the schedules to admit of discrimination; but, as far as possible, the principle above enunciated should be rigorously applied. It is the same with the service of local and municipal bodies, where only persons actually engaged in administration should be entered under those titles. Engineers and road overseers or supervisors, sanitary inspectors or surveyors, schoolmasters and vaccinators, all have their special groups, irrespective of the source from which their salary is drawn. If the extent to which in India the functions of the State are exercised beyond the limits of protection be in question, the better source of information will be the periodical lists published by Government of its employés, rather than a census return.

"3. A second class of occupations needing special treatment is the very large one of what have been called "Village Industries," one great characteristic of which is that the same person both makes and sells. Amongst the most important of these come the brass-smith, blacksmith, cotton weaver, potter, tanner, carpenter, and the like, representing, with their fellows, the bulk of the artisan class throughout the country. Owing to the extension of towns, it is misleading to group such occupations under what would be otherwise an obviously suitable title, and some artisans indeed may have totally changed the character of the occupation on emigrating from the simple community to which they originally ministered. It has, therefore, been thought advisable to make no difference in the classification between those who make and those who sell special goods, though in the sub-divisional groups there is room for the general dealer, the commercial agent, and other middlemen, and also for that class of dealers known by a special name in each province, which supplies certain articles which are almost invariably associated together throughout the country.

Classes.

"4. After the above general remarks, the scheme may be taken up in detail. In the first place, the aggregate of the various means of livelihood are divided into the following main classes:—

"A.—Government.
"B.—Pasture and agriculture.
"C.—Personal services.
"D.—The preparation and supply of material substances.
"E.—Commerce and the transport of persons, goods, and messages, and the storage of goods.
"F.—Professions, learned, artistic, and minor.
"G.—Indefinite occupations, and means of subsistence independent of occupation.

"Of these, the first and fourth are the most complicated, though, making allowances for the defective return in certain cases, the former should be nearly freed from all but those who can rightly be classed in it. The fourth has had to be minutely sub-divided lest confusion should arise.

"5. Subordinate to the seven classes come 24 Orders, as shown marginally, bracketted according to their respective main heads. The first few explain themselves. As regards the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh, the object the article or service is intended for is placed more prominently than the material dealt with. On the other hand, from the twelfth to the seventeenth, the latter is regarded as more characteristic of the occupation than the object for which the prepared article is intended. The distinction is, of course, conventional only and not economic, as in both Orders the makers and the sellers of an article are combined, and it is only in the eighteenth that special mention is made of those who return themselves as exclusively engaged in distribution.

Orders.

A.	I. Administration.	D.	XV. Wood, cane, and leaves.
	II. Defence.		XVI. Drugs, gums, &c.
	III. Foreign and feudatory State service.		XVII. Leather.
B.	IV. Cattle-breeding, &c.	E.	XVIII. Commerce.
	V. Agriculture.		XIX. Transport and storage.
C.	VI. Personal services.	F.	XX. Learned and artistic professions.
D.	VII. Food and drink.		XXI. Sports and amusements.
	VIII. Light, firing, and forage.	G.	XXII. Complex occupations.*
	IX. Buildings.		XXIII. Indefinite occupations.
	X. Vehicles and vessels.		XXIV. Independent of work.
	XI. Supplementary requirements.		
	XII. Textile fabrics and dress.		
	XIII. Metals and precious stones.		
	XIV. Glass, pottery and stone ware.		

* In the Imperial Returns this has been omitted, and Order XXIII. divided into XXII. General labour, and XXIII. Indefinite or disreputable.

"6. The classification next passes into sub-orders, and where still further definition is thought necessary, into groups below the sub-orders. Of the latter there are 77, which are shown, with their groups, in Appendix A. In some respects they are the most important items of the scheme, and it is possible that with careful classification, the Imperial tables may be based on them, leaving detail below groups for supplementary or Provincial returns. At all events, beyond a few generally prevalent occupations, it is probable that each Province will be best served by being given discretion to select under each group the items it considers most typical or otherwise important in the constitution of its population. Before this is done, however, every occupation and means of livelihood returned will have to be catalogued for classification, so that uniformity up to the point mentioned above may be ensured. Sub-orders and groups.

"7. In Appendix B. is given a sample of the application of the scheme to a collection of items found in two or three of the Census Reports of 1881. It is not to be confounded with a complete index, such as was attempted on the last occasion, but will nevertheless serve as a general guide in preparing the detailed catalogues prescribed for the present census in Appendix B., page 12 of Circular M. Occupations.

"8. A very important point to be dealt with in connection with the tabulation of occupations in India is how to deal with an occupation shown conjointly with some description of agriculture or with the possession of land, or, again, which is locally known to be always combined with another non-agricultural occupation, of apparently quite a distinct character. It seems advisable to show all of the former class in the main return under their respective special headings, and in a supplementary return to show them with the agricultural connection as the main head, and the special occupation subordinate to each several sub-division of the former. For example:—We may have a pleader who is a non-cultivating landowner, a money-lender who is also a non-cultivating landowner, a carpenter who is a cultivating tenant, and so on. In the general return these will appear under the items of pleader, money-lender, and carpenter respectively. In the supplementary return, after the total number of non-cultivating landowners who have no other occupation returned against them, will come the pleader, and after him the money-lender, whilst the carpenter will occupy a corresponding position under the head of cultivating tenant. In this way the total number of landowners and tenants and their families, so far as the census return is correct, will be obtained without detracting from the roll of the occupations which probably take up an equal or greater portion of the time of the person returning both. As regards the second-class, no general heads can be prescribed, as the combinations may differ in every province. Notorious instances are those of the tanner and shoemaker, shepherd and blanket-weaver, and, as shown by Mr. Ibbetson for the Panjáb, the fisherman, water carrier, and public cook. Where the caste is used to denote the occupation, there need be no difficulty in providing a special heading for the complex functions in question. In other cases, local knowledge should be called in to point out which are the occupations almost always combined together, and these can be demarcated by a special note to the return. The instruction, however, that only the main occupation should be entered in the schedule, is against the chance of obtaining a complete return of non-agricultural combinations. All the same, provincial Superintendents should suggest as soon as possible the heads of this class which they find can be distinguished in their respective Provinces." Combined occupations.

It will now be well to indicate in what particulars the above prescriptions failed in their object. This can be done in very general terms. In the first place, the vague title of "service" was not entirely driven out of the field, in spite of all the precautions taken against it, so that the groups of State employ and domestic work must be somewhat intermingled, to the detriment, possibly, of the commercial groups. Then, again, the provision of food is understated, since many of those purveying grain and pulse are to be found amongst the shopkeepers, in the trading class, because their entry was of a general nature, wanting the specification of the article in which they dealt. Fishermen, too, cannot be always distinguished from boatmen and seafaring workers, whilst there is even more confusion between the sellers of milk, who are often residents of the town, and the rural dealers in cattle. Often where the head of the family is a man, the entry is of the latter, but if he be away, his wife will return herself as a milk seller, and so on. Scavenging, which figured in the returns of 1881 to a great extent under the honorific title of "municipal service" seems to have been more correctly allocated in the present tables. But agricultural labour has suffered grievously from its dangerous proximity to the class of the "general unskilled." On the whole, the artisan and professional classes appear to have been the most correctly returned, or the easiest to classify, though in the case of the former, the details indicate in several places the want of uniformity of return; but their grouping is not deficient in general accuracy. Defects in enumeration.

The scheme of classification can be seen in operation, first, on the broader lines of the functional Orders, in Summary Table XIII., on page xii. of the first volume of the Imperial Returns, and again in detail, in Table XVI., on page 455, &c. of the same volume. In the Provincial volumes, the serial number of the latter return is XVII., but for the Imperial series, the delay in furnishing the returns of caste, &c. rendered it advisable to transpose the two, and to complete the first volume with the material in hand, rather than delay its publication. In commenting on this return, it is convenient to reproduce the figures only in their relation to the general total, and to refer the reader to the original for the absolute numbers. The latter, however, will be quoted when any special group is under discussion. In Table B, at page 99, the percentage of each Order and sub-Order of occupation on the total population is shown, and to avoid the repetition of so long a statement, later on, the respective prevalence of the occupation General results of the Census of occupation, &c.

in urban and rural tracts is added, in the same proportional form. There is one feature in this last series to which attention may as well be called at once. This is, that though the general ratio of the urban population to the whole is about 9½ per cent., in the case of occupations, this proportion is exceeded in every one of the Orders and sub-Orders, except those relating to agriculture, pasture and village service. It nearly recedes to it in the case of general unskilled labour, which has been mentioned as probably recruited very considerably from the ranks of field and farm hands, and again amongst the potters, cane-workers, and the purveyors of minor forest produce, such as leaves, honey, rubber, lac, and so on. This fact shows the remarkable simplicity of the industrial structure of the community in India. A little has been said on this point already, but before entering into the examination of the general return, it is worth while to dwell upon it in a little more detail.

Village industries.

In respect to the relation of the village community to the land there is a different system to be found in nearly every Province and large State, and in detail, too, the respective social grades are diversely arranged. But on the whole, the component parts of the society considered as an economic unit, are wonderfully uniform throughout India. This, however, cannot be held to include Burma or several of the hill tracts, since in the latter the community is hardly a settled one, and in the other, the caste system, as has been mentioned in a former chapter, does not prevail, so the facilities for separation are greater. The marginal table shows the relative strength of these component parts. Speaking generally, the village community consists, firstly, of the cultivating class, and, secondly, of those who minister to their most pressing wants. A cross division exists, on one side of which stand those belonging to the inner circle of the society, that is, the occupants of the land and the artisans or menials to whom tradition assigns a cognate racial origin; and on the other, the lower village menials, the agrestic serfs, and others whose occupation, in the present day, as in the time of the Chinese pilgrims, relegates them to an inferior position, and who are, no doubt, also separated by their direct relationship to the races displaced from the ownership of the land by successive waves of aggressive immigration from the north. The former are admitted as residents within the village site, but the latter must dwell without those limits, or on a special site of their own. In the process of evolution there have been successive passages upwards from the one to the other, but the transformation is a matter of many generations; this is a question that will have to be treated in connection with the ethnology of the people, in a later chapter of this work. We have it then, that the backbone of the village is the agriculturist, or he who holds the village lands. The labourer is found generally in the ranks of the helots above mentioned, or of others a little higher in the social scale. The pastoral class is to be distinguished first as the nomad, with which we are not at present concerned, but which occupies itself chiefly with sheep and goats

TABLE A.—Showing the main occupations returned.

Occupation.	Per-centage of each Occupation on	
	Total Population.	Rural Population.
1. Landholders and tenants -	52·98	57·06
2. Agricultural labourers - -	6·50	6·92
3. General labourers - -	8·87	8·77
4. Graziers, shepherds and wool-workers.	1·45	1·49
5. Cotton workers - -	3·07	2·75
6. Goldsmiths - - -	0·62	0·50
7. Blacksmiths - - -	0·55	0·52
8. Brass and coppersmiths -	0·14	0·10
9. Carpenters - - -	1·06	0·96
10. Masons - - -	0·36	0·24
11. Barbers - - - -	0·90	0·89
12. Washermen - - -	0·72	0·71
13. Fishermen - - - -	0·95	0·94
14. Oil pressers - - -	0·69	0·69
15. Potters - - - -	0·82	0·81
16. Village servants - - -	1·07	1·13
17. Leather workers - -	1·14	1·09
18. Scavengers - -	0·40	0·35
19. Priests - - -	0·60	0·56
20. Mendicants - - -	1·95	1·78
Total, Primitive - -	**84·84**	**88·26**
21. Milk sellers - - -	0·35	—
22. Grain and pulse dealers -	1·10	—
23. Shop keepers - - -	0·88	—
24. Money-lenders - -	0·34	—
25. Grocers - - -	0·74	—
26. Tailors - - -	0·42	—
27. Piece-goods dealers - -	0·32	—
28. Toddy drawers - -	0·35	—
29. Cane workers - - -	0·50	—
30. Grass and firewood sellers -	0·47	—
Total, Supplementary -	**5·47**	—
Others - - - -	9·69	11·74
Grand Total - -	**100·00**	**100·00**

throughout the greater part of India, and with camels in the west and north-west only. Secondly, there is the settled section, busied mainly with milch and plough cattle. This attaches itself, as a rule, to the outskirts of the towns and larger villages. In the ordinary village, the milk of the family is supplied by the livestock of the household, as the practice of keeping a cow or two is very widely spread. We may even quote on this point the title of daughter in support of it, for though, as Dr. Max. Müller allows, the derivation from "duh" may seem too pastoral or idyllic, it may be said, as Dr. Boteler said of the strawberry, that no better has been found. On the other hand, in the Dravidian country, where the practice is the same, it is not recorded that any connection has yet been traced by philologists between "milk" and "múlgi" or "makkalu." The great majority of the population is mainly granivorous, so that it grows its own supplies of food. Fuel is only required for cooking, save in the extreme north for a few months, and if not to be got from a neighbouring forest, or on the household estate, it is provided by the cattle, which are generally stabled in the back yard, or on the ground floor of the family abode. Thus, too often, especially in the open champaign of the Deccan and the plateau of Central India, household requirements entrench seriously upon what ought by rights to be returned to the soil. The regular purveyors of these cowdung cakes and firewood are to be found chiefly near towns, and are a section of the ordinary labouring population of those tracts. There come next the personal servants of the community. Of these the most important is the barber, who exercises various functions in the village besides that of shaving. His wife, too, plays a leading rôle in certain not unfrequent domestic incidents, a fact which was mentioned in the last chapter. The washerman is also to be found in most villages of any considerable size, though he is hardly a member of the original community, but has grown on to it from lower rank, in the progress of civilisation. We then reach the artisans. The first of these, the goldsmith, cannot be considered to belong to the original community, any more than the washerman, though he probably joined it earlier. The habit of not only investing cash in ornaments, but still more, of constantly having the family ornaments re-fashioned, is of great antiquity, and though in a Deccan proverb the goldsmith is grouped with the accountant and the tailor as one of the people to be avoided by the agriculturist, there is no doubt that the first named enjoys a settled and not dishonourable place in the village organism. As regards his colleagues there is no question. The carpenter, who is also joiner and plough maker, and the blacksmith and the mason, who are on much the same level, are found amongst the recognised members of the community in question nearly everywhere. The brass and coppersmith is of more recent affiliation, and is comparatively rare in places of a purely rural character. But he deserves mention here, because throughout the south of India the trade is combined in common parlance with the four others, and the whole group is known as the "pánch-kalsi," or the five arts, so that they are exercised indiscriminately by the same caste. The remarkable extension of the brass and copper trade that has taken place within the last 20 years or so, is a sure indication of the prosperity of the masses; for, as soon as a family can afford it, the earthen vessels in household use are replaced by those of a more durable material. Ceremonial purity has been found to be not incompatible with the great saving effected by the adoption of the foreign article. The Potter, however, flourishes, as he has done since the dawn of Indian history, and has added brickmaking to his original trade. In certain offices and in certain parts of the country his wares are still absolutely necessary for household use. But he is an exile from the aristocratic portion of the village site, not only by reason of his trade, but because of his association with that unjustly aspersed quadruped, the ass. He and the washerman are the only people in India, except, perhaps, a few of the lower vagrant tribes, who drive donkeys. The Oil-presser comes considerably above the potter, and is also one of the regular village staff. His products are in demand for social ceremonial, as well as for cooking and lighting. In the latter respect, however, he has been hard pressed of late by the importation of cheap mineral oil from America and the Caspian, an innovation by no means to be welcomed in a dry atmosphere, where the ordinary building materials are of a highly inflammable nature. The Fishermen belong to the village community in a certain sense, though they usually form into bodies by themselves, independent for the most part, except in Eastern Bengal, of cultivation. But in many parts of the country they combine several non-piscatorial functions, such as that of carrying palanquins, of bringing water from the village well, and even of keeping cookshops and parching grain. In one division of the west coast, where tiled roofs are in fashion, the fishermen have the monopoly of the duty of annually turning the tiles as a substitute for their ordinary

employment which ceases just at the time when the approaching rainy season involves their engagement in the other capacity. The next group to be specially mentioned in connection with the present subject is that of the village menials. Now, in a certain sense, all the community, except the agriculturists—or rather the landowners—are the menials of the latter. This is especially the case where the original settlement of the village was on a tribal or family basis, not immediately under the Crown. In such cases, no doubt, the original settlers selected their site, partitioned their land, established their staff of serfs, where they had any to bring with them, built the village temple and dug the well or tank, and then invited artisans from other parts of the country to come, on the offer of a house and probably an allotment of village land. But the case was different with the class ascribed to the soil or devoted to the functions rejected by the rest of the community. These hewers of wood could not, under the Brahmanic system, be drawers of water also. They have the disposal of cattle that have died, and the privilege of removing the hides and horns. They are, accordingly, the leather workers of the village, and make all the shoes, and also the water-bags used in well-irrigation wherever the Persian wheel, which requires the aid of the potter, is not preferred. It is said that they are too apt, in some cases, to take care that the material of their trade does not run short, especially when there is a feud between them and the cattle-owning classes. This group supplies the Village Watchmen, who are by no means all of the leather-working castes. It is also the acknowledged authority on the details of the boundaries of fields and of the village as a whole. Then, again, the ministers at the shrine of the malignant goddesses of disease and the like are taken from the same class, a fact which supports the view that they are of an older stratum of settlement than the rest and so more conversant with the ways of propitiating the local divinities. The Scavengers, as a rule, are a lower section of the same class, but are found chiefly in the larger villages and in the towns. Amongst the village servants, however, as returned at the census, are two classes far above the menials in standing. The Accountant is, comparatively speaking, a modern innovation, and can hardly be said to belong to the village community. He is a State functionary who looks after the revenue due to the public treasury, and collects also all the statistics required for general use in connection with crops, births and deaths, &c., in fact he does all that entails a knowledge of reading and writing, and this by itself is enough to differentiate him from the bulk of his neighbours. The Headman, on the other hand, though probably in many cases not an original institution, is one of the landholders. His position in the north of India differs from that in the south and west. In the former he is a mere Government official, like the accountant. But in the latter he is what his name implies, the leader of the community. In much of this tract the office is hereditary, and the families entitled to furnish the officiator constitute the governing body in the village in all social and ceremonial affairs.

Modern additions to village occupations.

There remain a few cases which are more or less offshoots of the original village constitution, but which are, in the present day, practically incorporated in it. In the first place, the Weavers, especially those of cotton, have, as it were, risen from the ranks, and, though their status varies with the kind of article they turn out, turbans, for instance, ranking before waistcloths, and coloured goods before plain white, they are all in the village, but on sufferance. Silk is worked in towns alone. Hemp and flax are relegated to the lower grade of village menial; in the west of India, the latter supplies the only caste which will officiate as hangman. Spinning cotton yarn as a domestic industry may be added to the class of respectable ways of living, and this swells to a considerable extent the sum of the workers in this material. Last in the roll of what may be termed primitive occupations, or those of the village proper, is that of the Priest, or religious adviser and performer of rites and ceremonies on domestic occasions. Under this general title come a very large number of functions, which need no special mention here, as they can be easily conceived. Hanging on to the skirts of faith is a body, which in India is particularly numerous, of Ascetics, Devotees, or religious mendicants. Some of these are nomad by prescript of their order. Others settle themselves in shrines, and many more form part of the general community, but subsist on the charity of their neighbours. The distinction between the class that base their demand for support on religious considerations, and those who claim the substantial pity of others on account of infirmity, or simple poverty, is not accurately maintained in the census returns, in spite of all the instructions that were issued on the point. The confusion of the two is of less consequence in India than in the West, since in relation to the motive, the merit of the act of giving is the same in both cases to a great extent, and the number of the former can be approximately estimated from the return of castes.

Absence o competition in village industries.

Before considering the rest of the occupations, that conclude the table, there is one point in connection with the group already discussed that needs some comment, and this is the absence of competition that prevails in all the non-agricultural services rendered to the village community. In the great majority of instances, and the remark applies, it is believed, to the whole of India, wherever the village system is in force, such services are repaid either by the grant of a certain portion of the village lands, when each of the allotments is called by the title of the service rendered, or by a certain quantity of grain and so on from each harvest, to be provided by every landholder. In cases where cash passes the price is regulated by custom, which is of course, slow to change, rather than by any considerations of the value in open market. There is no inducement held out to new men to come forward and undersell the old. It may be that with the improvement of communications and the general safety of the road in the present time, what is known in the well worn phraseology of political economy as the "higgling of the market" has found its way into the Indian village, but, as a rule, what is made in the village itself and not imported or taken to the inter-communal market for sale, is disposed of on a non-competition basis, in accordance with the understanding in force at the original colonisation. Custom, as in the day of Pindar, is lord of all where, as in rural India—

"Das ganz
Gemeine ist's, das ewig gestrige,
Was immer war und immer wiederkehrt,
Und morgen gilt weils heute hat gegölten.
Denn aus gemeinem ist der Mensch gemacht,
Und die Gewohnheit nennt er seine Amme.
* * * * * * * *
Das Jahr übt eine heiligende Kraft;
Was grau für Alter ist, das ist ihm göttlich."

Semi-urban and competitive occupations.

But when we come to the dealer in imported commodities and to others not included in the original organism, who reached village life after that institution had closed its gate, to use the phrase of Sir H. Maine, to outsiders, the conditions are different. They are, in fact, those of the market, which was, to quote the same author, the neutral ground assigned for the meeting of the surrounding mutually exclusive communities. In the present day these occupations are found in every village, and to the superficial observer are established on the same basis as the rest of the inhabitants. But they form no part of the community proper, and on the occasions of village ceremonies, wherever, that is, the system is strictly maintained, they find themselves without any assigned place. These remarks apply to the general shopkeeper, the grocer, the grain dealer, the money-lender, who may be any one of the above, and the tailor, whose work is not required by most of the inhabitants, save in the north, where the waistcloth and sári give place largely to trousers in both sexes. All these are in the village, but not of it. There are a few other cases which are mentioned in the table under discussion for special reasons. In the first place, they are some of the most numerously represented. The toddy drawers, again, constitute a large portion of the village population in Southern India, where they are also cultivators, whilst the grass and firewood sellers, as has been said above, form part of the regular labouring community found attached to nearly every village. The cane workers owe their recognition to their numbers. They are mostly nomads, but are often settled within reach of large towns, where their custom is likely to be brisk. The milk sellers, too, congregate near the town and mainly for the same reason. They have not, therefore, been included amongst the original village population, though from their caste-names and the nature of their employment, they must always have been an important item in the community at large. Megasthenes clubs them with other nomad tribes, such as hunters and fowlers; with these they would hardly like to be classed nowadays, though a certain portion of them are still constantly on the road with their stock.

The small proportion of the remaining occupations.

The table we have been discussing, then, shows that the 20 village occupations in the first section, that of the more primitive modes of life, comprise no less than 88 per cent. of the rural population, and nearly 85 per cent. of the whole of the inhabitants of India. Furthermore, if we add to the category 10 more occupations, which are mostly of a semi-rural character, we account for over 90 per cent. of the whole. We have thus no more left than about the population of England, distributed amongst all the rest of the 500 heads found in the general tables. There are comparatively few large aggregates to be seen in this miscellaneous balance. Domestic service, which, as

already explained, includes a good deal of the unspecified class of salaried employment, shows about 5,300,000. The service of the State and of local authorities contains some 2,420,000, and the army and navy, with the service of foreign States, about 1,650,000. Transport, in which group the largest item is that of cart drivers, who are semi-agriculturists, accounts for nearly 4,000,000. Professions, with the deduction of Religion, the largest, has left about 2,500,000. We have then to seek below the million, with the exception of the combined trade in tobacco with betel-leaves and the areka nut, which just passes that figure. The sale of vegetables is said to support about 700,000; that of sweetmeats, 580,000. The preparation of garlands, necklaces, armlets, &c. gives employment and food to 586,000. Brokerage and so on is returned at 463,000, and the only large item left is that of the miscellaneous and disreputable, which numbers 658,000. Most of these, it must be explained, belong to the former category. The employments that are usually held to be disreputable in India are generally found disguised under "non-committal" titles. At the same time, it may be admitted that there is a good deal more candour in this respect in the East than in the West, and allowing, in some cases, for private malice on the part of the enumerator, and the strange sound in others of the terms in their English dress, such entries as the following are probably rare in other countries. "Idler," "hanger-on," and "living happily," are probably meant to convey simply independence of work. "Living on loans" and "debtor" are open to suspicion. "Thief," "gambler" and "Dacoit," are probably from the jails, but "village" thief savours of malice. "Giving daughters in marriage" is intelligible enough in the eastern part of India, but "earnings of daughters" are a doubtful source of income, like "making presents," and "well wisher of the public." The "marrier of female servants" is peculiar to the Surma valley, where it apparently denotes a domestic function of the sort that Gringoire at first thought he was destined to perform for the pious king Louis XI. A "free girl" is one who is exempted from school fees. Nor does the term "Trash-seller" imply disparagement of the wares in question, but merely means a miscellaneous stall by the roadside. As means of livelihood, however, we must allow that "guardian of minor," "honorary magistrate" and "witness in court for wages," are such as might have been discreetly veiled in the schedule, in spite of the statutory privilege given to entries made at the census.

We may now pass on to the general Table B, on the opposite page, which can conveniently be taken in the serial order of its sub-divisions.

Order I.—*Administration.*—This comprises occupations connected with the administration of the State, of local bodies, and of the village. Most of what has to be said about the last will be found above, but it has still to be pointed out that it includes a number of Headmen and their families, who are probably cultivators, but have selected the more dignifying appellation. The Accountants and those they support are a little more numerous than the above. In all three sub-orders the menials form by far the bulk of the return, and in the service of the State are nearly three times the number of the clerkly contingent. The defects in detail in connection with this Order have been noted already.

1. State service - - -	2,395,162
2. Service of local bodies -	118,135
3. Village service - -	3,086,856
Order I. - - -	**5,600,153**

Order II.—*Defence.*—People supported by occupations connected with the Army form the bulk of this group, and the only noticeable point about it is that the Feudatory States contribute nearly as much as British territory, and if the military group in the next order be included, their aggregate is in excess of that of the larger political section of India. Of course a considerable number even of the adult males in this category cannot be held to be troops, in the ordinary sense of the term, but a sort of irregular escort to the Chief and his principal relatives or officials, such as Dryden considered a part of the English so-called force to be in his time—

4. The Army - - -	663,271
5. The Navy, &c. - -	1,151
Total, Defence - - -	**664,422**

> Mouths without hands, maintained at vast expense.
> In peace a charge, in war a weak defence.

The Navy and Indian Marine are represented but sparsely. Of the Feudatory entries under this head, 200 are from the inland State of Haidrabad, about which explanation will no doubt be forthcoming in the report on that census.

TABLE B.—SHOWING the GENERAL DISTRIBUTION of the POPULATION by OCCUPATION, &c.

Order and Sub-Order.	A. Per-centage on Total Population.	B. Per-centage in each Order of	
		Urban.	Rural.
I. ADMINISTRATION	1·95	25·61	74·39
1. Civil Service of the State	0·83	49·51	50·49
2. Service of Local Bodies	0·04	79·15	20·85
3. Village Service	1·08	5·03	94·97
II. DEFENCE	0·23	70·88	29·12
4. Army	0·23	70·92	29·08
5. Navy and Marine	—	48·56	51·44
III. SERVICE OF OTHER STATES	0·18	45·28	54·72
6. Civil and Unspecified	0·13	40·78	59·22
7. Military	0·5	56·67	43·33
Total, Class A. Government	2·36	31·51	68·49
IV. PROVISION, &c. OF CATTLE	1·27	6·13	93·87
8. Cattle-breeding, &c.	1·25	5·44	94·56
9. Training and Care of Cattle, &c.	0·02	46·86	53·14
V. AGRICULTURE	59·79	2·72	97·28
10. Landholders and Tenants	52·20	2·42	97·58
11. Agricultural Labour	6·50	3·74	96·26
12. Growth of Special Products	0·79	8·56	91·44
13. Agricultural Supervision, &c.	0·30	15·81	84·19
Total, Class B. Pasture and Agriculture	61·06	2·79	97·21
VI. PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD, AND SANITARY SERVICE	3·91	22·78	77·22
14. Personal and Domestic	3·48	22·65	77·35
15. Non-domestic Entertainment	0·02	52·86	47·14
16. Sanitation	0·41	22·71	77·29
Total, Class C. Personal Services	3·91	22·78	77·22
VII. PROVISION OF FOOD, DRINK, &c.	5·07	19·94	80·06
17. Animal Food	1·41	16·17	83·83
18. Vegetable Food	1·88	24·73	75·27
19. Drink, Condiments, &c.	1·78	17·88	82·12
VIII. LIGHT, FIRING, AND FORAGE	1·23	16·26	83·74
20. Light, &c.	0·76	12·90	87·10
21. Fuel and Forage	0·47	21·62	78·38
IX. BUILDINGS	0·50	35·47	64·53
22. Building Materials	0·14	24·74	75·26
23. Artificers in Building	0·36	39·77	60·23
X. VEHICLES AND VESSELS	0·05	37·72	62·28
24. Railway Plant	0·01	72·90	27·10
25. Carts, &c.	0·02	39·57	60·43
26. Ships and Boats	0·02	9·56	90·44
XI. ARTICLES OF SUPPLEMENTARY REQUIREMENT	0·40	36·12	63·88
27. Paper	0·03	40·66	59·34
28. Books and Prints	0·03	87·75	12·25
29. Watches, &c.	—	85·29	14·71
30. Carving and Engraving	0·02	55·80	44·20
31. Toys and Curiosities	0·02	36·46	63·54
32. Music and Musical Instruments	0·01	19·78	80·22
33. Necklaces, Armlets, &c.	0·20	25·80	74·20
34. Furniture	0·01	60·90	39·10
35. Harness	0·01	61·56	38·44
36. Tools and Machinery	0·06	25·72	74·28
37. Arms and Ammunition	0·01	52·44	47·56
XII. TEXTILE FABRICS AND DRESS	4·39	22·66	77·34
38. Wool and Fur	0·21	15·81	84·19
39. Silk	0·11	46·46	53·54
40. Cotton	3·07	18·92	81·08
41. Hemp, Jute, and Coir	0·16	16·66	83·34
42. Dress	0·84	35·92	64·08

Order and Sub-Order.	A. Per-centage on Total Population.	B. Per-centage in each Order of	
		Urban.	Rural.
XIII. METALS AND PRECIOUS STONES	1·33	23·46	76·54
43. Precious Metals and Stones	0·62	26·96	73·04
44. Brass and Copper, &c.	0·14	35·41	64·59
45. Tin, Zinc, and Lead	0·02	66·12	33·88
46. Iron and Steel	0·55	14·80	85·20
XIV. GLASS AND EARTHENWARE	0·82	10·60	89·40
47. Glass and Chinaware	—	70·72	29·28
48. Earthen and Stoneware	0·82	10·23	89·77
XV. WOOD, CANE, AND MATTING	1·50	15·18	84·82
49. Wood	1·00	17·21	82·79
50. Cane, Matting, and Leaves	0·50	11·08	88·92
XVI. DRUGS, GUMS, &c.	0·14	24·91	75·09
51. Gums, Resins, &c.	0·03	9·89	90·11
52. Drugs, Dyes, &c.	0·11	28·53	71·47
XVII. 53. LEATHER, HIDES, &c.	1·14	13·97	86·03
Total, Class D. Preparation and Supply of Material Substances	15·43	20·32	79·68
XVIII. COMMERCE	1·63	30·42	69·58
54. Money and Securities	0·39	27·91	72·09
55. General Merchandise	0·41	27·56	72·44
56. Dealing—unspecified	0·67	28·36	71·64
57. Brokerage and Agency	0·06	52·39	47·61
XIX. TRANSPORT AND STORAGE	1·38	30·16	69·84
58. Railway	0·10	55·93	44·07
59. Road	0·63	25·03	74·97
60. Water	0·28	28·28	71·72
61. Messages	0·11	38·19	61·81
62. Storage and Weighing	0·26	31·21	68·79
Total, Class E. Commerce and Transport, &c.	2·91	30·30	69·70
XX. LEARNED AND ARTISTIC PROFESSIONS	1·97	26·56	73·44
63. Religion	1·11	20·05	79·95
64. Education	0·17	33·11	66·89
65. Literature	0·10	53·98	46·02
66. Law	0·08	62·56	37·44
67. Medicine	0·18	29·69	70·31
68. Engineering and Survey	0·03	50·55	49·45
69. Other Sciences	0·07	20·76	79·24
70. Pictorial Art and Sculpture	0·01	52·31	47·69
71. Music, Acting, and Dancing	0·22	23·57	76·43
XXI. SPORT AND GAMES, &c.	0·05	18·19	81·81
72. Sport	0·02	19·79	80·21
73. Games and Exhibitions	0·03	17·48	82·52
Total, Class F. Professional	2·02	26·35	73·65
XXII. 74. EARTHWORK AND GENERAL LABOUR	8·87	10·46	89·54
XXIII. 75. INDEFINITE AND DISREPUTABLE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE	0·54	15·48	84·52
XXIV. INDEPENDENT OF LABOUR	1·66	19·69	80·31
76. Property or Alms	1·50	15·90	84·10
77. Supported by the State	0·16	54·72	45·28
Total, Class G. Indefinite and Independent	1·66	12·10	87·90

ORDER III.—*Service of other States.*—This head was intended for the persons employed in one State but who happened to be in another at the census. It has been construed however, in some cases, as including those of the State furnishing the return.

6. Civil officers	358,079
7. Military, &c.	141,951
Total, Foreign States	**500,030**

ORDER IV.—*Pastoral Occupations, &c.*—It was found advisable to considerably subdivide this order. First, the number of those concerned with horses and horned cattle had to be distinguished from those who dealt with smaller cattle, who form a totally different class of the community. Then an intermediate group was suggested for the breeders and catchers of other draught animals, the use of which is practically confined to certain parts of the country. Camels, for instance, are principally to be found in the dry plains of the west. Elephants on the other hand, haunt the moist jungle of Assam, Mysore and Burma. Asses, as has been already mentioned, are the adjunct of the humble potter and washerman, and mules appertain chiefly to the military establishments of artillery and commissariat. To the number of those occupied in the breeding of small cattle are to be added most of the blanket weavers, now under the head of textiles, as the occupations are exercised by the same class. Lastly, there are the farriers, veterinary surgeons, and so on, with a small contingent, under a separate head, of those who live by catching monkeys, crocodiles, and other noxious animals.

8. (*a*) Horses and horned cattle	2,950,649
8. (*b*) Other draught animals	33,067
8. (*c*) Sheep, goats, pigs, &c.	971,682
Total, 8	**3,585,398**
9. (*a*) Training and care of cattle	54,467
9. (*b*) Vermin catchers, &c.	5,984
Total, 9	**60,451**
Total, Pastoral	**3,645,849**

ORDER V.—*Agriculture.*—Of this great class the subdivision is all that needs comment here. The return includes, under the first head, 97,674,965 tenants holding under an intermediary, and 51,592,844 occupants holding under the State, but there is some reason to suppose that in Feudatory territory these terms are not uniformly applied. Under the second head we find 4,699,897 supported by farm labour, that is, by field work of a more or less permanent character, as by the year or for life. There are, moreover, 13,973,309 given as ordinary field labourers, a number which, as before mentioned, has to be supplemented by perhaps as many as 18,000,000 more, out of the class entitled general unskilled labour, that comes towards the end of the return. The third subdivision comprises a considerable number of persons who ought to appear under the first, such as market-gardeners and those who live by growing spices, betel, areka, and so on. The 560,000 planters, too, of tea, coffee, and indigo, with their staff and labourers are here included. As to the care of trees, which forms a part of this section, the main items are the employés of the Forest Department of the State. The last subdivision consists chiefly of the agents and managers of estates, who are most numerous in Bengal and Madras, where the permanent settlement of a great part of the province has stimulated the growth of absentee landlords.

10. Landholders and tenants	149,931,159
11. Agricultural labour	18,673,206
12. Growth of special products and of trees	2,261,481
13. Agricultural supervision, &c.	869,544
Total, Agriculture	**171,735,390**

ORDER VI.—*Personal, Household, and Sanitary Services.*—The main items of this group have been already mentioned in various parts of the introductory remarks to this chapter. We have, in addition to the Barber and Washerman, 2,492,544 indoor servants, and 1,241,521 persons living by service, but of what description is not specified. Water-carriers support some 900,000 persons, and cooks a little over a quarter of a million. Some of the latter are no doubt keepers of cookshops in the larger towns, especially in

14. Personal and domestic services	10,008,387
15. Non-domestic entertainment	47,803
16. Sanitation	1,163,882
Total, Personal, &c., Services	**11,220,072**

the north-west of India, where there is a large population not so addicted to officinal purity that they cannot take advantage of such services. The second group under this order, too, is a very restricted one, and is largely recruited from the north. The mass of the people require no inn or refreshment-room when they go on a journey. They bathe in the nearest pond or river, and sleep on a chance verandah, or in the village or town meeting-shed. In the north of the country, where life and property is supposed to be in greater danger of attack, and distances are longer, the rest-house or Saraí is a recognised institution, and the bath-house introduced by the Musalmán is found in every large town, though not perhaps in the perfection of luxury described by Lady Mary Wortley Montague. Sanitation, finally, is an item divided between the scavengers, who are, as above stated, a village institution, and those who supervise their labours in the towns.

Order VII.—*Food, Drink, and Condiments, Stimulants, &c.*—This order is a large one, and if we allow for the number of fishers and milk-sellers who are probably to be found under other headings, the three divisions are fairly equal. In the first, the butchers are remarkably few, only 274,282 being returned as supported by this trade, which is widely spread over the north of India. The supply of vegetable food is, as is to be expected, the largest of the three. The chief items have been discussed already. Next to the grain and pulse dealers come the grain parchers, an important section of the community in towns, who return 795,177 persons. Sweetmeat selling is an allied occupation, and comes after the former in numerical strength. The sellers of fruit and vegetables, who are mixed up between this class and that of agriculture, are the only others that need be mentioned. In the matter of drinks and condiments we have a very varied selection. The grocer holds the first place with over two millions depending on his business. The consumption of betel leaf, areka nut, and tobacco is almost universal, but the persons who subsist by the exclusive sale of these products number only just over the million. Many of the first named, however, are growers as well as sellers, and are therefore to be found amongst the landholders. Throughout the coast districts, and in many inland tracts, the juice of one or other of the palm tribe of trees is habitually drunk by all the middle and lower classes, and the class known by the general term of Toddy-drawers is returned at nearly a million. The distiller and vendor of country-made spirits, who comes from the same section of the community, where he is not a Parsi, is returned at only a third of the above number. The number of those depending on the sale of opium for their living is remarkably few, considering the wide distribution of the classes that use the drug. It may be borne in mind, however, that in British territory the sale of opium is restricted to shops licensed in the larger towns, whilst in Rajputána, where every house of good social position amongst the dominant tribes begins the day with an aubaine of Kúsumba, the decoction is prepared like any other portion of the family food, so that no special occupation is attached to its manufacture or sale. The small return of the purveyors of preparations of hemp and their dependents, amounting to 17,881 only, cannot be so explained, but no doubt a good many are to be found in the category of Farmers, in Order XVIII. In fact, the whole of this group suffers from the confusion between the dealing in a special product and dealing in general.

17. Animal food	4,045,165
18. Vegetable food	5,397,113
19. Drinks, condiments, &c.	5,133,315
Total	**14,575,593**

Order VIII.—*Light, Fuel and Forage.*—The first of the two subdivisions is mainly occupied by the oil presser and his companions, under various titles. Gas and candles only provide for some 1,233 of the lieges, but there is an abundance, *valdé deflenda*, of the dealers in the mineral oil that is expelling the native product from the market. We have, however, a trace of primitive custom in the 4,060 people who trust for their bread to the manufacture of torches, useful though malodorous, on a dark journey. In the other section of this Order, forage and fuel are combined in the item which furnishes the bulk of the persons concerned, because the class that brings in grass for sale is equally disposed, according to the season, to provide firewood, the main object being to get a head-load to the market. The prevalence of the use of cowdung fuel has been mentioned above. As this is a pure

20. Light	2,163,593
21. Fuel and forage	1,358,664
Total	**3,522 257**

product, ceremonially speaking, most families prepare their own cakes for burning or selling, so the occupation is not specialised. But near a town the cowkeepers seem to have a monopoly, or nearly so, and the south walls of the houses in their Ward are often decorated all over with rows of these solid brown wafers, smacked on to dry. On the approach to the Táj at Ágra, there is usually a peculiarly extensive display of this sort.

ORDER IX.—*Buildings.*—The first section under this head is a very small one, since most of the brick burners are returned as potters, from their main business, and also from the habit of returning the caste for the occupation. The lime burners, too, do not confine their labours to this commodity, but combine it with saltpetre digging and other cognate trades. In the second section the masons, mud-wall makers, and stone cutters fill nearly the whole tale. The number of builders is understated at 17,678, as the majority are, in the the villages, merely carpenters.

22. Building materials - -	410,142
23. Artificers in building - -	1,027,597
Total, Building -	**1,437,739**

ORDER X.—*Vehicles and Vessels.*—We have here a still smaller class to deal with, as the railway establishments are confined to a few large towns, and some of the original work is brought out from Europe, and a good deal of the rest is done by people who return their general occupation as blacksmith or carpenter, not the special branch of it. The cart-makers are merely a branch of the carpenters, and are not specially devoted to the manufacture of articles for which the demand in their own village is small, though, in the aggregate, considerable. Much the same may be said of the boat-builders, but the canoe-diggers, where those vessels are in fashion, are duly returned as such.

24. Railway plant - - -	42,529
25. Carts, &c. - - -	47,728
26. Boats and ships - -	56,251
Total, Vehicles, &c. -	**146,508**

ORDER XI.—*Articles of supplementary requirement.*—This rather clumsy title includes what is, for the most part, in demand after the first wants of social man have been satisfied. Paper, to take the first item, is made to a considerable extent in India, on two systems. In a small way, the native hand-worker holds his own, but his occupation is restricted to comparatively few places and families. The larger operator uses machinery, and his employés are probably returned under the head of labourers, to some extent. The largest works are near Calcutta, and from them, it may be remarked, *en passant*, most of the paper, amounting to about 290 tons, more or less, was obtained for the census schedules. In Gwalior, too, where there is abundance of the special quality of grass required for tough paper, mills have been erected. There are others in Poona and Lucknow. To pass on to books, we may note that with a population of whom only six in a hundred can read and write, authorship is not likely to be widely adopted as a means of livelihood, so the amount of work thrown on the press is executed by about 12,000 people. Watchmaking, again, is not yet an acclimatised industry, as the mass of the population require no more accurate timepiece than the sun, with whose movements they are remarkably familiar. In the carving and engraving line it seems that there are a good many carpenters and turners who have preferred the general title. In the next section, the toy makers, especially those who deal in kites and clay dolls, or images of the more popular deities, are found in towns generally, but in the country, only in certain parts of India. Possibly kites are often home-made, otherwise it is not easy to account for the numerical deficiency of those who further so very popular a recreation, and one, too, that has certainly in some tracts, if not universally, a religious sanction. Next to the kite-maker, the maker of pipe-stems is most numerous. This, too, is somewhat of a local industry, as the north patronises it in preference to the shorter smoke of the centre and south. The bowl, it must be remembered, is not made by the same person. In regard to music, it is

27. Paper - - -	78,153
28. Books, &c. - - -	94,277
29. Watches, &c. - -	11,638
30. Carving and engraving -	44,336
31. Toys, &c. - - -	69,747
32. Music and musical instruments - - -	21,397
33. Armlets, necklaces, &c. -	586,739
34. Furniture - - -	15,616
35. Harness - - -	17,406
36. Tools and machinery -	173,593
37. Arms and ammunition -	42,365
Total, Supplementary	**1,155,267**

as well to point out that, though in the upper classes a stringed form of instrument may be the favourite, the national instrument of India is the drum, and its usual accompaniment is a long brass horn. As a rule, the performers make their own drums, and will appear, therefore, either in Sub-order 71, or, as they belong generally to the village menial class, some of them are sheltered under that title. The next group is the largest in the Order. The makers of armlets are not accurately distinguished according to the material of which their wares are composed, as was intended, but they form in the aggregate the main portion of this section. Beadmakers are closely allied in caste to the workers in glass bangles. Rosaries, or to speak more correctly, chaplets, and flower garlands, are the articles next in favour under this head, and there are 8,007 people returned as dependent on the fitting on of armlets, a process of some nicety. Furniture is not a section calling for remark. The chief item in the house of the masses is the bedstead, which does not appear in this group, as its legs are turned by a carpenter, and it is strung by another artificer. Outside offices, tables are required only by the literate minority, and chairs, though more common, perhaps, are not a regular article of use in any household native to the country. The report as to the use of these articles by the inhabitants of Káfiristán requires confirmation. Harness making is probably carried on to a considerable extent by the leather workers, and only the embroidery of the saddle-cloth and the adornment of the cotton or woollen reins fall into this section. The next section, referring to tools and machinery, is shared with the carpenters, who make the ploughs and also part of the looms, and these are the main items here. The knife grinder is an itinerant, as in England, and when he settles, he adopts a fresh trade, such as that of blacksmith, or, in a small way, cutler. The makers of sugar presses, too, come into this group. The carpenter makes these also, so it is probable that the 1,149 under this head are concerned in the production of the iron press, which has come into fashion during the last 10 or 12 years. It has been said that in some parts of India the adoption of this form of press, which gets more but impurer juice out of the cane, is the prelude to the use of mineral oil in the house. The first step on the path of innovation leads to others. The last subdivision of the Order is that of the provision of arms and ammunition. There are only two items under this head that require mention. First, the manufacture of powder for blasting purposes, which is carried on very sparsely, and, next, the preparation of fireworks, which, as conducted in India, is a higher branch of the same trade. Fireworks are an accompaniment of most festivals, domestic or public, but the articles are usually of a simple character, though there are masters of the craft in some of the capitals of native States who enjoy a great and deserved reputation for their skill. The swordmaker and those who provide the forest tribes and the watchmen with bows and arrows are in a majority in the native States, or possibly the latter trade is better regarded there than under British rule.

Order XII.—*Textile Fabrics and Dress.*—This large group is subdivided according to the material used. The woollen workers consist mainly of the blanket weavers and wool spinners, who number 411,269, and belong to the pastoral class. There is a largish item, too, of cloth sellers, which means, in all probability, sellers of cotton piece goods, as the vernacular term may apply to both. Shawl weavers come next, with a dependent population of 41,831. Of these 30,000 are in Kashmér and over 9,000 in the Panjáb, where Amritsar has secured a regular colony of both shawl and carpet makers. The section dealing with the silk workers contains two very diverse elements. First, there are some 87,400 silkworm rearers and cocoon collectors. The latter are members of the forest tribes who make it their business to look for the Tassar moth and bring in the cocoons to the dealers in the plains. Most of the former are in Bengal and the rest in Burma, Mysore, and Assam. In the first named they are located chiefly in the Múrshidabád, Rájsháhi, and Máldah districts. In the other provinces they are probably collectors. Then come the workers in silk. These constitute an honourable offshoot of the great weaver class. The differentiation must have taken place many generations back, as they are mentioned with commendation for their piety towards the sun and the general respectability of their behaviour, in an ancient inscription of the time of Kumára Gúpta in Mandesúr, a town of Central India. In the extreme south-east of the Madras Presidency they form an independent community, who have within the last

38. Wool and fur	587,701
39. Silk	319,397
40. Cotton	8,820,466
41. Jute, hemp, &c.	461,193
42. Dress, &c.	2,422,510
Total, Textiles, &c.	**12,611,267**

few generations established a priesthood of their own, in defiance of the Bráhman of the neighbourhood. The census return shows only 204,000 of them, however, and it may be that some have been returned as embroiderers. Apart from articles made entirely of silk, they are much engaged in working at the edging of cotton garments of the better sort and in braid. The cotton industry has been already characterised as a village occupation, but there are 1,668,895 persons in towns who return it. The main body are found under the head of spinners or weavers, the distinction not being well drawn. These, with the factory hands, reach a total of 7,380,278. There are also the calenderers, printers, and dyers, numbering nearly half a million. One of the questions of the day is whether importation and the establishment of machine-driven cotton-works in the larger towns, especially in Bombay, has not tended to drive the industry out of the hands of the home-worker into those of the general labourer, who soon picks up one of the special branches of mill-work, on the one side, and into those of the foreign operative on the other. It is impossible for the census to adequately deal with this. As to the first point, however, it seems both from the census and the trade returns that not more than 120,000 hands, maintaining, say, 600,000 persons altogether, were employed in the factories in 1891. The competition of the European operative is, of course, more serious than that of an infant enterprise. Twist, as we have seen, is more than holding its own, but this does not affect the village weaver. The question is, what room for his wares is left by the Rx. 23,750,000 worth of piece goods annually imported, on the average, during the last decade? The only provincial Report on the census in which this question is dealt with is that of Mr. Stuart, for Madras. He shows that the occupation has slightly increased in the last 10 years, and by comparison with the caste-return, he finds reason to believe that it is recruited to some extent from those beyond the pale of the castes with whom the function is traditional. He assumes, accordingly, that there is something to be gained by engaging in this pursuit, though the improvement is but slight. On the other hand, if we recognise the chances of the entry of some weavers under a more general title, as is not uncommon with Musalmáns in the north, and the difficulty experienced by an artisan, especially one of so technical a class as the weaver and a member of a community, to boot, with whom occupation is generally hereditary, in changing his trade, it is difficult to accept the numerical test as entirely disposing of the question. There is this to be said, that the competition between him and the foreigner is less than the above figures might seem to denote. For the home product, strong and coarse, but genuine and durable, still holds the agricultural market amongst the lower classes, and, indeed, amongst the raiats generally, a fact that is obvious to any one who goes about amongst the country people. In the towns, the competition is beyond a doubt severe, for the finer fabrics of the home-loom must be more expensive than the machine-made product of Europe, now that processes are so much improved and freights so low, and it is the townsman that takes first to a novelty. On the whole, therefore, looking to the very small proportion of the urban population, and of the wearers of fine raiment amongst the rustics, it does not appear that the field of the ordinary weaver is yet usurped by any competitor. The manufacturer of muslin and "woven-air" and so on, is the one to suffer. The next sub-order is a composite one. The persons depending on jute production and working are mostly to be found in Bengal, where the industry supports, or helps to support, a good many more than the 120,000 or so who have returned it as their special industry. It has been said in the last chapter that on the whole this occupation is a very thriving one, though perhaps in the present season it may have been temporarily depressed. Along the west coast as far north as Bombay, the preparation and manufacture of coir, or the fibre of the husk of the cocoa-nut is a recognised industry amongst the fishing and other classes of similar position, but it is returned as the sole or principal means of livelihood by only 108,169 persons. The ropemakers and workers in hemp and flax are nowhere devoted solely to this occupation, but undertake it as an adjunct to village service or some other means of subsistence. This accounts for the fact of the return being limited to 192,000 people. Finally we have the tailors and their comrades to consider. The former seem to have originated from the calenderer or weaver class. Many are mere dealers in cotton piece-goods rather than actually makers of clothes. Thus there are but 1,209,343 dependents on tailoring, and 915,796 vendors of piece-goods in the return. But to the former there may be added some 160,000 who return special branches of the trade, such as cap, bodice, or sári-making. Turban-binders again are an offshoot from the sartorial mystery. Embroiderers, on the other hand, form a distinct class allied to the finer weaving industries. There are returned of them only 44,548, so elsewhere but in the great

towns of the north, they have evidently given some other title. Lastly, we may throw in a word for the makers of umbrellas, since they, like the weavers, have probably suffered from foreign competition. The indigenous article of waxed calico is being displaced by the more durable gingham of Europe, and it is only along the coasts and where there is the heaviest rainfall that the clumsy but efficient arrangement of leaves on bamboo framework holds its own. Like brass or copper pots the imported umbrella is usually taken to be a symptom of improved circumstances.

Order XIII.—*Metals and Precious Stones.*—Nearly the whole of the first sub-division is absorbed by those who live by working on personal ornaments, for the number assigned to assayers should, no doubt, come under the general heading of Goldsmith. Of the rest we need only draw attention to the manufacture of gold wire, lace, and braid, numbering 47,000, and the 23,676 persons living by washing out the refuse of the goldsmith's shop, and recovering from it the minute particles of the precious metal that have been clipped or filed off in the course of the day's work. Of the precious stone dealers, only those in pearls and rubies, in both of whom divers and miners are probably included, show any significant figure in the return. Coral dealers, like those in pearls, are most numerous in the Madras Presidency, where the fisheries are situated. Those persons who come under this head on the west coast are probably connected with the Bahrein fisheries in the Persian Gulf, residing in the Indus delta, at Tatta or Karáchi. The brass and copper workers must be taken in the lump, as the detailed heads are probably not mutually exclusive, and a large proportion of the entries do not specify any particular branch of these industries. Tin-working is an important town industry, though but sparsely represented here. Some of the workers in this metal are to be traced into the heading of Lampmakers, for, since the introduction of mineral oil, the tall and graceful brass lamp has given place to the cheap tin product of the local bazar. The cans, too, in which this oil is brought into India are much appreciated by the people, owing to the varied uses to which they can be put after a little manipulation by the tinman. For instance, probably half the watering-pots in the country consist of one of these cans, stiffened with a rough wooden bar or two, and adorned with a rope or wire handle. The supplies of vegetable oil and even of clarified butter, or ghi, that have to be sent from the market town to the city, are put into the dead shells of their rival. In architecture, too, the can has introduced a new feature, surpassing even the corrugated iron plate in unsightliness, for it is flattened out for roofing, made into spouts, or arranged along the pediment. As regards iron-workers, enough has been said in connection with the village organisation. With the exception of the smelters, who form a small section of the hill population in the Panjáb and other parts of India, the same person combines all dealings with this metal, so the sub-divisions shown in the return are but partially representative.

43. Gold, silver, and stones	1,783,874
44. Brass and copper	405,600
45. Tin, &c.	59,048
46. Iron and steel	1,572,911
Total, Metals, &c.	**3821,433**

Order XIV.—*Glass, Earthenware, &c.*—The workers in glass are prone to return themselves under the title of bead or armlet makers, so very few come under the heading appropriated to the material in which they work. The second sub-division of this order is composed of two main pursuits; first, the potter, who has been described above, and then the makers and rougheners of the hand-mills used in every household in the preparation of meal, and of the flat stones for the mixing of the condiments that go to flavour it.

47. Glass and china	14,419
48. Earthen and stoneware	2,346,204
Total Glass, &c.	**2,360,623**

Order XV.—*Wood, Cane, and Matting.*—In the first section here there are three main occupations. First, the carpenter, then the sawyer, his inferior, and lastly, the man who deals in timber and bamboos. As to the last item, it must be understood that he is altogether different from the worker in cane, who comes in the second section. In towns, the occupation of providing wood and the bamboos that are so much used as lathes for roofing is quite a special one, and it was

49. Wood	2,868,433
50. Cane, &c.	1,424,579
Total	**4,293,012**

desirable, therefore, to try and distinguish it. The cane-worker, under a variety of titles, is generally, as he is, or was, in England, a vagrant of shady repute. Some inquirers have sought to identify him with the gipsy of Europe, and quote Changár, the Panjáb variety, as the origin of Zingári, Tsingáne, and so on, as well as Dóm, who performs similar functions further to the east, and is, they say, the Rôm of Borrow, Leland, and other gipsyologists. This, however, is a matter to be considered later. In this group there is one occupation which we must dissociate from its companions. This is the manufacture of leaf-plates, which is the function of a special class in Bengal and Bombay. The purveyors of these articles, which are in much request at caste-feasts and the like ceremonies, are not nomads, and in the west of India they combine with the above occupation that of temple-ministrants.

ORDER XVI.—*Drugs, Gums, Dyes, &c.*—The first section is confined to the collectors or preparers of minor forest produce, of which the chief representatives are lac and catechu, or cutch, as it is called in Burma, where, and in Bengal, the industry seems most to flourish. In Burma, however, it is combined with wood-cutting, so the number is thereby reduced in the return. The central hills of Bengal and the North-West and Central Provinces yield most of the lac-workers. There are also returned 26,144 collectors of honey and similar wild produce. In the category of drug and dye sellers, the perfumer comes next to the saltpetre digger and the chemist, or rather, the person who deals in the ordinary village medicines. This last represents about 14,000 families, which seem hardly sufficient to supply the whole demand for opium throughout the country, as has been suggested, even if we grant that any of them, except the few in the largest towns, know anything of pharmacy in the English sense of the term. Some of the dealers in dyes ought clearly to have been classed in Order XII., as they probably use the dye, and do not merely prepare or sell it. Amongst the minor items in this class it is not altogether satisfactory to find about 300 dealers in aniline dyes returning themselves as such, without shame or fear. In Persia, it is said, the trade amounts to felony.

51. Gums, &c.	76,186
52. Drugs, dyes, &c.	315,389
Total	**391,575**

ORDER XVII.—*Leather, &c.*—The first four items in this group, which amount to 3,131,156 persons, represent the members of the village staff, as already described, who have extended their original functions so as to include more than the mere tanning of the hides of the dead cattle of the neighbourhood. The enlistment of a good body of this class into the factories established in Cawnpore on the European system has been already mentioned. The demand for hides, horns, and other *exuviæ* of the sacred animal has increased considerably of late. In 1881–82 the number of hides and skins exported was 24,802,043, and in 1890–91 it was 32,742,431. The value of the horns for the two years was respectively Rs. 1,329,150 and Rs. 2,077,190. Bones, again, were exported to the value of Rs. 1,327,500 in 1887–88, and of Rs. 2,309,570 last year. All this is favourable to the exchequer of the village tanner, but as to the last, the benefit to the country at large is less than doubtful, since the soil of India thereby loses nearly 44,000 tons of fertilising material which it cannot spare.

53. Leather, &c.	3,285,307

ORDER XVIII.—*Commerce.*—Dealings in money are naturally the subject with which this order opens. Taking the bankers and money-lenders together, the persons supported by them is very nearly a million. It should be understood that in the term money-lender, we include that of pawnbroker, for the business done in the village is largely in advances on ornaments pledged. The only other considerable item in this section is that of money-changer and tester, with 93,233 against it. The function is often mixed up with lending, so the above figure is probably below the reality. General merchandise, as we have seen, includes many of the village shops which deal in a variety of articles in general demand. There are 1,494,165 persons set forth against the term, unqualified by further description, and 1,028,980 come under the head of general merchants. Hawkers and pedlars are understated at 145,000, as many purvey food; others are merely the

54. Money, &c.	1,128,283
55. General merchandise	1,186,892
56. Dealing, unspecified	1,907,555
57 (*a.*) Brokers and agents	259,726
57 (*b.*) Contractors and farmers	203,123
Total, Middlemen, &c.	462,849
Total, Commerce	**4,685,579**

travelling members of a shop in the market town, and return themselves there. The sub-order relating to middlemen, such as brokers and the like, has been split up into two. The first, which includes mere general intermediaries, shows 240,592 brokers and agents, and 19,000 auctioneers, &c. The second group relates, or was intended to relate, to those who take a share in the business and live on profits, not merely on commission. The numbers in it are not accurately distributed between the items, and there are too few farmers with an excess of contractors not otherwise specified.

58 (*a.*) Railway administration	29,169
58 (*b.*) „ working staff	231,040
Total, Railway	285,187
59 (*a.*) Carts, &c.	1,126,847
59 (*b.*) Pack animals	676,339
Total, Road	1,803,186
60 (*a.*) Ship and boat owners	92,701
60 (*b.*) Tailors, &c.	697,051
Total, Water	789,752
61 (*a.*) Post, &c.	307,903
61 (*b.*) Telegraph, &c.	19,171
Total, Messengers, &c.	327,074
62. Storage, &c.	747,794
Total, Order	**3,952,993**

Order XIX.—*Transport and Storage.*—Here it appears that the railway, in its capacity of carrier, and irrespective of mechanics, feeds some 285,000 people, mostly, of course, in the lower ranks of employ, such as porters, pointsmen, signallers, clerks, and so on. The next section is a large one. The persons connected with carts are almost entirely of the agricultural class, whilst the bearers of palki, or palanquins, a mode of conveyance rapidly falling into disuse, hail from amongst the fishers. It is a common practice for both to engage in their ordinary occupation for most of the year, and take their cart and bullocks, or their thews and sinews, as the case may be, to some large town during the agricultural recess. The pack-animal drivers are very widely distributed, but, as a rule, the bullock traffic that used to be so celebrated is now confined very much to Rajputána and Central India. The camel driver, who is also the breeder of the animal, flourishes all over the west of India, north of the Gujaráth division of Bombay, and the elephant is mostly found in this capacity in Assam and Burma. The third section, which contains those who go down to the sea in ships, is shared by the return of fishers, as above stated. In other respects no comment seems necessary. It is much the same with the sub-order relating to the conveyance of messages, which is sub-divided into telegraphy, &c., and postal and others. The unclassified is here, again, the largest item. In the last section of the order, we have the class of worker attached mainly to grain and other produce warehouses, and thus differing to some extent from the ordinary unskilled labourer. The weighmen, also, are in the same position, and these two cover nearly the whole field of the sub-order.

63 (*a.*) Priests, &c.	1,721,487
63 (*b.*) Subsidiary religious services	1,463,273
Total, Religion	3,184,760
64. Education	486,497
65. Literature	280,705
66. Law	226,163
67 (*a.*) Medical practice, &c.	469,895
67 (*b.*) Subsidiary medical services	44,179
Total, Medicine	514,074
68 (*a.*) Engineers, &c.	22,217
68 (*b.*) Draughtsmen, surveyors, &c.	72,053
Total, Engineering, &c.	94,270
69 (*a.*) Astronomers, botanists, &c.	1,354
69 (*b.*) Astrologers, &c.	198,656
Total, Other Sciences	200,010
70. Painters, &c.	35,788
71. Music and dancing, &c.	649,926
Total, Professional, &c.	**5,672,191**

Order XX.—*Professions.*—We have now reached an order where the range of interpretation is at its maximum, and every single sub-division seems to require a good deal of explanation. The term Profession is held to include both the liberal and the artistic branches, and each of them, in India at least, contains a very heterogeneous collection of professors. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that most professions are of comparatively recent development in India, always excepting that of religion. Education was confined, till the advent of British rule, to a small class of Bráhmans, and during the Musalmán period, to a still smaller group of hereditary clerks. Literature, therefore, was equally circumscribed, and restricted chiefly to theology, mythology, astrology, and the chronicle of the deeds of chiefs and their ancestors, which went by the name of history. Law, as a profession, was practically unknown, though there

were learned expounders of the hieratic systems of Brahmanic origin and of the Kurán and its commentators, as we find is the case in the Rajputána of the present day. Medicine was in the hands of the barber-surgeon and his wife, with a sprinkling of herbalists and a larger throng of the possessors of charms, spells, and amulets. In the towns could be found, no doubt, some of those who found their system on the Vedas, or, rather, the later Brahmanic literature of the orthodox period, and others owning to the name of Ionian (Yunáni) physicians, to whom some of the present-day *laudatores temporis acti* ascribe a wonderful and elaborate scientific body of doctrine, apparently not far below that of which we read in certain plays of Molière. Architects and engineers of indigenous birth and training were probably as few as they would be now, were it not for the institutions established by the British Government for their education. Of pictorial art there is little to be said, and of music and the drama the less said, perhaps, the better.

Religion

We may begin the comments on this class with the occupations connected with religion, which, as shown in the marginal table, comprises considerably more than half the professional class. The two main items, priests and religious mendicants, are hardly to be distinguished, except in the case of foreigners and Buddhists. In the Brahmanic system, the person actually officiating in a temple is a group comparatively sparse, and lower in rank than the spiritual adviser and reciter of texts, whilst charity to a Bráhman is a duty imposed on all alike. Amongst the Musalmáns, too, the extension of religious asceticism is one of the peculiarities of the faith that has sprung up in India. In Burma the distinction was drawn between Phongi, persons actually received into a religious order, and Upázin, or novices, with a further division of the unaffiliated mendicants, who are only bound by vows of poverty. There is a considerable number shown under the subsidiary services of religion, as is to be expected from the addiction of the masses to pilgrimage and the adoration of relics or the images at particular shrines. Of these functionaries there are several different grades, as there are of the reciters of the semi-theological poems, but it will be out of place to enter into detail here, where only the general class of occupation is in question.

Education

The section connected with education comes next in serial order, though owing to the prevalence of the herbalist, it is numerically inferior to the sub-order of medicine, and the drummer and dancer exalt over it the category of music, &c. It contains but one large item, that of teachers and their families, amounting to 476,216 persons. This includes, of course, the village school as well as the college, since any distinction between the two can be better obtained from the special returns of public instruction than from a census schedule.

Literature.

Literature is not a large class, and even as it is, the number is swelled unduly by the addition of all who returned their occupation under the general term of writing, by which they mean the traditional pursuit of their caste in some cases, and some post of a clerical nature in the rest. With so restricted a public as is before them in India, the chance of making a living by literature occurs but to few.

Law.

The law, too, though largely recruited from the colleges in the present generation is not as well represented as we should expect from the continual complaint of increasing litigation and of the British exaltation of the toga over arms, through which—

> "Encounters at the bar,
> Are braver now than those in war."

There are nearly as many unaccredited practitioners as there are of the orthodox. The petition writer, for instance, on whose labour 29,348 depend, is often the standing counsel of the poorer litigant for the whole street. The Kázi, who is here entered to the number of 13,389, is in reality far more numerous, but as his functions are scarcely separated from those of religion in the law he professes, part of the class is probably to be looked for in Sub-Order 63 (*a*).

Medicine.

Of medicine and its votaries we have already spoken. The bulk of the section is comprised under the head of Practitioners without diploma, a conveniently comprehensive title, represented by no less than 353,295 persons. The midwives and their families come next with 82,589. The superior class of practitioner supports only 16,494, but, no doubt, looking to the tone of recent representations on the subject, there must be several families of this sort which are returned under the title of

military officers. The last section of this sub-Order includes the comparatively numerous and worthy class of hospital assistants and other attendants at the dispensaries and other institutions of the class which have sprung into existence with British rule, in both Crown and Feudatory territory.

Engineering, architecture, and surveying.

Engineering and Survey are titles that explain themselves. The section comprises mainly, no doubt, the persons in the employ of the State or Local bodies in this capacity, with their establishments. For instance, the world-famed Trigonometrical Survey has under it a considerable number of employés who are far above the rank of mere labourers, though coming below that of surveyors. There are, again, the Revenue Survey of each of the larger provinces, the Archæological Department, and several others.

Other sciences.

The last section of the learned professional class is that of the branches which are represented very sparsely in India, save in one direction. The astronomer, indeed, is to be counted by units, but of the domestic diviner there are 198,656. But a good portion of the latter is no doubt attributable, not to prophecy, but to the pedigree-keeper, a man of considerable merit and dignity, especially in Native States of the west of India, where family is all important.

Painters, &c

The 30,056 painters returned in the next section are far from being of Academy* rank, and many are probably artists in house-walls rather than in more moveable material. The photographer, as is only to be expected, has invaded India with some profit, and his art supports nearly 3,000 persons.

Music and the drama.

We have, finally, the large body of musicians and dancers. Of the former there are returned 372,561, and of these most are, no doubt, village performers on the drum and certain wind instruments. The dramatic arts are mixed up with other professions, and a good many of those who exercise them are entered under some euphemistic title of the less reputable branch of their functions. It is impossible to separate the two in the returns, any more than is done in the course of the education of the class in question. The Chinese pilgrims noticed the combination, and in their day, the singer and courtezan were compelled to reside outside the village walls, along with the fisherman and scavenger. History seems to indicate that she was not kept out long, at least when the village grew into a town. As far as the dramatic part of the occupation goes, however, there are numerous degrees of proficiency distinguished in practice, though not in the returns, in which last the general notion of the employment is that expressed in one of the schedules from a town in the north, as "singing and enjoying sensual pleasures!"

Order XXI.—*Sport.*—This is a very brief record, in spite of its comparatively minute sub-division. The people who make it their business to search for game, large and small, constitute the chief item in the first section. Then come the minor performers, such as puppet-showers and buffoons, not to mention the largest class of all, the conjurors. Exhibitors of trained animals, and the so-called snake-charmers, return some 10,500. Acrobats and tumblers are from the various gipsy bands, and are found all over the country in small parties, each professing kinship of some sort or other with the rest. There are the professional wrestlers, too, many of whom are permanently on the establishment of the State, as in Baroda and Mysore. Others, as in the Panjáb and the South Deccan, keep schools for the training of champions, and much is the ingenuity exercised to keep and to discover the secret of some special wile invented by one of these trainers for the discomfiture of the pupils of his rival at the next village festival of the neighbourhood. Lastly, there are the people entertained in the institutions for the exercise of Occidental athletic or outdoor games, of which cricket, at all events, has been successfully acclimatised in one section of the community. Billiards, too, is not without its votaries, who seem to have taken to it to some purposes, as while this is being written, the current journals contain a notice that "in consequence of Mr. * * * (a Músalmán) having won the All-England Amateur Spot-barred Championship, telegrams of congratulations are pouring into London from all parts of India."

72. Sport, &c.	43,919
73 (*a.*) Trained animals	12,448
73 (*b.*) Conjurors, buffoons, &c.	36,453
73 (*c.*) Acrobats, tumblers, &c.	42,184
73 (*d.*) Athletic sports, games, &c.	6,176
Total, Games, &c.	97,261
Total, Sport	**141,180**

* If recent criticism is to be trusted, we ought to interpolate here the word "even."—J. A. B.

ORDER XXII.—*Earthwork and General Labour.*—In the provincial series of returns this figures as Order XXIII.; but it was found that the Order assigned for the caste or complex occupations, which it was expected to find in the schedules, was not required, so the series in the Imperial return was increased by the sub-division of the former Order XXIII. into two, that under consideration and that of the indefinite occupations. In the former we have one or two very distinctive occupations, but the bulk is included under the general title of unskilled labour, of which, as before observed, much is simply agricultural. Amongst the special branches of earthwork we may mention the well-sinkers, a peculiar class, originating, it is said, in the eastern part of the Deccan, but found all over central and north-western India. The process by which they live does not involve the selection of the site for their operations, as this has to be done under the sanction of spells or divination by more learned people. But once the spot pointed out, this class not only excavate and pass out the earth quicker than others, but they are experts, too, at setting the rings of pottery or other material, by which the soft earth is kept from falling in. The tank diggers and probably most of the railway labourers returned are of this class, as it is said that there is the same difference between their power of work and that of the ordinary day labourer as there is between the efficiency of the latter class in England and that of the trained "navvy." The rice-pounder is here entered wherever it is a special occupation, as in Bombay, Bengal, and Madras. In Burma, where it provides for numbers of temporary immigrants from the last-named Presidency, it is returned under the general head.

74 (*a.*)	Earthwork, &c.	1,647,740
74 (*b.*)	General labour	23,820,277
	Total	**25,468,017**

ORDER XXIII.—*Indefinite and Disreputable Occupations.*—Of these the former, as returned, is by far the more numerous, as it includes those who returned themselves simply as "dependent," without specifying the occupation concerned, and also those who did not return occupation at all, as amongst some of the wild tribes of Rajputána, Assam, and the Bombay States.

75 (*a.*)	Indefinite	1,395,348
75 (*b.*)	Disreputable, &c.	167,633
	Total, Indefinite, &c.	**1,562,981**

ORDER XXIV.—*Independent of Occupation.*—Of these we have four sections. First, those who have property which makes it unnecessary for them to work at any occupation for their bread, of whom only 193,291 are returned. Secondly, those subsisting on alms, of whom, first come the people enjoying scholarships and so on, and, secondly, the army of mendicants, which, as before remarked, must be taken with the class demanding alms as a religious obligation on the part of the giver, based on the sectarian or ascetic character of the applicant. Taken in this way, the mendicant band amounts to about five and a quarter millions of persons.

76 (*a.*)	Property	193,291
76 (*b.*)	Alms	4,115,243
	Total, 76	4,308,534
77 (*a.*)	Pension	360,293
77 (*b.*)	Prisoners, &c.	105,166
	Total, 77	465,459
	Total, Independent of Work	**4,773,993**

In another sub-division we find those supported by the State, of whom we have already spoken. First, the pensioners, numbering with their dependents 360,293; then the prisoners and inmates of asylums. Of the latter there are very few, 4,783 in all. The number of prisoners is admittedly incomplete at 80,500, and many must have been assigned to the occupation habitual to them when not incarcerated.

The next subject for consideration should rightly be the extent to which the above sub-divisions of non-agricultural occupation are respectively combined with some form of agriculture, but as the return bearing on this point does not include the whole of India, it will be better to take up first the wider subject of the distribution of function between

TOWN AND COUNTRY.

It has been already pointed out that, according to the last column of the general proportional table we are now considering, the only Orders of occupation in which the share of the urban population is not greater than that of the rural, relatively to their

respective masses, are pasture, agriculture, and the sub-division connected with village service. Next to these comes the category of Labour, which is semi-agricultural. The Potter is but slightly ahead, and then approach the other main village occupations of the Tanner, the Carpenter, and the Oilman. The small group of the exhibitors of animals, &c. is the only one of the Orders which does not show an urban proportion of more than double that of the general ratio of urban population as a whole. If we go into a little more detail and consider the sub-Orders, it will be seen that the growers of special products bear a slightly higher proportion than the other agriculturists, indicating the admixture of sellers of such wares, and also, probably, the growth of the latter on plots of land within municipal limits. In the next order, the supply of places of entertainment is very much more urban than the distribution of the personal services. The reason has been already given. Fuel, again, provides subsistence for relatively more in the town than lighting. Of vehicles and boats, only the last are built in nearly even proportions in town and country. Supplementary requirements are naturally more frequent in the former, where tastes are wider, and only the drum-maker, the tool-maker, and the purveyor of armlets and flower garlands and the like, reduce the general group-average. The Order of textiles varies much in detail, and silk and dress are apparently the items most favoured by an urban community. Cotton, jute, and wool are, from the character of their operatives, more prevalent than the above in villages, though the proportion is still much in favour of the town. Iron we may class in the same category in this respect as pottery and wood-working, and it comes fairly between the two. The collection of forest produce is, of course, a rural industry, and cane-work is but a little less so. The commercial element, owing to the misnaming specified in an earlier part of this chapter, is relatively less of an urban pursuit than might have been expected, but the middleman rises in the scale considerably above the rest of the group. In the matter of transport, though even cartage is attracted to the town to an extent a good deal above the normal proportion, there is evidence in the return to show that both this and transport by boat are largely recruited from the village and fishing classes respectively. Amongst the professions, the priest and mendicant, the astrologer, the hail-averter, and our constantly recurring friend the drummer, are the only instances in which the urban proportion is not three times that of its total strength. This, of course, is only to be expected. In the village, where all is ordered by custom, and position is hereditary, there is no room for what Plato calls Timarchy, or the uprising of the ambitious. But in the town, the professional has now full scope for the exercise of his faculties,—

> Notæque per oppida buccæ
> Munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgo
> Quemlibet occidunt populariter.

He who formerly had to blow the trumpet for others can now blow his own. He heads deputations and gets put on the committee of agricultural exhibitions, and is even eligible for the jury which may perhaps convict his higher caste neighbour. The last sub-order but one, were it concerned with property alone, would, no doubt, show a high superiority on the part of the town, but the preponderance of mendicants in the rural tracts drags the ratio down to a comparatively moderate figure.

City distribution of occupation.

In supplement of the above general comment, it will be interesting, perhaps, to compare with the distribution of occupations of the province as a whole, that of the capital town, in the case of four or five of the chief urban centres of India. This is done in the following statement:—

TABLE C.—SHOWING the DISTINCTIVE FEATURES in the DISTRIBUTION of OCCUPATION in FIVE LARGE TOWNS.

Order.	INDIA.		BOMBAY AND SINDH.		BENGAL.		MADRAS.		BURMA.		HAIDRABÁD.	
	Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Bombay.	Total.	Calcutta.	Total.	Madras.	Total.	Rangoon.	Total.	Haidrabád.
I. Administration	1·60	5·26	3·25	3·20	0·98	3·87	2·45	4·98	1·36	4·34	4·69	14·12
II. Defence	0·07	1·73	0·23	0·76	0·02	0·47	0·09	1·46	0·41	1·63	0·55	9·75
III. Other States' Service	0·11	0·83	0·04	0·03	—	—	—	0·01	—	0·06	0·04	0·86
IV. Pasture, &c.	1·32	0·82	1·37	0·24	0·64	0·17	2·01	0·32	0·69	0·50	2·46	0·25
V. Agriculture	64·26	17·13	58·24	6·94	63·19	2·79	58·81	3·62	63·44	2·24	44·88	2·52
VI. Personal and Domestic Service.	3·33	9·88	2·55	8·95	3·51	15·08	2·96	9·66	0·78	8·71	5·65	24·87
VII. Food, &c.	4·49	10·67	7·56	6·02	4·93	7·51	5·90	10·13	9·93	13·24	5·79	7·27

TABLE C.—*concluded.*

Order.	India.		Bombay and Sindh.		Bengal.		Madras.		Burma.		Haidrabád.	
	Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Bombay.	Total.	Calcutta.	Total.	Madras.	Total.	Rangoon.	Total.	Haidrabád.
VIII. Light and Fuel, &c.	1·13	2·10	1·52	0·52	1·06	1·04	1·26	1·07	0·91	1·43	0·80	1·08
IX. Building	0·36	1·87	0·80	1·51	0·28	2·12	1·00	2·37	0·64	0·93	0·53	1·13
X. Vehicles and Vessels	0·04	0·20	0·08	0·36	0·06	0·17	0·05	0·32	0·19	0·36	0·03	0·12
XI. Supplementary	0·28	1·53	9·65	2·76	0·43	3·48	0·28	3·66	0·43	1·85	0·28	1·05
XII. Textiles and Dress	3·75	10·49	5·42	15·82	2·60	4·47	4·71	6·71	4·03	5·67	6·28	3·41
XIII. Metals, &c.	1·13	3·29	1·51	2·62	1·13	3·08	1·38	4·07	0·91	3·12	1·49	2·46
XIV. Earthenware and Glass	0·81	0·92	0·62	0·24	0·67	0·43	0·61	0·30	0·50	0·89	0·81	0·37
XV. Wood and Cane	1·40	2·39	1·74	3·20	1·17	2·12	1·78	2·74	2·86	6·40	1·42	1·13
XVI. Drugs, Dyes, &c.	0·11	0·36	0·12	0·15	0·17	0·30	0·12	0·40	0·15	0·27	0·17	0·14
XVII. Leather	1·09	1·68	1·28	1·15	0·48	2·32	1·38	0·86	0·26	0·77	1·37	0·92
XVIII. Commerce	1·25	5·23	2·12	11·28	1·58	8·63	0·97	5·59	1·73	7·94	1·53	4·78
XIX. Transport, &c.	1·06	4·38	2·02	8·66	1·27	10·08	1·49	7·15	2·54	13·62	0·72	2·54
XX. Professions	1·60	5·53	2·13	5·16	1·92	7·01	1·95	10·08	2·74	4·61	1·19	3·93
XXI. Sport, &c.	0·05	0·09	0·08	0·06	0·03	0·05	0·06	0·08	0·07	0·18	0·10	0·14
XXII. General Labour	8·77	9·78	4·54	15·45	12·51	7·30	8·41	17·59	3·99	18·50	12·69	8·73
XXIII. Indefinite, &c.	0·51	0·89	0·17	1·10	0·21	13·63	1·16	1·38	0·04	0·82	3·82	1·25
XXIV. Independent, &c.	1·48	3·45	1·96	3·85	1·13	3·68	1·17	5·45	0·49	2·62	2·80	7·48

It is worth while, also, to note the two first columns, relating to the rural and urban distribution of the whole country, both as a standard by which to measure the special instances in the later portion of the table and in connection with the remarks made on the general subject above. It can thus be seen at a glance that, speaking generally, the town differs from the country in its higher proportion of servants, food-suppliers, textile-operatives, traders, professionals, and the class that is independent of work, not to mention those engaged in administration and defence. It is also important to note how the introduction of the small town raises the proportion of agriculturists, for amongst the urban population, as a whole, the cultivator is still the best represented of any individual class.

Passing on to the more special portion of the table, we may just touch upon the main points of difference between the five cities selected as most in contrast with the rural part of the Indian community. First, as to the agricultural element. Herein Bombay stands out high above the rest, since the municipal limits, being coterminous with those of the island, include a considerable area of "batty" or rice land. Similarly, this isolation from the neighbouring mainland and the general character of the cultivation on the latter, which is confined to one or two products, and no large surplus of those, seem to be the causes of the comparative paucity of the oil-pressing class and of those who bring in fuel and forage by headloads. The high ratio of the suppliers of food in Rangoon, and perhaps in Madras also, is apparently due to the number of the fishermen. The extension of textile industry in Bombay is well shown in the table under review, where the proportion stands at 15·82 per cent., as compared with 6·71 in Madras, which comes next to it. The latter, however, has a slight pre-eminence in metal-working. Rangoon, with its large teak yards, stands first as regards dealings with wood and timber, and it is in the same position in respect to transport, since its shipping connection has of late years tended to outgrow the development of the permanent or shore population. In the matter of commerce, or to put it more correctly, with respect to the proportionate number of persons supported by that class of occupation, Bombay exceeds the rest considerably, with 11·28 per cent. against the 8·63 in Calcutta, but in transport the latter outshines it. Madras stands first in its predominance of the professional class, with 10·08, against 7·01 in the City of Palaces, and only 5·16 in its western sister. The great influx of labour from Madras gives Rangoon the lead in this respect, but Madras itself is not far behind, so it is fair to presume that some of the contingent in the latter case are really debitable to some more special head. There is a considerable number coming under this class in Bombay, where the dock-works absorb, no doubt, all that the cotton mills can spare, but the relative paucity of the general labourer in Calcutta, together with the remarkable proportion of the entries grouped as indefinite, which is 13·63 per cent. against 1·38 in the next highest case, leaves room for the supposition

that the tabulation, not the class itself, is deficient. This assumption receives some confirmation from the equally remarkable proportion of the order relating to domestic service and so on, in which the head "Indoor Service" includes more than double the number found under it in the far more populous city of Bombay, so that it is probable that a good deal of clerical or general service has been thus disposed of.

The great difference in some respects between the four cities of British India and Haidrabád, the capital of the dominions of His Highness the Nizam, will not have escaped attention. In the first place, there is the very large excess in the proportion of the administrative element, which is 14·12 per cent. on the total population, as compared with 4·98 in Madras, the highest rate in the selected cities, and 5·26 for the whole urban population of India. Defence, again, is 9·75 as against 1·75. Private service is 24·87 per cent., and in the other cities, as we have seen, the highest ratio is that in Calcutta, where it stands at 15·08. Lastly, the independent classes in Haidrabád bear the proportion of 7·48 against 5·45 in Madras, and a general ratio of 3·45. Looking into details, it appears that pensions and mendicancy are responsible for the greater portion of the Haidrabád figure. On the other hand, the trading, professional, labouring, and some of the commoner artisan classes are curiously deficient in Haidrabád. The weavers and carpenters, for instance, are in proportion fewer than in the surrounding rural tracts, instead of being in excess, as they are in the other cities. These divergencies are in accordance with what was said in a former chapter regarding the predominance of the official element in the constitution of the capital of a native chief. The main classes to be considered are his immediate *entourage*, his troops, and the couriers, with all their servants and dependents. Even in certain branches of luxuries, recent events have shown that in these days of rapid communication encouragement is not always given to local talent, as it was of yore.

The alternate columns of the table under review afford the means of estimating the difference between the distribution of occupations in the town in question and the total of the territory of which it is the capital. It is not worth while to comment on this in detail, as the figures mostly either explain themselves or can be explained from what has been said already.

Occupations combined with Agriculture.

Information on this point has been collected, as observed in an early part of this chapter, for most of the larger provinces, though in many cases the results are evidently incomplete. This is not altogether due to defect in the original record, but partly, also, to negligence in tabulation. It is clear that in every rural enumerator's block there are likely to be duplicate entries of all the main occupations; namely, that of the occupation itself, and that of the same in combination with some form of cultivation or tenure of land. To save trouble in abstraction and subsequent addition, the latter was ignored by a lazy operator in the census centre, and amongst some 15,000 of such employés the proportion of the unjust is naturally high. This accounts, it appears, for the difference, in Table D opposite, in the proportion of the semi-agriculturist in Berár, where the staff was chiefly of temporary hands, and Bombay, where the work was done by the more experienced agency of village accountants. In the case of Assam and the North-West Provinces the results show that trouble was in no ways spared to get out the full tale of this class of occupations, and here, too, the supervision seems to have been efficient, and the proportions are the highest in India. Comparison was made above, however, with Bombay, because the village system in Berár is practically identical with that of the western Presidency, and differs from that of the north and east. There are other instances in which the results are deficient, not because there is less addiction to these quasi-agricultural pursuits in the Provinces or States in question, but from defective tabulation. On the whole, we may accept the returns of Assam and the North-West as very nearly representing the actual facts, and Bombay as approaching accuracy in a less degree, whilst the rest are decidedly below the mark. The omission of Bengal, the largest Province, should be explained. The Census Superintendent of that heavy charge states that owing to one reason or another this return was so incorrect for a considerable portion of the Province that he thought it waste of space to include it in his series of tables.* He comments, however, in his Report on the details of about half the population, for which he considers the return is satisfactory, and, as the proportions he quotes are in general accordance with those for most of the rest of India, his assumption is

* He seems, however, to have printed a return of some sort, but it has not yet reached the Imperial Office.

TABLE D, showing the Per-centage on each Order of the Persons returned as also partly Agricultural.

ORDER.	BRITISH PROVINCES.								FEUDATORY STATES.					
	Madras.	Bombay and Sindh.	N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	Panjáb.	Central Provinces.	Berár.	Assam.	Ajmér.	Haidrabád.	Baroda.	Bombay States.	Panjáb States.	Central Province States.	N.W. Province States.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
I. Administration	18·01	33·44	19·90	17·40	12·60	2·90	44·68	5·62	28·56	18·79	14·24	4·75	37·67	3·49
II. Defence	1·07	1·19	7·02	7·55	4·52	0·05	3·63	3·57	0·01	0·50	1·73	0·75	10·25	—
III. Other States' Service.	26·85	6·33	5·44	4·96	0·19	—	9·00	1·39	0·50	—	5·50	21·17	—	—
IV. Pasture	6·89	5·64	14·27	7·04	3·24	0·94	16·60	3·07	0·58	3·90	2·98	0·28	4·03	2·28
V. Agriculture*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
VI. Personal and other Service.	11·20	10·14	20·39	4·71	8·70	2·65	32·49	4·66	4·24	7·58	6·47	2·50	13·35	5·18
VII. Food, &c.	7·68	4·55	8·40	6·32	6·02	1·97	50·21	2·13	1·89	2·23	3·11	0·83	12·11	7·05
VIII. Light and Fuel, &c.	5·15	11·56	28·99	8·06	9·17	3·97	43·54	21·69	2·58	2·80	4·92	1·88	27·03	10·48
IX. Buildings	5·66	5·21	9·70	4·24	1·57	1·10	34·19	1·97	0·41	3·25	2·42	0·22	2·88	2·52
X. Vehicles and Vessels.	8·42	3·26	9·28	1·75	0·94	0·34	75·50	—	—	7·37	3·58	0·25	—	—
XI. Supplementary	5·67	5·80	18·59	2·00	3·66	1·21	26·01	1·35	0·26	0·65	3·71	0·95	2·66	3·28
XII. Textiles and Dress	4·73	4·08	13·04	5·65	3·77	2·16	42·90	4·39	0·35	2·11	2·09	1·06	11·03	4·80
XIII. Metals, &c.	8·95	12·07	23·78	9·31	10·28	2·76	40·45	5·87	10·46	10·40	4·60	2·16	9·12	8·87
XIV. Earthenware and Glass.	14·42	15·36	33·67	6·56	7·03	1·64	47·09	20·41	18·47	16·47	5·80	1·67	31·66	36·73
XV. Wood and Cane	8·43	13·94	27·33	20·20	5·80	2·72	63·70	21·62	20·85	10·41	9·46	4·27	3·71	8·74
XVI. Dyes, Gums, and Drugs, &c.	5·15	4·44	12·24	8·69	4·55	0·42	51·79	—	0·09	—	1·86	0·26	6·62	2·90
XVII. Leather, &c.	9·05	15·34	21·86	7·75	7·04	1·31	14·66	21·12	20·46	10·24	4·59	2·21	13·06	25·13
XVIII. Commerce	8·96	11·56	31·79	12·08	17·99	10·28	39·92	9·40	9·01	2·60	2·14	1·16	13·48	8·91
XIX. Transport, &c.	4·79	7·93	28·45	6·40	4·54	1·32	28·96	2·10	2·06	2·53	2·99	1·75	5·78	2·52
XX. Professions	12·25	11·07	19·35	14·42	7·74	3·78	40·98	7·40	3·03	6·64	5·48	3·77	14·35	13·24
XXI. Sport and Games	2·77	5·97	10·68	6·18	3·66	0·37	29·53	—	—	1·80	2·10	—	1·11	4·08
XXII. General Labour	0·34	2·05	14·97	2·42	0·52	1·01	16·90	1·88	0·19	0·71	0·93	0·49	1·23	3·40
XXIII. Indefinite, &c.	0·46	2·96	18·65	1·03	1·48	1·37	0·22	—	0·72	—	0·47	—	0·84	—
XXIV. Independent	3·33	7·03	10·06	7·69	2·71	2·82	7·22	7·08	0·13	2·57	1·47	1·07	2·47	1·60
Total	6·54	9·24	18·28	7·96	5·56	2·54	38·02	6·38	5·21	5·68	4·29	1·96	10·82	6·65

*Order V. and the occupations combined with it are excluded.

probably correct. Having regard to the varying degrees of accuracy admittedly to be found in the statistics on this matter, it is useless to review the return in detail. But there are a few interesting points that are brought out in the figures as they stand.

The classes that most largely combine some form of agriculture with their special occupation are, first, the village menials, such as watchmen, then the artizans we have grouped under the head of the normal village community; the carpenter, for example, and blacksmith; still more the potter and the oil-presser. The barber, too, is not an unfrequent landholder in some parts of India, and the tanner, the cart owner, and even the general labourer, eke out their income in this way. The weaver, another of the large rural industries, seems to be somewhat averse from this pluralism, and his own occupation, indeed, is hardly one that would fit him for strenuous outdoor work, so that unless he can get hold of a plot of land and let it out to others, it is difficult to see how he could make anything out of his possession. In fact, the proportion of weavers, as it is, must be largely recruited from the class who work, not in the more respectable fabrics of cotton and silk, but in the humble hemp or flax, which is, as we have seen, the monopoly generally of the watchmen class, who are all semi-agricultural by tradition and predilection. Next we find a few professionals in the field, for instance, the proportion of the priestly class is high in the following cases:—Bombay, 17·26 per cent.; Madras, 18·84. Central Provinces, 22·33; North-West Provinces, 32·21; Panjáb, 23·51, and Assam, 45·66. Even in Berar, it is considerably above the general proportion of the non-agricultural community. The religious orders, it is to be understood, are prohibited but to a small extent from worldly pursuits, and to a still smaller from the acquisition of property, in India. In Burma it is different, and the Buddhistic system is more severe in its restrictions. The Brahman, however, may do practically anything but hold the plough, and the very wealthiest are not debarred from receiving the alms to offer which is an act of religious merit. At places of pilgrimage, where the right to receive the offerings of the faithful is distributed according to hereditary position, a Brahman rolling in wealth will pursue, even to the High Court or Privy Council, a claim to the coppers of the potter or oilman—*non olet*. The lawyer, again, has his eye on land in the present day, and the fact that so shrewd a class should think it worth while to invest in this form of property is a testimony in favour of the current system of assessment and administration. In the following Provinces, various kinds of limbs of the law are returned as interested in the land:—Assam, where, however, they are comparatively scarce, 41·75; North-West Provinces, 15·16: Bombay, 13·51, and Madras, 18·98. Lastly, we come to a question of considerable inportance, on which the evidence of the census as it stands is not at all re-assuring. This is the extent to which the land is passing into the hand of the money-lender. It must be understood that the subject is a widely spread one, on which but superficial evidence can be obtained from the data before us, but in nearly every province that has sent up fairly trustworthy returns, the proportion of quasi-agriculturists is higher amongst the money-lenders than any other class, save, perhaps, village menials. It may be that some of the persons included are really of the land-holding class, for, as has been already remarked, it is a very ordinary custom for a man, not of Islám, who has surplus cash in hand, to lend it on such security as he may think proper, whatever his special occupation; and as such transactions would have been set forth in his income-tax return, it is probable that he thought it consistent to enter the same at the census. On the other hand, the wide extent of the high proportion, and the remarkable difference between it in British Provinces and in the two large Feudatory States, where, for the most part, the transfer of land to a creditor is unusual, if not unlawful, seem to indicate a real advance of the commercial class engaged in this particular branch of transactions on the land, as occupants, *de jure* or *facto*. The following are the instances in point:—

Province.	Per-centage of Landholders, &c., amongst		State.	Per-centage of Landholders, &c., amongst	
	Total Non-Agricultural Population.	Money-Lenders.		Total Non-Agricultural Population.	Money-Lenders.
Bombay - -	9·24	31·22	Haidrabád - -	5·21	15·31
Madras - -	6·54	17·77	Baroda - -	5·68	2·60
Central Provinces -	5·56	36·74	Bombay States -	4·29	5·51
Berar - -	2·54	23·21	Central Province States.	10·82	13·48
Assam - -	38·02	67·65			
N.-W. Provinces -	18·28	46·57			
Panjáb - -	7·96	18·37			

The excess in this special instance over the general proportion of semi-agriculturists in the provinces is a very noteworthy feature in the return.

Provincial Returns.

To conclude this chapter, a table is given on page 119 in which the relative strength of the 24 orders in the different Provinces and States is shown. The most convenient way to treat these details in the cursory examination which alone is necessary in this work will be to deal with each in its serial order, instead of taking the Province or State as the unit of comparison.

The first Order will be seen to be high in British territory, according to the relatively complete equipment of the village staff. In Bombay, Berar, and Madras, the proportion is high, but in Assam, Bengal, and Burma it falls. In Feudatory States, on the other hand, the proportions are usually high. In the case of Central India and the Madras group, Order III., should be added to this head, as it clearly belongs to it, but has been misplaced by a misinterpretation of the meaning of the headings. In the same way, Order II., Defence, has got mixed with the first in some of the States, owing to the adoption of the title of Service, unspecified. In British territory, this Order is mostly insignificant, save in Ajmér, where there is a large cantonment in a small province; in the Panjáb and in Burma, where the number of troops is always considerable. In the North-West Provinces the case is the reverse of that of Ajmér, and the very considerable garrison is swamped by the enormous rural population.

Pasture calls for few remarks. It is apparently most frequently returned in the Central Provinces and Madras of the Provinces, and Baroda, Haidrabád, and the Bombay States, of the rest of the country. Rajputána, too, shows a good proportion, whilst it is singularly weakly represented in the damper climes of the west coast, Assam, Bengal, and Burma.

Agriculture has been sufficiently dealt with above, but attention should be again called to the fact that in the Madras States, Haidrabád, Ajmér, and Central India, the field-labourer has been very largely relegated to the category of general labour, a fact sufficiently obvious from the return now under review. The very high proportion of agriculture in Assam, Coorg, and the small States under Bengal and the Central Provinces may be noted.

Order VI., dealing with service of various sorts, has been described already as unduly comprehensive. The proportion is high in the Panjáb and in northern India generally, and is at its minimum in Burma. It is above the average, too, in some of the larger States, so presumably the proportion is dependent upon general service, as well as upon the special attentions of the village class of functionaries. As regards the supply of food and drinks, &c., we may note the high rank of Burma, where the fisher holds his own well, and in the Madras States, where he is likewise a great feature in the community, with the supplement, in this group, of the toddy-drawer. The proportion in Assam and Bombay is affected in the same way, the former by the fisher and the second by both.

The provision of Light and Fuel, &c. is remarkably evenly represented throughout the larger items, but the proportion falls in Coorg, Burma, and some of the smaller groups of States.

Building seems to be chiefly returned as a separate occupation in Madras, Bombay, the Panjáb States, and Ajmér. The next Order, too, is too small to need much comment. In Assam and Burma the canoe digger and boatbuilder, respectively, are the main items, and Ajmér apparently owes its predominance to a colony of people on the railway. Supplementary occupations are too varied and too small to require notice here. Textile industries are proportionately high in the Panjáb, the Central Provinces, and Haidrabád, and low in the more primitive communities of Assam, the smaller States of the Central belt of hills, and in Coorg. Nor do they flourish to any considerable extent in Bengal.

Metals occupy a singularly even proportion throughout, except in Assam and Burma. It may be remembered that this group includes two or three of the main village industries, which accounts to some extent for the uniform distribution.

The potter, too, is fairly distributed between a maximum of 1·83 per cent. in Rajputána and 0·26 in the North-West Province States. He is at a discount, too, in Coorg and Burma.

The order connected with working in Wood and Cane is a very varied one as to distribution, in spite of its prevalence as a village industry. This is due to the inclusion of timber-dealing and work in cane and leaves. The former predominates in Burma, the latter in the coast States of Madras, and here the general ratio is highest. In Mysore there is a singular deficiency of carpenters. In the Central Province States, where huts are the usual form of dwelling, the absence of this artisan is intelligible.

The small group of those working in connection with minor Forest produce and Dyes, &c. can be passed by. Then come the leather-workers, who seem to be in force more in the north of India than in the Deccan and south or east. In Assam and the small Central Hill States, indeed, the tanner and shoemaker is but a minute element in the community, and in Burma and Coorg he stands relatively little higher.

Commerce, a mixed group, as has already been stated, is at its maximum in Ajmér and the Madras States. The former is essentially favourable to trade, from its position, and its proximity to the refuge of the most enterprising class of traders in India. But the secluded coast States of Madras seem hardly to compete in this respect, and the high proportion there is possibly due to some error in classification, as in the case of the agriculturists. The census administration of the largest State in the group, Travancore, showed signs of originality in several respects, of which is this probably one.

Under the head of Transport we have to consider that by water and that by road or rail. Bombay and Burma come first with respect to the former, and Rajputána, where the railway is of comparatively recent introduction, shows a high proportion of road-carriers, and also, as we have said above, of porters and warehousemen. Professions, which to a large extent means priests and so on, are pre-eminent in Baroda, the Panjáb, Burma, and Rajputána. Then comes Bombay, British and Feudatory. Except in the small States under the Central Provinces, they do not fall below one per cent., and on an average, they reach nearly double that proportion.

Passing on to General Labour, we may note that this item is almost absent in Assam and the Panjáb, and exaggerated, as we have described, in several of the States, if not in Bengal also, at the expense of the agriculturist. The indefinite group is recruited largely from Rajputána, where a good many entries were omitted, and from Madras, where there was a superfluity of entries of "dependent," without further qualification. In Haiderabád, too, this class is strongly represented, but in the absence of the local Report, explanation is not possible. Those who are supported by other than their own work vary greatly in distribution. On the whole, they are in greater force in the States than in the Provinces. Rajputána takes the lead, followed by Haiderabád and the Panjáb. Ajmér, Central India, and Kashmér all show a high proportion. In most cases the ratio no doubt depends on the number of those supported by charity. In and near Ajmér, for instance, there are several places of pilgrimage, which form an outlet for almsgiving. In Rajputána the community is highly orthodox, and the numerous Chiefs' courts are therefore much affected by the medicant orders, whether devotees or others. The Panjáb has to support two religions, each with its separate train of claimants for the charity of the faithful. Presumably, the corresponding class in the Madras States has been endowed with land or some other means of livelihood, as the proportion shown is remarkably low, considering the number reported to be dependent on the royal bounty in the "Land of Charity" along the Malabar coast.

With this comparatively brief summary of the diverse conditions of occupation in India, in its various sub-divisions, this review must conclude. The reports of the Provincial and State Superintendents of the Census contain much detail that will repay perusal, but which it is impracticable to incorporate in a general work such as the present.

TABLE E.—Showing the Per-centage of the several Orders in each Province, &c.

PROVINCE OR STATE, &c.	Administration. I.	Defence. II.	Other States' Service. III.	Pasture, &c. IV.	Agricultural V.	Domestic and Other Service. VI.	Food, Drink, &c. VII.	Light and Fuel, &c. VIII.	Building IX.	Vehicles and Vessels. X.	Supplementary Services. XI.	Textile Fabrics and Dress. XII.
1. Ajmér	1·28	1·06	0·41	1·21	48·40	6·37	2·36	1·07	0·77	1·16	0·56	5·66
2. Assam	0·67	0·17	0·01	0·28	76·91	1·62	6·87	1·24	0·27	0·20	0·21	1·37
3. Bengal	0·98	0·02	—	0·64	63·19	3·51	4·96	1·06	0·28	0·06	0·43	2·60
4. Bombay and Sindh	3·25	0·23	0·04	1·37	58·24	2·55	7·56	1·52	0·80	0·08	0·65	5·42
5. Berár	2·98	0·07	—	1·21	68·55	2·50	2·90	1·54	0·62	0·01	0·35	3·87
6. Burma	1·36	0·41	—	0·69	63·44	0·78	9·93	0·91	0·64	0·19	0·43	4·93
7. Central Provinces	1·82	0·11	—	2·47	64·04	2·44	4·10	2·00	0·40	0·05	0·47	6·74
8. Coorg	2·20	0·01	—	0·72	72·00	2·39	5·62	0·30	0·38	0·02	0·19	1·15
9. N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	1·80	0·15	0·02	0·83	60·81	5·41	4·90	1·64	0·32	0·03	0·66	4·67
10. Panjáb	1·79	0·52	0·08	1·29	55·65	6·73	5·16	1·04	0·59	0·04	0·24	7·59
11. Madras	2·45	0·09	—	2·01	58·81	2·96	5·90	1·26	1·00	0·05	0·28	4·71
12. Haiderabad	4·69	0·55	0·04	2·46	44·88	5·65	5·70	0·80	0·53	0·03	0·28	6·28
13. Baroda	3·56	0·82	0·03	2·27	57·76	2·98	4·12	1·45	0·58	0·02	0·28	5·14
14. Mysore	4·32	0·45	—	0·47	66·61	2·21	1·27	0·47	0·62	0·02	0·20	2·94
15. Kashmér	2·25	0·42	0·03	1·18	68·12	3·33	2·38	0·59	0·12	—	0·16	5·73
16. Rajputána	2·67	1·23	0·21	2·34	52·69	5·26	2·66	0·93	0·49	—	0·24	3·03
17. Central India	0·74	0·17	3·38	0·94	48·12	5·10	2·31	1·05	0·32	—	0·34	3·21
18. Bombay States	3·55	0·25	0·11	2·63	57·33	2·35	4·02	1·53	0·68	0·02	0·27	5·72
19. Madras States	0·01	0·04	1·90	0·30	43·27	2·99	8·54	1·26	0·64	0·03	0·11	3·45
20. Central Province States	1·85	—	—	2·72	70·62	1·47	3·50	0·81	0·07	0·01	0·37	7·68
21. Bengal States	1·18	0·01	—	1·87	69·19	2·20	2·59	0·55	0·11	0·02	0·13	2·97
22. N.-W. Province States	1·94	0·76	0·02	0·41	69·94	4·91	4·26	1·09	0·30	—	0·29	4·51
23. Panjáb States	1·97	0·46	0·05	1·30	64·55	4·56	4·25	0·83	0·87	0·04	0·15	5·48
INDIA	**1·95**	**0·23**	**0·18**	**1·27**	**59·79**	**3·91**	**5·07**	**1·23**	**0·50**	**0·05**	**0·40**	**4·39**

Table E.—*concluded.*

Province or State, &c.	Metals, &c. XIII.	Earthenware and Glass, &c. XIV.	Wood and Cane. XV.	Gums, Drugs, and Dyes. XVI.	Leather. XVII.	Commerce. XVIII.	Transport, &c. XIX.	Professions. XX.	Sport. XXI.	General Labour. XXII.	Indefinite, &c. XXIII.	Independent of Work. XXIV.
1. Ajmér	1·47	1·20	1·13	0·06	2·45	5·63	1·75	3·64	0·03	9·87	0·08	2·38
2. Ássam	0·75	0·55	1·04	0·04	0·11	0·82	0·80	1·87	0·02	1·94	0·82	1·42
3. Bengal	1·13	0·67	1·17	0·17	0·48	1·58	1·27	1·92	0·03	12·51	0·21	1·13
4. Bombay and Sindh	1·51	0·62	1·74	0·12	1·28	2·12	2·02	2·13	0·08	4·54	0·17	1·96
5. Berár	1·32	0·65	1·66	0·13	0·82	1·82	1·02	1·26	0·12	4·58	0·22	1·80
6. Burma	0·91	0·50	2·86	0·15	0·26	1·73	2·54	2·74	0·07	3·99	0·05	0·49
7. Central Provinces	1·57	0·56	1·35	0·11	1·37	1·04	0·79	1·18	0·05	5·96	0·14	1·24
8. Coorg	1·59	0·49	1·72	0·01	0·22	0·37	1·32	1·73	0·09	6·76	0·16	0·56
9. N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	1·37	1·01	1·35	0·13	0·77	1·03	1·47	1·64	0·04	8·44	0·04	1·47
10. Panjáb	1·64	1·10	1·96	0·21	2·74	1·76	1·78	3·12	0·05	2·02	0·08	2·82
11. Madras	1·38	0·61	1·78	0·12	1·38	0·97	1·49	1·95	0·06	8·41	1·16	1·17
12. Hyderabad	1·49	0·81	1·42	0·17	1·37	1·53	0·72	1·19	0·10	12·69	3·82	2·80
13. Baroda	1·51	1·46	1·69	0·05	1·54	1·82	0·55	3·92	0·04	6·62	0·06	1·73
14. Mysore	1·49	0·55	0·67	0·06	0·49	3·26	0·33	1·56	0·06	9·99	0·06	1·90
15. Kashmér	1·00	0·52	1·02	0·04	1·27	2·42	0·88	1·79	0·08	2·94	1·07	2·66
16. Rajputána	1·22	1·83	1·62	0·03	2·50	3·26	2·92	2·67	0·06	5·88	2·71	3·55
17. Central India	1·27	1·04	1·50	0·15	2·21	2·65	0·34	1·11	0·07	21·26	0·04	2·68
18. Bombay States	1·57	1·18	1·85	0·13	1·72	2·74	1·13	2·77	0·06	5·79	0·37	2·23
19. Madras States	1·71	0·32	2·40	0·08	0·13	4·76	0·71	1·98	0·04	24·39	0·51	0·43
20. Central Province States	1·25	0·71	0·58	0·12	0·32	0·52	0·58	0·52	0·05	5·42	0·14	0·69
21. Bengal States	1·41	0·69	1·19	0·10	0·14	0·74	0·39	1·17	0·02	12·16	0·10	1·07
22. N.-W. Province States	1·40	0·26	0·89	0·04	0·60	0·84	0·65	1·54	0·02	4·25	—	1·08
23. Panjáb States	1·51	1·12	1·51	0·19	2·84	1·08	0·98	3·21	0·07	0·92	0·04	2·02
INDIA	**1·33**	**0·82**	**1·50**	**0·14**	**1·14**	**1·63**	**1·38**	**1·97**	**0·05**	**8·87**	**0·54**	**1·66**

CHAPTER V.

Ethnographic Distribution of the Population.

Language, Religion, Race, and Caste.

Δεῖ δ' εὐγνωμόνως ἀκοῦειν περὶ τῆς 'Ινδικῆς· καὶ γὰρ
ἀπωτάτω ἐστί . . . οἱ δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες μέρη τινὰ εἶδον,
τὰ δὲ πλείω λέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκοῆς . . . διόπερ οὐδὲ τὰ αὐτὰ
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξαγγέλλουσι . . ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ τ' ἀναντια
λέγει πολλάκις· Ὅπου δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁραθέντων οὕτω διαφέρονται, τί
δεῖ νομίζειν περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς ;—*Strabo.*

In preceding chapters it has been sufficient to treat of the population as ethnically uniform. In most of the statistics that follow, however, discrimination becomes necessary between the various component parts that go to form that vast mass. It is well to begin by clearing out of the way the notion that in the Indian population there is any of the cohesive element that is implied in the term nationality. There is, indeed, an influence peculiar to the country, but it is adverse to nationality, and tends rather towards detachment without independence. It is as difficult to define as that by which the land of the Lotus was protected,

Breathing like one that hath a weary dream;

but like that, too, it is subtle and all-pervading, and no social institution brought within its range seems able to completely withstand it. In treating of the religious and social divisions of the people this influence will be found traceable throughout the whole course of their development. To put it generally, it is that of an excessive devotion to heredity and custom, manifested in the inclination to exalt the small over the great, and to exaggerate the importance of minor considerations, and thus obscure that of the more vital. For example, in religion, abstract or elemental conceptions, as shadowed forth in the earlier Vedic compositions, rapidly give place to the tutelary deity of the village or the forest tribes, elevated to a seat in the Puránic Pantheon. The strict monotheism of Islám is dissolved into the adoration of the personality of the Prophet, or that of the miraculous powers of locally-canonised ascetics. In some instances Christianity has been similarly interpreted. In all, liturgy and ceremonial observances usurp the place of moral and spiritual ideas, with the inevitable result that the sanction of religion is applied to all the regulations of social intercourse. Rank and occupation are thus crystallised into hereditary attributes, a process which ends in the formation of a practically unlimited number of self-centred and mutually repellent groups, cramping to the sympathies and to the capacity for thought and action. Within these groups, it is hardly possible to speak too highly of the charity and devotion of the members of the community to each other; but beyond them, the barriers on all sides preclude co-operation and real compassion, and stifle originality and invention. It is inadvisable to further anticipate a subject that must be dealt with in detail later on, and enough has been said about it to indicate the incompatibility of a social system of this sort with the homogeneity of structure involved in the conception of a nation. To some extent, too, an explanation has been thus obtained of the combination under one head of matters apparently so distinct as religion and the social divisions known as race, tribe, or caste. In dealing with each in its present condition, that is, with the actual statistics collected at the census, the two are kept apart, but in the historical summary, which is essential to a complete view of the subject, however general it may be, the connection of the supernatural with every-day life, in the case of the majority of the classes that come under review, is too close to admit of separation.

The caste-spirit.

A few words of explanation, too, seem necessary in connection with the inclusion of the return of languages in the present section of this work. In the first place, though there may be no intention of overrating the value of the information afforded by differences of language with regard to the sub-division of a population, it seems injudicious to eliminate it altogether. Again, without condoning what Dr. M. Müller calls the "unholy alliance" between Comparative Philology and Ethnology, it is permissible, under due safeguard against misconception, to make use in the one

of certain highly convenient terms invented or usually applied in connection with the other. In other respects, the return of language serves merely philological purposes, and represents only the distribution of mother-tongue in India, according to the views of the people on the subject at the time of the census.

Ethnic isolation of India.

In treating of the ethnological history of the population it is as well to distinguish Burma from India proper, and to deal with the former separately. As regards the latter, what was said in the introductory chapter about the physical divisions of the country should be borne in mind. The Himálaya and Hindu-Kush, though a barrier to any extensive colonisation, have been passed on several occasions by comparatively small bodies of immigrants or invaders, in pursuance of what seems to be the general and irresistible tendency of northern races to seek the southern extremities of the old world. The fertile plains that awaited the new-comers on their passage of the mountains, were bounded on the extreme west by desert, and probably by swamps also; on the east by a delta that was, till within a period which counts but as short in the history of a country, a marshy waste. To the south a barrier of hills closed the way of free intercourse with the plains and coasts beyond.

Absence of historical information.

The materials for the history of early days in India are singularly defective. In the case of one, and that the most important community, we have, indeed, a certain body of literature and tradition, but dating from a period long after that to which it purports to relate, and compiled at various times, but always later than the establishment of a hieratic influence in the community. The curtain of myth, to use Grote's metaphor, is thus far less instructive than that drawn before the early annals of Greece, and the historical period begins at least 450 years later than in that country, with much occasional dropping of the curtain after it first rose. Chinese and Greek travellers managed, it is true, to get in by a stage-door, but only in time, as a rule, for an interlude, or afterpiece. Attempts to reconstruct the ancient history of India from the literature that has come down to us, judging from the want of harmony amongst the experts who have made them, are remarkable only for their brilliant failure. From out of the mass of hieratic myth and the latter-day glorification of the eponymous heroes of the different clans of the immigrants of the class in question, we may select a few indications that are probably less untrustworthy than the rest.

The Árya occupation.

To begin with, it seems clear that the first historical movement into India was that of a race from beyond the Himálaya, hailing from the temperate zone, where they had differences, of which more must be said hereafter, with another section of the same race. The name they give themselves is that of Árya, but it is shared by their rivals, from whom they split off to tempt the snowy passes of the mountain barrier. As the others did not come into contact with India till many centuries later, by which time they had acquired for themselves a new appellation, it will be convenient to restrict the term Arya to the community that found its way to India. Some objection has been raised to the use of the term at all for other than a class of language, but the question arises what is the alternative? Linguistically, no doubt, Greek, Briton, German, Swede and Russian are all Aryan, but in the community that we are now discussing, the term is used as a distinctive title, and their legends all point to their foreign origin, whereas the Greeks, for example, never fail to hold themselves autochthonous. By Árya, then, we mean, in this work, the people who entered India from the north-west, leaving a larger community of the same race who seem to have kept a south-westerly course along the opposite side of the mountains. It is open to question whether the Arya entered the country by the Hindu-Kúsh, down the Kábul River, or by the Upper Indus. Probabilities seem slightly in favour of the latter, though the migrants must have had time to spread about considerably during their sojourn in the hill country. But they debouched upon the plains of India, apparently, to the east of the Panjáb, so that it is not improbable that their course was from what is now Ghilgit and Chitrál, to the valley of Kashmér, where a colony was formed. There is no doubt that they avoided the western portion of the Panjáb, and the most likely reason is that they found it already in the possession of an earlier wave of immigrants from the north, who were too much on a par with the Arya themselves in point of strength and civilisation to render conflict advisable. It is in this region probably that they found the first enemy of foreign race to themselves, for they mention hostile serpent worshippers of a yellow complexion, and from other sources we learn that very early in history there had been movements amongst the light tinted race of West-Central Asia, that went by the generic title of Skythian, and that these were being

gradually extruded from the east towards the south-west by the encroaching hordes of Mongol or kindred origin. In later days, too, we hear of serpent worship in Kashmér, even to the present time, and the Indian legends contain numerous references to serpent races, and to the death of Arya kings from the bites of these reptiles, and, on the other hand, even to intermarriage with them. We may take it as probable, then, that the Arya avoided the Five Rivers, and made for the Jamna, or, rather, the tract of land lying west of the upper course of that river, after it has left the mountains. This seems to have been their first settlement, and here they remained for a long time. But here, too, they meet with the second of the foreign races against which they had to make head. This was a race black in skin, low in stature, and with matted locks; in war treacherous and cunning; in choice of food, disgusting, and in ceremonial, absolutely deficient. The superior civilisation of the foreigner soon asserted itself, and the lower race had to give way. The first object seems to have been to get possession of the land; the next, after securing their cattle and families against those whom they had ousted, to establish the members of the lower race on it as helots or agrestic serfs. This process went on at least as far as the confines of Bengal, where the Central Belt of hills, on the one side, and the swamps of the Delta on the other, stopped the eastward movement for some generations. As to the tribes met with in the Tarai, and the lower belts of hills parallel to the Himálaya up to the confines of the present frontier of the Panjáb, it is apparently doubtful whether at the time of the advance of the Arya they were not branches of the serpent-worshipping races from the north-east of the Himálaya, who are still represented in these tracts.

The Pre-Árya race or races.

But the most interesting and important questions with regard to the foe of darker skin, are, in the first place, whether it was autochthonous, or, like the Áryas themselves, immigrant; in the second place, whether it consisted of a single race or of several. On the first point, we have, first, the theory that the race in question is the remnant of the inhabitants of a continent now submerged, connecting India with Africa or Madagascar on the one side, and with Melanesia on the other. This view is based partly on physiological grounds and partly, in a less degree, on philological. Next, we find supporters of the hypothesis that, like the Árya, the darker race came into India from the north-west. This rests chiefly on philological grounds, as no physiological investigation has apparently thrown light on the causes for so complete a change of type in all its details. On the second point in dispute there is now but little evidence. The old traditions make no distinction between the dark races, if, indeed, there were any, but rest their classification entirely on the colour of the skin. Philology indicates a fairly well marked distinction between the languages of the tribes of the Central Belt, and groups one section, mainly those to the southward, under the head of Dravidian, and the other under a title which has remained, for want of a better, in its primitive and not very correct form of Kolarian. Physiology, however, has been busy amongst these tribes, and discovers no trace of distinction between the two groups. The view, therefore, that one stream entered India from the north-west, as already stated, whilst another came round by the Bráhmapútra valley, may be considered in abeyance. There is a third group, probably of later growth, to the extreme east of the Gangetic valley, where the Árya did not penetrate till many centuries after the original tradition had been lost. This group is apparently an offshoot of the great wave of Mongoloid immigration southward, part of which found its way into the upper portion of the Bráhmapútra valley, but more sought the sea in the Burmese peninsula, or were content with the table-lands of Thibet and the higher cultivable vales of the Himalaya. Their contact with the Árya and the other occupants of the plains of India was accordingly less close than that of the race or races we have mentioned above, and as it took place at a later date, when the colonisation of the open country had been completed, so far as social organisation is in question, the results of the connection were very different from those which followed the intercourse of the Árya with the tribes they dispossessed.

The Árya movement one of occupation not conquest.

In regard to the latter, one of the facts most important from an ethnological standpoint, is that the foreign movement was that of occupation, or colonisation, not of invasion and conquest. The newcomers had to deal with opponents far inferior to themselves in civilisation, and with only a very rudimentary political organisation, so that the opposition to be overcome before the Árya could take possession of the soil was of the feeblest. The advance down the valley of the Jamna and Ganges or across the plains of what is now Rájputána was no more than the growth of pastoral and agricultural settlements, expanding as they waxed and multiplied beyond the means of support of the tracts that first fell into their hands. Anything more different from the process

of invasion and conquest that characterised most of the later inroads from the north-west it is hard to conceive. On the one side we have the constant burden of such portion of the Vedic Hymnal as may be attributed to the earlier period of the Indian enterprise, which consists in the strenuous demands for an increase of the material wealth of a peaceful community :—

Da fortunare Penates !
Da pecus et gregibus foetum !

The military element is in the background, or prominent only as the means of defending their precious cattle. On the other side we have, for example, the ruthless slaughter and rapine of the Makedonian expedition under the great Alexander, to whom friend and foe seemed to stand on the same footing when his own interests were concerned, and whose operations may be summed up in the pithy phrase so often recurring in Thukydides as characteristic of the Greek mode of procedure, "the men "were put to the sword, and the women and children sold into slavery." All the "fine hysterics" of the epics of India and the later hymns regarding the pitched battles and deeds of heroism of the Árya against the swarthy foe, appear to be the inventions of a far more settled age, when it had become the duty of the court singer to glorify his patron in the person of those of old time, to whom the former had been duly affiliated. It does not seem to be too wide a hypothesis to presume that the early Árya were of a temperament, for that age, peaceful, and their military prowess was not stimulated until they had enough political units of their own race in the land to induce them to engage in internecine strife. The bearing of this characteristic on the development of the community is easy to conceive. The opposing races were not exterminated, and, in fact, it appears that they were not in all cases even driven away, but became the adscripti glebæ of the stronger race. In accordance with the usual tendency of human nature in such circumstances, interbreeding was only a matter of time, and as a penal rule presupposes a corresponding offence, the fulminations of the hierarchy a few centuries later against this practice, and the barbarous penalties attached to it in the academic productions that embodied the priestly notion of what ought to be the law, show that the Árya had virtually abandoned the notion of maintaining the purity of his foreign blood. The social system of the majority, even to the present day, owes much of its adaptability and fissiparous tendency to this fact. In connection with it, too, may be borne in mind the comparative isolation of the Arya from their native country and traditions after they had once crossed the mountains. The difficulty of the routes allowed of no free recruitment of the population from the north, and, moreover, the only other branch of the Árya family of which there is any mention in the Vedic lore, is that with which those who came to India had apparently had a bitter feud. It has been stated that the mention in the Hymnal of the former of the Seven Rivers is a proof that the two branches "lived side by side" for some time after the separation, but it seems far more probable, from the context, that the passage in question * referred to the days of the first Darius, who added the Panjáb to the Persian Empire. By that time the tradition of common ancestry had apparently been lost, or at least, was devoid of vitality.

Skythian immigration.

But there were other races from the north that had found their way to Upper India, as has been mentioned, before the Árya, and these were succeeded by more from the same stock. In the course of time some of them occupied the whole of the north-western Panjáb and spread down the Indus to the sea. Others obtained possession of what is now Kábul. There is evidence, too, that the Árya, many generations after their first settlement on the plain of Dehli and Karnál, broke back to the Five Rivers, and ousted the tribes we may agree to call Skythian, and spread also through Rajputána to the western coast. A race either identical with, or very closely allied to them, occupied parts of what is now Afghanistán, whilst another section, that may have strayed from the larger settlements in Kashmer or Swat ensconced itself in the valleys, difficult of access, at the southern foot of the Hindu-Kúsh. Changes in religion, changes in dynasty, and the frequent passage of invading armies have confounded tradition in these tracts, and obliterated ethnological traces. In the term Pathán, for instance, the Pakhtuwán, or speaker of Pashtu, are now included not only the ancient, and probably Indo-Arya, race mentioned in the books of the Bráhmans and the Greeks, but the Syro-Arabic Afghán and the Central Asiatic Ghilzai. The small tract known as Kafiristán is still a *terra incognita*, and contains,

* The first Fargard of the Vendidád, where the term is used, enumerates, apparently, only the 16 lands subject to the Persian King, with the exception of the mythical Aireyanam Vaejo.—J.A.B.

,ccording to one conjecture, the last relics of the pre-Indic Árya, and, according to ,nother, the offspring of the Makedonian garrison left by Alexander the Great. 3ut this much may be safely asserted, that, west of the Jamna, the blood, however t may be composed, is of a far purer northern strain than to the eastwards of that iver, so that, whether by reason of constant petty incursions from across the snows, ,r because the dark races of the rest of India did not tempt the desert, the mixture ,f breed in Rajputána and the Panjáb, and perhaps in Sindh also, is totally different rom that prevalent between the Doab and the Hughli. Here we again find a river as ,n ethnologic frontier, and it may be said, in general terms, that the further we get rom the possibility of northern influence, the higher the proportion of lower blood, but hat the mixture changes its character in the extreme east to semi-Mongoloid, instead ,f the semi-Dravidian, or Negrito, of the rest of the Ganges valley.

Before concluding this sketch of the chief ethnological features of Upper India, ome comment is necessary on a few other foreign influences which have in time uccumbed to that of the majority, and been absorbed in the masses without more han a faint historical trace being now discernible. Of the Skythians enough has ,een said already, particularly as it is uncertain, save from verbal coincidences, what ,re the communities in which their blood can be found. There is no doubt that their nain strongholds were in the Panjáb alone, and that the bodies that moved south-,vards were soon melted up in the fusion of races under Brahmanic influence, though races in the local nomenclature are still to be found. General Cunningham is the ;hief authority on the Skythic element in the Panjáb and its western neighbourhood, ,ut except in tribal names, such as that of the Takka, Ghakkar, Gujar, Megh, and, ,bove all, Jat, racial distinctions seem to have vanished.

Greek influence in India.

A good deal has been said of late about the Greek influence on India, so this ;ketch would be incomplete without some mention of the subject. The leading factor n the connexion between the two races was, necessarily, the expedition of the Makedonians under Alexander. This was a purely military enterprise, undertaken n pursuance partly of the conqueror's dream of universal empire, partly, too, because India, or rather the north-western portion of it, formed a part, and that the richest, of the dominion of the late Darius. The system followed by the king was to establish a small body of his own nation in every one of the large cities or important posts he passed. The native chiefs who submitted were rewarded by the gift of some of the territory wrested from those who were less prudent. He also established independent outposts, garrisoned by his own troops, to guard his new acquisitions, but, considering the number of his trustworthy adherents, such detachments must have been very small. It is this practice that is dignified in the oration of Plutarch* by the name of the "foundation of cities." In reality, they scarcely survived the departure of the king from the shores of India. We hear of the revolt of the Panjáb chiefs whilst Alexander was still in Sindh, and little trace was left of his foundations by the time the ambassador of his successor visited India five-and-twenty years later. Even the sites of the most celebrated are matters of dispute, and no tradition of his two years' stay in the country is on record. It is the same with the cities, so called, that he founded in Kábúl and Bálkh, Alexandria of the Paropamisus, and that called the "Uttermost." The character of his expeditions left no room for the introduction of the arts of peace, and if any Greek influence entered India at all, it was owing to the efforts of him to whom fell the eastern portion of the house of cards left by Alexander. The permanent record of the connection of the latter with India consists of the discovery of the first chronological fact in the history of that country, the date of Chandragupta. The weakness of Seleukus and the strength of this native potentate seem to have been the means of bringing the two into peaceful relations with each other, and the Greek withdrew altogether from his Indian pretensions. But, on the rise of architecture amongst the Buddhist monarchs of the Maurya dynasty, Greek influence undoubtedly made itself felt, though only to a small extent, and over a very restricted area, practically the north-west of the Panjáb. It has been questioned, indeed, whether even these traces are not due to a much later period than that of the rule of the Diadokhi. Ethnologically, there was no regular Greek connection. Alexander married, it is true, a wife from Badakshán or the neighbourhood, as he did a Persian afterwards, but his proclivities were altogether towards the intermarriage of his officers with the latter, as the stronger, race. Seleukus, too, seems to have given his daughter to Chandragupta as

* This lucubration has been treated by some authors as of historical value, but when compared with the accounts of other writers, it is clear that Grote is justified in regarding it as no more than a rhetorical essay.—J.A.B.

an act of policy, but the Greeks left behind in India are not heard of amongst the tribes of the Panjáb, and the term Yavana, as afterwards used, seems to indicate any Western Asiatic. Kafiristán, as has been remarked, still keeps its secret. Finally, the short reign of Menander seems to have been destitute of permanent results, though he got farther into India than any other sovereign of his race before he succumbed to the usual Skythian attack from the north. In the Christian era, the connection between India and the west was insignificant till the arrival of the Musalmán zealots and the historic inroads of the Mughals. We here enter a fresh phase of Indian ethnology but one confined to the north-west, like so many more of the movements that have been mentioned. The number of families of the foreign races in question that actually settled in India is nowhere great except in the Panjáb and its neighbourhood. We find, indeed, a vast collection of people in the census tables, 34½, in fact, out of the 57 millions of Musulmáns, returned under the appellations of distinctly foreign races such as Shaikh, Mughal, Pathán, and so on, but the greater portion of them are local converts to Islám, who have taken the title of the person of highest rank amongst those by whom they were converted, or who have affiliated themselves to these races on grounds even less relevant.

Race in the Peninsula.

Comment has hitherto been confined to the upper, or continental, portion of India, so it is now time to treat briefly of the ethnic features of the peninsula. Here we have a few small communities of foreign origin, who have settled in India within historical times, but the mass of the people is without even a tradition of migration from any other country. Physiology and philology both agree in the indications they afford of the identity of the race with that of the dark population driven off the land of Upper India by the Árya migration, but developed under far more favourable conditions. This is due, perhaps, to the strength of the position they occupied behind the Central Hills, which constitute, as it were, a second line of defence against inroads from the north. The base of the hills, too, was flanked on both sides by dense forest, and, inexperienced as the Árya were in navigation, the greater part of the coast was inaccessible to them in any force. Thus the people to the south of the Central Hills were left undisturbed for many generations after their kin that lay in the track of the foreign occupation had succumbed, and they had time, therefore, to organise themselves into communities of considerable political strength. It is clear that no hostile demonstration was made against them from the Ganges basin so long as the Árya were engaged in the colonisation of that more desirable locality, and it seems probable that the only connection between the two races was through stray visits paid by ascetics or other men of peace to the regions on the other side of the Vindhia Hills. The intercourse was thus solely religious, and continued to be so, as we hear of the Bráhman as an honoured guest at the courts of the southern Chiefs. The result was finally the reception by the latter of the hieratic system of the Brahmanic tribes, and the inclusion of the local religion in the pale of orthodoxy. It is a question whether the gradual process of absorption took place before or after the suppression of the Buddhistic reformation, but probabilities are in favour of the later date.* At all events, it may be taken for granted that the tales of the foundation of dynasties in the south by offshoots of the more renowned Árya lines of the north are fictions attributable to the inventive power of some latter-day laureate of an indigenous court. The Áryá-bred influence in certain directions is incontestably predominant in the south, but the Arya blood is conspicuous by its sparsity.

Áryan and other colonies on the west coast.

Along the west coast, however, traces of it are to be found, but mainly in the priestly class, so that the exception is probably due to the selection of the Konkan as a place of refuge after the early inroads of Musalmán iconoclasm. Earlier colonies of northern race, too, are traceable further south. The same reason accounts, in all probability, for the appearance there of small branches of the Jewish community, at Cochín and in the neighbourhood of Bombay, and it certainly explains the settlement of the remnants of the Zoroastrians, driven out of their native country to seek shelter amongst the earliest schismatics of their race. Western Asia is there represented also by an undoubted infusion of Arab blood amongst certain classes of the Malabar coast; but the greater part of this element that appears in the returns of the census is to be found in the detached Settlements of Aden and Perim, where alone, too, the African contingent is in any strength.

* According to the code of Manu, Áryas, who go to live in Dravida, the Tamil country, are *ipso facto* cut off from their brethren.—J.A.B.

Another question arises in connection with the composition of the southern Indian community, that is, the identity in race between the mass of the population and the lower grades, known by the names of Paraiya, Pálla, Mála, Púlaya, and so on. As in the north of India, these classes are relegated to hamlets of their own, outside the village site occupied by the rest. In the same way, too, they are the professional drummers of the community, and take special parts in certain religious ceremonies which are invalid if performed by anyone else. By analogy, therefore, it is fair to assume that they are the relics of a race still lower than that which now possesses the soil, but on this point physiology has by no means said its last word. The religious system introduced from Upper India did not reach the south until it had been highly developed along the Ganges, so that in the former country a much greater value was set by its missionaries on ritual, ceremonial, and caste, with all the other elaborate devices of its hierarchic paternity, than was possible amongst those who had assisted at its development. For this reason, the position of the lower castes was much more minutely defined than in the north, and this may, perhaps, account for their long period of debasement and their segregation from other than menial occupations, which distinguishes them from the corresponding class in Upper India. The whole question is intimately connected with that of the origin of the general mass of the people of the peninsula. If they can ever be traced from the north of the Himálaya, which is very doubtful, there is no difficulty in accounting for the existence of a servile class, and it only throws the investigation a stage further back, to the origin of the classes thus enslaved. Philology finds no difference between the speech of the masters and that of the servants beyond what can be accounted for by the ordinary processes of vulgarisation. But the assignation to the lower of special and very important ceremonial duties seems to afford strong proof of the recognition of their position as more influential in the eyes of the local divinities. In the same way the proudest chief in Rájputána to this day does not consider his coronation complete until the caste-mark on his forehead has been applied by the head-man of one of the Hill tribes, whose touch on any other occasion would be utter pollution. Obviously, the assumption is, that the older the race in occupation of the locality, the better its acquaintance or credit with the spirits who watch over it, whether for good or evil.

Agrestic serfage in South India.

Between the differentiation of the two classes in southern India and that in the north there is one very remarkable distinction. In the latter, the question of colour was never out of mind. The gods were adjured to protect the Árya colour, and the epithet most often applied to the opposing race is that of dark-complexioned. Thus, the old name for race, or, as subsequently interpreted, caste or order, connoted, at the time it originated, that is, at the first contact of the Árya with a lower race, a real ethnic difference, as Mr. Risley has pointed out. But in the case of the southerner, we find no distinction, either in fact or fiction. The colour and general type of feature, where there is no suspicion of northern blood, are just the same in high and low, nor is there any indication in ancient literature that it was ever otherwise. It is here that further investigation is necessary, especially in the direction of scientific physiological measurements. Till these have been made, and the results collated with those on the same lines in other parts of the country, the question of the unity of the Tamil, or Dravidian, race can prudently be left open. The argument from colour alone, though a remarkably strong one, is not perhaps decisive in the present day, when no theory to account for its distribution or variation is safe against attack.

Caste and colour.

We may sum up the ethnological position in India somewhat as follows:—In the extreme north-west the predominating element in the population is a strain from West Central Asia, but received at different times, and probably from different sources. Adjoining it, along and across the frontier, comes a community of still more western origin, but much mingled with the former. The Himálayan tracts bordering on the plains of the Panjáb and North-West Provinces also preserve a considerable element of northern origin, but in the same tracts further to the north and east, the population owes its ancestry to the eastern side of Central Asia, which seems to have peopled the whole range along the British frontier, and, in the eastern section of Upper India, the greater part of the valley also. Across the Ganges basin, the predominant element is that of a lower race of darker complexion and different physiognomy, which stretches, with few interruptions, to the point of the peninsula, and over the north of Ceylon. The strain from West Central Asia first mentioned is found in more or less purity in the Panjáb. It rapidly deteriorates from admixture with dark blood the further it gets eastward of its first settlement on the plains,

Summary.

until it meets the north-eastern strain in the Delta. Admixture with the yellow races seems confined to a few submontane tracts along the central Himálaya, where special influences have been at work, and to the eastern portion of the Delta. The strain of northern blood south of the Central Belt of hills is of the thinnest, and hardly extends into the plains at all. On the west coast, however, specimens may be found in which it is probably pure, and the general average of the dark type throughout the peninsula has apparently been raised by prosperity and long-settled quiet considerably above the level in which we find it amongst the tribes that have been content to remain in the hills and forest.

Burma.

The ethnology of Burma has this feature in common with that of peninsular India, that in both all native tradition has been equally tainted by the attribution, under hieratic influence, of descent from the ruling races of Aryan India. On the Bengal side of the northern frontier, the settlers from Arrakan are known as Maghs, said to be derived from Mágadha, the middle kingdom of Árya supremacy, but the title is not recognised in Arrakan itself. The Burmese call the Môn race Talaing, from a certain colonisation from across the Bay of Bengal under a Telanga leader, but the Môn themselves repudiate the term. Finally, we have the Burmese themselves, whose name is derived by some from Brahma, but is far more likely to be no more than a corruption of Myánma, the Man, a title we find arrogated to itself by tribes all over the world, especially when the distinction it denotes has been intensified by contact with an inferior race. There is, again, the same uncertainty as in India with regard to the earliest races inhabiting the peninsula. Physiology most distinctly points to the common origin of most of the races now in Burma and of the Himalayan tribes which have been called, by a conventional use of the term, "Mongoloid." Philology, in spite of the adoption of a modification of the Aryo-Indian character in the prevailing tongues, and of the introduction of much of the vocabulary required in connection with religious doctrine and ceremonial from the same source, confirms these conclusions. But though these races were, at the beginning of the historical period, in a very backward stage of civilisation, there is no evidence of their being, or claiming to be, autochthonous. The most important, indeed, as has been stated above, puts forward quite contrary pretensions. It is thus fair to assume that the general process of occupation of the peninsula has been on the same lines as that in other parts of the world, and that the direction of the movement has been invariably from the continent to the coast. The Malay element, which is now confined to the extreme south of Burma, is not without its traits of resemblance in language and physiognomy to that found in the lower grades of the Dravidian or south Indian population, and it may have spread once considerably more inland than its present sphere. Above the Malay comes the Môn, which clearly once occupied the whole of the deltaic portion of the Golden Chersonese with its four rivers. They have now been split into two by a stream of immigration which undoubtedly came from the north. This consists of the southern branch of the Shán race, known amongst themselves as the Htai, or freemen. The Môns in Burma hold a portion of the Irawádi delta, and though the census under review indicates a certain revival of race-sentiment, there is reason to think that as a distinct community the Môn will soon cease to exist.* The only other remnant of the race within British territory is the small tribe of the Palaung in Upper Burma. The question of the priority of occupation between the Môn and the Karén, which is probably the only rival barring the Malay, seems to be decided by tradition in favour of the Môn, for whilst these have no reminiscence of ever having been elsewhere than where they are at the present time, the Karéns trace back their origin to beyond a "river of sand" in the north, which seems to indicate a home in the eastern part of Central Asia, on the border of the great desert. The Karéns, too, do not appear to have advanced far below the hill country which they still hold, and into which they were penned by the tide of Burmese that rolled across the peninsula in later days. Their language, moreover, is peculiar in its more complete preservation of the tonic system characteristic of the Chinese dialects which probably originate from about the same region. The Burmese have similarly the tradition of a northern origin, though the latter may not have been so far to the west as Oudh. But leaving this part of their story out of the question, their movements after they entered Burma seem to point

Early inhabitants.

The Môn.

The Karén.

The Burmese.

* There are curious coincidences between the vocabulary of the Môn and that of the Mûnda, a forest tribe of the Central Belt, but not enough to form the grounds for concluding that the race is an Indian offshoot. The Môn tradition only extends to the immigration and reception amongst them of a chief from across the water, and does not ascribe to him the paternity of the race.—J.A.B.

to their entry down the Khyíndwín River, and subsequent migration into the Irawádi valley. Here they established themselves for some generations and spread downwards till they met with the Môn in the delta, or Pegu, who resisted their advance more or less successfully for a considerable period. Before the Burmese had established their power in more than a few isolated principalities, they were subjected to attacks from a kindred race hailing from the same direction as that by which they themselves had come. The Sháns, however, arrived in the peninsula by a route different from that followed by the Burmese, and established themselves to the east and north of the territory occupied by the latter. In several of their attacks they were more or less successful, and even obtained possession for a time of the Burmese capitals of Ava and Sagaing. But the main stream southwards was diverted from Burma by the course of the Mekong, which they followed to the sea, and thus, separated into two communities, the intercourse between which grew less and less. Later on, a branch of the greater Sháns, the Htai-Long, made its way into Assam, and colonised the upper portion of the Bráhmapútra valley, which they wrested from the local tribe of the Chutia. This detachment, again, led to stoppage of intercourse. The captured community, in the course of years, converted its conquerors to its language and religion, so that the connection of the Ahóm with the Shán race is now but historical. The main strength of the race is located in the hilly country to the north and east of Burma, in two political divisions, known as the Chinese and the Burmese States, and between the latter and the residents of the valley of the Irawádi there seems to be a fairly close intimacy. The comparatively numerous hill tribes of Burma differ from the corresponding class in India by being, in all probability, offshoots of the same race as the denizens of the plains below. They thus resemble rather the small remnants of the class to be found in the extreme south of the Indian peninsula. It is difficult in the present stage of our information regarding them to discriminate accurately between the various tribes in respect to race and origin; but, to speak generally, there seems to be a line drawn between those of the western hills and those of the northern. The former are called by the Burmese by the comprehensive name of Khyín, or wild man, just as in parts of the plains of India the forest tribes are known as Pahári, Mallé, and so on, meaning a hill man, or Wanwási, the forest people, irrespective of tribal distinctions. From Arrakan to Manipur, the whole tract is in the possession of various denominations of Khyíns and their neighbours to the north, the Taungthá or Kúki, all of whom seem to be no more than a link in the chain that once bound the Burmese to their kin in the Central Asian plateau. The second division of this class of people inhabit the hills all across the north of Burma, stretching a good way into Assam. The collective name for them is Kakhyin, within the Burmese limits, and Ching-pau, corrupted into Sing-phó, in Assam. But the latter title, meaning, as usual, the "men," is that which alone they recognise amongst themselves. It is not yet settled whether the Nága, and, perhaps also, the Míkir tribes, each occupying separate ranges of hills in Assam, should not be affiliated to the Kakhyín stock. Linguistically, the tribe about Bhamó, on the Upper Irawádi, seemed to be connected with the Karén rather than with the Burmese, so that possibly the race is an isolated portion of the body that swept down from the desert towards the south, which has been cut off from its fellows by the occupation of the intervening valleys. On the other hand, the Nága have a tradition of migration from the Manipur tract, which would connect them with the Khyín and Taungthá of the more southern ranges. It is as yet too early to consider any of these questions otherwise than as still open. Our occupation of the tracts held by the tribes is comparatively recent, and only a few of them have as yet been opened up by communications with the plains on either side. Much has been done by the military and civil officers employed there to collect information, and what has been published by them gives promise of valuable results, both from a philological and ethnological standpoint. For example, the Notes on the Nagas, by Mr. Davies, and that on the Kakhyins, by Mr. George, appended to the Assam and Burma Census Reports respectively, bring to light much that is entirely new regarding the dialects and the customs of these tribes, so that by the time the next census is taken what is now mere conjecture will have been proved or disproved, as the case may be, and the question of race will thus be settled.

The Sháns.

Hill tribes of Burma.

Khyín.

Kakhyín or Ching-pau.

Nága and Míkir.

The sketch that has been now given of the main ethnologic features of the population with which the census has had to deal will suffice as a general introduction to the separate branches of the subject. Where a mere outline covers so much ground, it can easily be conceived what an enormous field is open in India for the expert in

such matters. This review has to be limited to the statistical side of the questions involved, that is, the relative strength and the local distribution of the numerous component elements of this heterogeneous community. There remain untouched the more interesting topics of customs and folk-lore, information on which forms the most valuable contribution that India can make to the study of ethnology in the present day. For, as has been pointed out of late more than once, speculations on these subjects have been too often based on the comparatively unverified accounts of customs observed amongst the lowest type of savage, whilst in India there lie ready to hand abundant instances of all sorts of custom, barbarous and otherwise, in every stage of transition or development. During the last 20 years some advantage has been taken of these stores, as can be judged from the works of Mr. Campbell in Bombay, Mr. Risley in Bengal, Messrs. Crooke and Kitts in the North-West Provinces, and the ethnological chapters, still unrivalled, in Mr. Ibbetson's work on the Panjáb.

In the light that it has been possible to throw on the general ethnographic position in India by the foregoing remarks, there can now be considered the distribution of the population according to, first, language; secondly, religion; and lastly, race, caste, or other social subdivision.

A.—The Distribution of the Population according to Mother Tongue.

Ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν, καὶ οὐκ ὁμοφωνά σφισι.—*Herodotus.*

Scope of the inquiry.

The committee which drew up the scheme of statistics for the Census of 1881 recommended that a return of mother tongue should be obtained, which might serve, in combination with another of birthplace, as an indication of race, in cases of foreigners and those of mixed blood. The results are to be found in the report on that census. For 1891, an expansion of the schedule was proposed, to allow for the separate entry of race in the cases in question, but it was thought advisable to retain the column for parent tongue, not so much for comparison with that of the preceding census as to serve as an aid to future philological inquiry. The off-hand inquisition, which alone is practicable at a census, is, admittedly, not much of a step in this direction, still, a step it is, and the object in view was to get, as in the case of occupation, a photograph, as it were, of the existing distribution of language in India, from the popular standpoint, which might, to some extent, guide the more leisurely and comprehensive researches of competent specialists. In accordance with this view, the instructions issued regarding language ran as follows :—

> Enter here the language ordinarily spoken in the household of the parents, whether it be that of the place of enumeration or not.

General results.

The question put to those enumerated was, no doubt, simple enough, but even to the most optimistic Superintendent of census, this is no reason for expecting a straight answer. In accordance with the general tendency noted in the introductory portion of this chapter, the first impulse, in many cases, is to return the name of the caste as that of the language. For example, the potter gives "potterish," the tanner "tannerish," or the weaver "weaverish" as his mother tongue, especially if he be either a member of a large caste or a stranger to the locality where he is being enumerated. In other instances, the name of the District or State will be returned. The defect is no doubt on the right side, though the superfluous detail tends to complicate the process of compilation, and there are cases, too, where the tribal designation indicates a real distinction. But a further difficulty arises when the name mentioned happens to be not in accordance with the enumerator's notion of what is fit, or where official views on matters philologic may have filtered down to him. In that way a good deal of valuable information may have been lost in the course of the census; as where, for instance, a general term, such as Hindi, was substituted for some name locally recognised. But, on the whole, a very fair delimitation has been obtained of the various language fields of the country, and it can be seen how far the accepted scientific nomenclature is in accordance with the usage of the masses. So far, the attempt has been successful, if only as an aid towards getting a complete and scientifically conducted survey of the whole field of investigation. An operation of that description can only be conducted by a skilled philologist, who knows exactly the lines on which information should be collected, so that the results may be susceptible of comparison over the whole of India. It is hardly necessary to add that

he must have a practical knowledge, too, of the country and its inhabitants, and should not work from books alone. Then, again, an inquiry of this sort should be commenced, if taken in hand at all, without further delay. In the plains, old linguistic landmarks are being rapidly obliterated by the advancing tide of popular instruction. The Hill tribes of the central belt are being brought more or more under the influence of a vernacular too far from their own in construction and dialectic variety to amalgamate with it, so, ultimately, the weaker must give way, and the tongue of the Korwa, like that of the Cornishman, will become a tradition in the mouth of a single tough old woman, and a debased vernacular from the plains will reign in its stead. Many a dialect, which may be, as Sainte Beuve puts it, "une ancienne qui a eu des malheurs, "ou bien une nouvelle qui n'a pas fait fortune," will ere long be beyond the reach of investigation, in the process of opening out the Hill tracts. It is not the intrinsic merits of these rude forms of speech that makes one regret their decay, but the links they afford between the tongues of localities far apart from each other. The languages of the eastern frontier are only now being brought under observation by the industry and experience of officers working independently. By the time the results of their labours have been collated, not only with each other, but with the corresponding outturn of those working on the same lines in distant fields, who can tell how much that is of value in the dialects may not have fallen into disuse? For this task a single inquirer, and he a specialist, seems necessary, for the path of the philologist in India is so full of the pitfalls of incomplete data, false analogy, question-begging titles, and imposing speculation, that only a highly competent scholar can expect to thread his way by it successfully.

Tracts not enumerated by mother tongue.

As regards the geographical scope of the inquiry, it was thought that as in some of the less advanced Feudatory States the agency available for enumeration would be inferior in experience and supervising power to that of British Provinces, it was inadvisable to throw upon it the burden of collecting detail which would probably turn out untrustworthy. The schedule for use in such tracts was therefore limited to the more general points on which statistics were wanted for the Imperial returns, and along with the columns that were thus thrown overboard, went that relating to language. So far as this part of the inquiry is concerned, the loss is not great in Rajputána, where the dialect is fairly uniform. In Central India, however, there are wild tracts in which the Hill tribes use forms of speech that are said to be dying out, so it is a pity that the opportunity was lost of getting a record of them whilst they were still current. The omission of Kashmér is far more to be regretted, as there is much room for information about the dialects prevalent amongst the tribes inhabiting the outskirts of the State and its encircling mountains. Philology requires something wider regarding the archaic tongues of the recesses of the Hindu-Kúsh and the Thibet frontier than the indications, often meagre and inconsistent, of chance travellers. Then, again, we have to do without statistical information about the linguistic distribution of the population of the interesting State of Nipál. This is the more to be deplored as it is probable that there has been considerable change in the relative prevalence of the numerous dialects since Mr. Hodgson published his valuable studies on them many years ago. Finally, Manipur, where the census was duly taken, cannot be brought on to the returns, because, as stated in the introductory chapter, the records were destroyed in the deplorable outbreak of March 1891. A similar misfortune happened to those of the census of some of the small States on the frontier of Burma. This is a pity, as what was said in the preceding section of this chapter on the variety of tribe and race to be found in that part of the country, and our general ignorance of it at present, shows what a field lies open there to the philological investigator.

Rajputána and Central India.

Kashmér.

Nipál.

Manipur, &c.

Variety in the results.

The omissions above mentioned include a population of over 26 millions, but we still have left the return for 262 millions, or about 90 per cent. of the population dealt with at the census. The titles of the languages returned, as culled direct from the schedules, numbered many hundreds. Even after sifting out synonymous entries, and grouping under main heads dialectic variations which it was not thought worth while to distinguish in the general return, it has not been found practicable to reduce the latter to less than about 150 items, though some 50 may have been relegated to the provincial portion of the table. In the majority of the reports by the superintendents, the details are fully shown, and the final selection is embodied in Table X. of the Imperial series. But the main value of this information, as in the case of so much of the material collected at the census, lies in the variety of its component parts, not in their numerical bulk. India is, indeed, the happy hunting ground of the

philologist, as it ought to become that of the ethnologist, for here we find language in every stage of its development; or, to put it otherwise, forms of speech are here current which appertain to nearly every one of the main classes recognised in philology. Its geographical isolation, almost as much as its political history, have contributed to this, as can be judged from the general sketch of the ethnography of the country above given. Especially in the case of language have the influences to which it has been subjected been peculiarly local and restrictive. A mountain range, a belt of dense, dank forest, the deep gorges of the Himálaya, so completely separate the respective inhabitants of their flanks that communities which have split off from the same tribe but three or four generations ago are often unable to understand each other's tongue. Politically, again, the spread of the more civilised along the plains and great river basins has driven a considerable portion of the older population to the shelter of the hills, which thus stand out like patches of cover in the midst of cultivation, affording a place of refuge to all the wild animals that have been expelled from the rest of the country. Nor was the immigration itself more favourable to the maintenance of the integrity of the languages thus introduced into the country. Setting on one side the Skythians, of whose tongue practically no trace remains, the only movement of importance, from our present standpoint, is that of the Arya. Now the progress of this community was not that of a united race or nation, but of various collections of clans which were disintegrated with great rapidity into small independent bodies. The growth of the community, therefore, numerically, seems to have been in advance of that of their civilisation, and by the latter alone can a language be spread uniformly through the mass of the population. Then, again, the intercourse with the darker race must have had its effect on the tongue of the immigrant, and its influence is likely to have been far greater than that which is usually assigned to it. But the establishment of a number of separate States and free admixture with the daughters of the land were not the only influences that helped to break up the unity of the language brought with them by the Arya. The firm establishment of that race in the plains was followed by a highly peculiar ecclesiastical development, which will be noticed in its place in the next section of this work. But as it had a direct influence on the linguistic tendencies of the community, its general features must be briefly described here, in anticipation of a more complete account. It began, then, with the elevation of the family priest into the member of a hierarchy, so that, from being the agent of the tribal or family patriarch, in the ceremonial of sacrifice, he became the controller of all social as well as religious ritual. The sacred formulæ became his monopoly instead of the special appanage of the chief, and it is not difficult to conceive how this change weakened the hold of the original language amongst the other classes. For the farther the latter spread over the country from the primary settlements, the more exaggerated was the value the priest was able to place on the exact knowledge of the sacred words, and the closer was the restriction of that knowledge to within the hieratic class that he was able to impose. There was accordingly no linguistic standard available to the masses, and, in the end, it was made penal for any but the upper classes to even listen to the recitation of the texts. A survival of this triumph is found in the present day, when in some parts of India it is the practice of the impure castes of the Bráhmanic system, who are the direct descendants of the helots mentioned above, to get an ecclesiastical sanction for their unions by performing their wedding within sight of, though at a distance from, the corresponding ceremony amongst the orthodox, who are being tied together with full rites. Until comparatively modern times, the prohibition in question amounted practically to the denial of instruction of any sort to the masses, since the greater part of the learning here, as in so many other countries in the corresponding stage of their development, consisted solely of expansions of various forms and uses of the ritualistic texts, known only to the ecclesiastical body.

Disintegrating influences on language in India.

Influence of an exclusive literary class.

A temporary break in the continuity of this system was caused by the rise of Buddhism, a sect which repudiated the monopoly of the key of salvation by the priestly class, and was the means of diffusing a certain amount of instruction amongst the middle classes also. There were, about the time of this reformation, two main offshoots of the original tongue of the Arya current in India, the Mágadhi and the Sauráséni. It is an open question, perhaps, whether these divisions represented real distinctions in the vernacular, or were only the creations of the grammarians of a later period. At all events, the new faith was preached in the Mágadhi dialect of what is known as Prakrit, which was prevalent, it is said, in the east and north of the rallying point of Brahmanic civilisation, that is, the middle tracts of the Ganges and Jamna

Results of Buddhism on language distribution.

Doáb. This dialect was thus carried by Buddhistic missionaries far into the Himálaya and Hindu-Kúsh, and it is possible that it may have been the foundation of those now current in the outlying portions of Kashmér and in Afghánistán. In the latter, however, the original tongue of the Paktæi of the Greek writers, the modern Pakhtwán, of Pathán, as they are termed in India, has been overlaid to a great extent by a veneer of Persian received from the west, so that its construction alone remains to indicate its Arya origin. In another direction, it penetrated into what is now Nipál, where the religion it served took so strong a hold of the higher valleys that in later years, when the Bráhmans, driven out of the plains by the Musalmán invasions, fled into this part of the country, they were able to make an impression only on the lower valley. Here, however, they found consolation of a worldly character, and started a colony of mixed blood, which became a power in the land, and in the whirligig of time managed to incorporate the ruling race into the orthodox pale, as being of the warrior caste of that system. The language introduced by them, with the invariable local modifications by the masses, became in time the court dialect, and obtained possession of the whole of the lower portion of the State.

Influence on southern Indian language.

It has already been stated that a somewhat similar process of incorporation was adopted in the southern part of India, though here, as there does not seem to have been any mixture of blood, at least at the time in question, the local dialect assimilated only the vocabulary required in ritual and in social ceremonies. It is not improbable that the intercourse with the south did not grow really close until the wave of Buddhistic monasticism spread over the peninsula, and crossed the straits into Ceylon. If this were the case, it would account for the peaceful nature of the conversion of the Tamil races, for the expulsion of Buddhism from India seems to have been a merely sectarian measure, and owed its completeness to the superior social attractions held out to the masses by the general lowering of the Brahmanical tenets to nearer the pre-Aryan level. The structure of the language remained unchanged, and the vocabulary received useful additions, as was the case in Burma, to which country the Buddhist missionaries proceeded after their success in Ceylon. The Hill tribes of the south followed the same course as their compatriots of the Central Belt, with whom they are physiologically and otherwise inextricably mixed.

Later foreign influences.

The subsequent political changes that have occurred in India consist of either the short and sharp impact of alien races from the more temperate regions of Asia, or movements of sections of the people of the country itself, neither leaving any marked imprint on the language of the community as a whole. We have, again, the occupation of the country by foreigners from a distance, who, whether they share the honour of philological Aryanism or not, are still farther from the parent stock than even the denizens of India at the present day, and come in such small numbers that even if they had the intention of permanent colonisation of India, instead of the reverse, they could only have an insignificant effect on the language of the places they thus favoured.

Musalmán influence.

On the invasions by land a short comment is all that is required in this section. The Musalmán dynasties imported with them a foreign element that settled in the country and administered its resources. They thus set their mark on the vocabulary, but left the rest of the language untouched. The dialect known as Úrdú, from the Túrki name for the citadel, or chief's camp, consists of the vernacular of the tract round the seat of government, interlarded with large numbers of Persian words, or of Arabic words received through the Persian.* There has been no introduction of the Persian construction, nor are the Arabic terms inflected according to their own rules, but they have to conform to the grammatic system of their host. Of Túrki there is but a very slight trace in the vocabulary and none elsewhere in the language. But some of the conquerors sought to propagate their creed amongst the people under their rule, and the results on the language of the latter is curiously varied. In the north, where the conversion has been on a large scale, the vernacular has suffered no change. For instance, in Báltistán or Little Thibet, where the population is Musalmán almost to a man, the language is the same as that of their Buddhistic neighbours in

* The account given by Bernier, of Dehli and Agra, which cities he describes as moving almost *en masse* when the Emperor shifted his quarters for the summer, has been quoted on page 46.

Ladákh, and only the special terms required by the new faith are introduced, and these are modified to suit the local pronunciation. In Kashmér, where again the masses are Musalmán, it is the same with the Áryan vernacular. No change, too, is noticed to follow conversion in the Panjáb. In its neighbour, Sindh, and in the Laccadiv Islands and with the Máppila of Malabár, it is the same, though for correspondence the Arabic character has been adopted with a few modifications. There are similarly, certain well-known mercantile bodies in the west of India who are all Musalmán, but though they study Arabic for religious purposes, they have remained staunch to their native Gujaráthi or Kachhi in all besides. So, too, the converted cultivators of Gujaráth are undistinguishable in speech from their Hindu neighbours, and the colonies of probably Arab blood that have settled there, have adopted the same vernacular. On the other hand, there is all over India a numerous class of Musalmán converts, especially in the towns, comprising artisans, domestic servants, and those who largely swell the bodies of the police and the native army, who have not only abandoned their original caste titles, and, as already stated, have affiliated themselves to foreign tribes, but regard the dialect of Hindi known as Úrdú as the peculiar appanage of their faith, and adopt it, accordingly, with a strange and varied garnish of the local vernacular.

Sikh and Marátha influences.

As to the movements amongst the inhabitants of India itself, those of the Sikhs and the Maráthas may be briefly noticed. One of the results of the success of the Sikhs in emancipating themselves from Brahmanic orthodoxy was the erection of Panjábi to the position of a separate language. This was an accident, like the establishment of Vraj or the Dehli Hindí as the court language of the Moghals, with this difference, that the latter had already an established position, whilst the former cannot be even now said to have any recognised standard. Then, again, as the Panjáb tongue was so nearly related to its eastern rival, there was no occasion for an aggressive propaganda on the part of the new State across the Jamna, and the Lower Indus valley did not tempt occupation. In the case of the Maráthas, too, no attempt was necessary to extend their language. The object of their expeditions was mainly gain, where it was not to obtain possession of territory already inhabited by their own race under foreign domination. The invader took what was to hand, and left a sufficient establishment of his own adherents to ensure the due realisation of future benefits, when the time came. In the meantime he was called to distant duties, and when ousted in his turn from his new nest, naturally nothing would be found of a permanent character in his arrangements, still less in the effect of his occupation on the language of the conquered tract. For instance, in Orissa there is no trace of Maráthi in the language, though the Marátha domination lasted over 50 years. In Tanjore, the Deccani is a myth save in the precincts of the late court.

Influence of caste on the Indian languages.

This summary of what may be called the dynamics of Indian philology, can be fitly brought to a close with a few remarks on the results of the influences above described in the present day. The particularism that has been noted as the leading tendency pervading the atmosphere of the country, has prevented the evolution of anything in the nature of a *lingua-franca*, current throughout the continent. What is termed Hindustáni is generally the addition of a few conventional terminations to the local vocabulary, with the introduction of some Persian words. The language of the ruling race is known as a working means of communication to a few residents of the larger towns, and these belong to a very restricted class. The vernacular is apt to change, not only territorially, as it does from county to county in England, but by classes also. Then, again, the gap between the literate and the rest is so great that it can hardly be appreciated from the mere repetition of the fact that only six per cent. of the population is not wholly illiterate. It will be seen in a later chapter of this work that a very high proportion of this small number is found in three or four groups numerically insignificant, compared to the predominating interests of the country. Thus, it is not only the want of a standard in language that is felt, but the absence of root or depth. The expanding needs of the tongues in modern times are supplied not from the living language, but by reference to a classic, whose scope was for ages narrowed down to a few academic uses by a class desirous above all things to prevent its vulgarisation in the mouths of laymen. The diction of the literate bifurcates, accordingly, on all important points from that of the masses, on which it

ies like an artificial stratum, stifling the natural capacities of the "voice of the people."

"Et sua mortifera est facundia."

On this point the words of the late Mr. Lowell are well worthy of consideration :—

"It is only from its roots in the living generation of men that a language can be reinforced with fresh vigour for its seed. What may be called a literate dialect grows ever more and more pedantic and foreign till it becomes at last as unfitting a vehicle for living thought as monkish Latin. That we should all be made to talk like books is the danger with which we are threatened by the universal schoolmaster, who does his best to enslave the minds and memories of his victims to what he esteems the best models of composition; that is to say, to the writers whose style is faultily correct and has no blood-warmth in it. No language that has faded into diction, none that cannot suck up the feeding juices secreted for it in the rich mother earth of common folk, can bring forth a sound and lusty book. . . . There is death in the dictionary, and where language is too strictly limited by convention, the ground for expression to grow in is limited also, and we get a "potted" literature, Chinese dwarfs instead of healthy trees. . . . The schoolmaster has been busy starching our language and smoothing it flat with the mangle of supposed authority."

Mongoloid influences.

So far as to the languages of India proper. The description of the remaining linguistic divisions will occupy but a short space. In the Himálaya and the high lands that they support to the north, the Buddhistic propaganda secured a certain stability of language, by the medium of monastic institutions, but the basis of the tongues were unaltered. So, too, in Burma, where the same system, through its teaching agency, has given a power to the language of the majority that seems to enable it to absorb gradually most of the local distinctions of dialect prevalent amongst the minor tribes. The gap between the Burmese races and those of the central Himálaya is difficult to fill from the material to be found in the Delta, but some connection no doubt there was in times long past. The general course of the population of Assam has been already sufficiently described, and the tribal languages thus introduced seem to have remained undisturbed in the hills first occupied. On the descent of a community to the valley, however, freedom of communication seems to have been fatal. The Kóchh, for instance, has given place to Bengáli; the Ahóm substituted for their own language that of their conquest, the Chutia, and now the few relics of the former language can hardly be deciphered, even by the tribal priests, and are used only on great occasions, such as for rain in time of drought. The Chutia, in turn, have fallen before the Assamese of the valley, and in their case, too, the original tongue is known only to a few priests and exorcists. But in the Hill tracts agglutination is left to work out its own reformation.

Linguistic classification.

Reviewing the whole position from a philological standpoint, it will be seen that India is hemmed in on the north and east by forms of speech of what is known as the Tonic class; in some parts, too, in the agglutinative stage. The central belt of hills has been left to forest tribes using an atonic form, rudely agglutinative; and the south of the peninsula is almost entirely Dravidian in language, that is, the agglutination has reached a stage in which it is scarcely distinguishable from the Inflectional or Synthetic class. This last forms the basis of the language of the whole of the northern plains and the base of the Himalaya, with the Gangetic delta, the whole course of the Indus and the upper coasts of the peninsula, both east and west. It stretches, too, beyond the British frontier towards the west. The influence of the displaced Dravidian, however, is traceable throughout in the degradation of both construction and vocabulary from the Arya original, but in the highest stage of the latter, that is, in the region round its traditional centre, it is the least inflectional, or the most analytic, of all this class, approaching the western languages of Europe in its tendency in this direction. It meets in this stage the lagging Hill dialects above-mentioned; and what with the opening out of the country by roads and railways, the administration of the forests on the modern economic system, and the reluctant advance of the village schoolmaster, even the wildest of those tribes are being brought within touch of the outside world. Means of livelihood are being disclosed to them of which a few years ago they never dreamed, and each step forward is accompanied by the acquisition of something fresh in the way of vocabulary, even if the adventurer does not pick up an entirely new dialect, with which the philologist of the future will have to wrestle, even as his predecessors strove with the mongrels of their day.

The general classification of the language return is as shown in the following table:—

TABLE A.—Showing the GENERAL LINGUISTIC DISTRIBUTION of 10,000 of the POPULATION.

Language and Class.	Number per 10,000.	Language and Class.	Number per 10,000.
A. Indic-Aryan	7,460	**F. Thibeto-Burman**—*cont.*	
Hindi	3,269	Kathé (*Manipuri*)	3
Bengáli	1,578	Miri-Abor	1
Maráthi	721	Kúki	1
Panjábi	676	Lálúng	1
Gujaráthi	405	Lúshai	1
Úriya	344	Thibetan	1
Úrdú	140	*Minor Languages*	1
Sindhí	99		
Western Pahári	58		
Assamese	55		
Central Pahári	44	**G. Môn-Annam**	9
Márwádi	44		
Kachhi	17	Môn (*Talaing*)	9
Halabi	6		
Kashméri	1		
Goanese, &c.	1		
Eastern Pahári	1	**H. Shán (Tái)**	7
Minor Languages	1		
		Shán (*unspecified*)	7
B. Dravidian	2,021		
Telugu	759	**J. Malayan**	—
Tamil	581		
Kanarese	371		
Malayálam	207	**K. Sinitic**	27
Gónd	53		
Túlú	19	Karén	26
Oráon	14	Chinese	1
Kandh	12		
Kodagu	2		
Mal-Pahádia	1		
Bráhui	1	**L. Japanese**	—
Minor Languages	1		
		M. Eránic-Aryan	51
C. Kolárian	113		
		Pakhtú	41
Santhál	65	Balóch	9
Múndá and Kól	25	Persian	1
Kórwá and Kúr	7		
Bhíl	6		
Sáwara	4		
Kharria	3	**N. Semitic**	2
Baiga, Bhinja, &c.	2		
Gadaba	1	Arabic	2
D. Gipsy Dialects	15		
		O. Turánic (*Úgrian*)	—
E. Khási Dialects	7		
		P. European-Aryan	9
F. Thibeto-Burman	278	English	9
Burmese	212		
Arakanese	14		
Kachári	8	**Q. Basque**	
Nipáli dialects	7		
Gáro	6		
Tippera	5	Hamitic	1
Khyín	5		
Nága dialects	4	*Not distinguishable or not returned*	
Míkir	4		
Méch	4		

First of all come the tongues which are traceable to an origin amongst the immigrants that have been termed the Árya, which are returned by about three-fourths of the population. Secondly, in numerical sequence, though *longo intervallo*, comes the Southern or Dravidian group, in which are included the languages of the Hill tribes of the central ranges which form the northern frontier of the Deccan on the eastern side. They are almost isolated geographically from their comrades, and much intermixed with the next class. The northern but entirely separate language, Bráhui, since it has been admitted to be morphologically of the south, has also been included, though with considerable diffidence. Sinhalese, too, and its offshoot Máhl, or the tongue returned by the inhabitants of the lonely little island of Minikoi, midway between the Laccadiv and the Máldiv groups, have been similarly treated, swelling the total to about one-fifth of the population. The small remains of an older type of language, restricted to the tribes of the hill tracts of Western Bengal and Central India, with a branch or two running west and south has been denominated Kolarian, though there are no doubt good objections to that name. It has been adopted, however, by so many distinguished writers on Indian philology and ethnology that though it may be wrong it is quite intelligible. The whole group bears a proportion of but a trifle over 1 per cent. of the total, and contains only two items of any considerable prevalence.

Aryan and Dravidian groups.

Kolarian group.

There are two groups statistically insignificant, but having special interest of their own in other ways. The first is the tongue of the inhabitants of the Khásia and Jaintia Hills, between the two main valleys of Assam. It has not been affiliated to any of the surrounding languages, whether of the Áryan or the Tonic families. Till recently it was unwritten, but now, owing to the study and enterprise of the Welsh missionaries, the Roman character has been generally adopted. The whole community, however, with its three dialects, only numbers about 178,000 souls. The second of these groups is that of the many tongues spoken by the wandering or Gipsy* tribes of the plains of India, and numbers just over 400,000. It is out of the question to distribute these languages amongst those having fixed dialects, as their character changes with the locality most favoured by the tribe using them, and, whilst retaining a backbone peculiar to itself, freely assimilates the local vocabulary and pronunciation. The most prevalent of these dialects is that of the Brinjáras or Lambáni, the carriers of Upper and Central India, which is based on a sub-Himalayan Hindi vernacular. The tribe, however, is found as far south as the Madras table-land, and it is not improbable that the Lambáni of the Deccan could hardly make himself understood by the corresponding caste farther north. Again, the earth-workers called Od or Waddar, carry a language of their own from Pesháwar to the sea, using a vocabulary less and less Dravidian as the tribe frequents tracts farther away from the East Deccan, from whence it probably originated. More difficult still, as regards classification, are the dialects used by the less reputable tribes of wanderers such as the nominal Hindi of the thieving and mat-weaving castes of Hindustán, and the Telugu and Maráthi of the acrobats and pickpockets of the Deccan. All these can doubtless be generally divided into degraded forms of either Hindi or Telugu; but in doing so we have to disregard the local characteristics just mentioned, so they have all been taken under a heading of their own, namely, Gipsy dialects.

Khási, and the gipsy dialects.

We pass now into the Tonic zone of language, which comprises in all its branches just over 3 per cent. of the population. As in the case of the regions of India linguistically Áryan, this proportion would be higher if the whole of the races using language of this formation had been brought under enumeration. But a large tract on the borders of Burma and Assam had to be omitted from the census, owing partly to the unsettled state of the tribes just included within our territory, and partly to the difficulty of getting competent enumerators for a population not only entirely illiterate, but using a language in most parts which has never been reduced to writing. In tabulating the information obtained, it has been found convenient to group this otherwise unwieldly class by geographical position, beginning with Thibet, and working eastwards through Assam down into Burma, where the largest of the component units are found. Here the main group, called in the return the Thibeto-Burman, is touched by three smaller groups of a kindred class, though differing

Thibeto-Burman groups.

* The term Gipsy is here used conventionally, as the equivalent of vagrant. The only class to which it now applies in its European signification is that mentioned at the end of this paragraph, the subdivisions of which are very numerous.

Minor Tonic groups.

enough to be separately shown. These have been already mentioned as the Tai or Shán, the Môn, and the Karén. The two first appear in the tables to a very small extent compared to the total number of the races by whom they are spoken. The Tai group, for instance, includes a small colony or two in East Assam, and a few more representatives in Burma, but the bulk of the Sháns are found either in the border States, where language was not returned, or in the neighbouring kingdom of Siam. The Môn language, too, is returned only in Lower Burma, and in an isolated tract occupied by the Palaung on the frontier of Upper Burma; but the greater portion of the Môn race lies in Anam and Cambodia, or Khmér. The Karéns are chiefly confined to Lower Burma, and their language has been classed with the Chinese, to which, according to the best authorities that have been consulted, it can be most safely affiliated. The Japanese language is hardly represented. The Malay class is chiefly interesting, from an Indian point of view, on account of the curious group of sea-gipsies called Salôn, inhabiting the Mergui Archipelago in the south of Tenasserim. The Nikobári was returned by one individual only and as its correct allocation has been yet satisfactorily settled, its single representative has been allowed to bring up the rear of the Burman group, though possibly he would be more congenially mated with the Malays.

Other groups of language.

On the same grounds as those on which Chinese has been grouped with Karén, though the bulk of those who use it are foreign to India, this survey may include the Éránic section of the Arya language, which is represented by a considerable number of border tribes on the north-west; and the Semitic, because Aden shows the majority of its small population to be speakers of Arabic. The Skythic or Turanic group is a very small one in the return, and the Hamitic, like Arabic, is almost confined to Aden, where the settlers or sojourners from the opposite coast are relatively numerous. As for the European element, all that need be said is that the whole tale is about 246,000 persons, of whom 238,000 return English. To conclude the list, one person returned Basque as his parent tongue.

The statistics of language.

The languages have now to be reviewed in detail. It is as well to begin within the largest group, which is also the most advanced, namely, the Indic-Aryan, or the Inflectional or Synthetic class. This has been subdivided into three geographical sections, the northern, the western, and the eastern. The first is by far the largest, as it includes Hindí, which predominates throughout Hindustán and Bihár, two of the most thickly peopled tracts in India. This title is admittedly a comprehensive one, and includes all the varieties of Aryan speech between the Jamna and Rajmahál. It has thus absorbed such distinctions as *Vraj*, *Baiswári*, and *Bhojpúri*, as well as *Maithili* and other Bihár varieties of Hindi. The same is the case in the south and west of Hindustán, where *Búndéli*, *Bághéli*, *Rángadi*, and *Nimádi* were returned by but a small fraction of the persons known to use a local variety of the standard language. On the other hand, *Lária*, the last form of Hindi found in the south-east, was returned pretty completely. A want of detail of this sort is often attributable to the absence of literature in those tongues, a fact which led to the enumerator's hesitation to give them official recognition in a formal document, such as he considered the schedule to be. It is noticeable, too, that most of the returns of dialect were made by persons not belonging to the place where they were enumerated, so the census agents, having foreigners to deal with, thought it most prudent to accept the term dictated to them rather than betray their ignorance by contraverting its use. Then, again, as far as Hindustán proper is concerned, that is, the present North-West Provinces and Oudh, the language of the plains is officially "Hindustáni," so it is not likely that any attempt would be made through the medium of the census to contravene this authoritative decision.* On all these considerations, therefore, all such sporadic entries have been absorbed into the general title, lest the separate recognition of such small and scattered numbers should give a misleading notion of the actual prevalence

Language.	Population returning it.
Hindi	85,675,373
Western Pahári	1,523,249
Central*	1,153,233
Eastern	24,262
Panjábi	17,724,610
Kashméri	29,276
Hindu-Kúsh dialects	17
Total, Northern Group	**106,130,020**

* Garhwáli, 647,739; Kumaoni, 505,494.

Hindi.

* It is a question, too, whether the distinctions are recognised at all, otherwise than by grammarians.

of the dialects in question. It should be pointed out, too, that west of the Jamna, the boundary between Hindi, Panjábi, and Marwádi is scarcely distinguishable; and similarly, on the east, the tongue of North Bihár becomes gradually more and more Bengali in construction as well as vocabulary and pronunciation. In South-West Bengal, too, Hindi is returned by many of the Hill tribes, who have abandoned their own tongue in favour of a very vulgarised form of the language of the plains. The variety of dialect prevailing in the submontane tract and lower valleys of the Himálayas west of Nipál requires a few words of explanation. The term "Pahári," or Hill tongue, has been taken as distinctive of the whole body; but as the dialects are by no means uniform in detail, the tables show them in three sections, the Western or Panjáb, the Central, including Garhwáli and Kumaoni, and the Eastern, which is practically equivalent to the Nipáli dialect of the south-western portion of that State. The title of Nipáli is not available for this last, as it has been appropriated by the regiments of Nipál soldiers collectively known as Gúrkhas, whose language is very largely of the Thibetan type. At the same time it is said that owing to the adoption by the ruling families of the Khas or Parbatia dialect, which, as has been already stated, is based on Hindí, there is a tendency on the part of the tribes of the higher valleys to abandon their own tongue as they enter more intimately into the military system of the State. But until Nipál is brought under the census operations we are without clear information on this point. As regards the territorial distribution of Hindí, it may be observed from the table on page 364 of Vol. I. of the Returns that though this language was returned in every one of the main divisions of India, out of the 85½ millions of *soi disant* Hindi-speakers, 77 millions were enumerated in Hindustán, Bihár, and the Panjáb, and seven millions more in the Central Provinces. Pahári.

In connection with the statistics of Hindi, a few remarks are needed about the Urdú form of that language. As to Upper India, it may be broadly stated that no line can be drawn between the vernacular and the Persianised speech of the larger towns, where, as before observed, the foreign element has been assimilated to the local construction. South of the Vindhya range, in places where the Musalman element is in a considerable minority, and has been recruited in such a way that the converted communities do not retain their original *status*, there is in use a distinctive dialect, based on the Dehli dialect, largely tempered with vernacular words. This was returned as Musalmáni or Deccani, and it has been taken to be the equivalent in the south of the Urdú, or *lingua franca* of the foreign settlers in the north. It must be distinctly understood, therefore, that the 3¼ millions entered under this designation by no means represent the relative prevalence of the diction of the Bágh-o-bahár and the Prém Ságar. Urdú.

Next in order of the Northern group comes Panjábi, which differs from Hindi rather in vocabulary and pronunciation than in any other particular. It owes its position as an independent language more to political causes than anything else, and throughout the tract of its adoption shows variety every few miles. The three main branches are the south-western, called Jatki or Multáni, the Dógri and the Pahári. The first is returned by 1¾ million persons, all from the plains of the Indus and the borders of Sindh.* The second is the lower hill dialect of Jammu westward, so it is represented more in the Kashmér State than in our returns, and is, moreover, lapsing into Panjábi, where it meets the tongue of the plains. The third, which has been noticed above, shows over 1½ millions of representatives. In the south of the province the language is mixed with Bágri, here classed with Marwádi though in the eastern districts the latter element is very weak. Curiously enough in the west there is no trace of Sindhi. Owing mainly to the number of recruits furnished to the native army by this province, Panjábi is found represented widely over India and Burma, but as a vernacular it is confined to the land of the Five Rivers. Panjábi.

Of the other languages in this group there is little to say. Kashméri, the most interesting and inportant, has strayed but a short way out of its native valley, and is spoken chiefly by the colonies of weavers and carpenters in the Panjáb, and by wandering shawl-merchants elsewhere. The falling off since the last census is probably due to the temporary immigration in 1879 of people then allowed for the first time to Kashméri and the Hindu-Kúsh dialects.

* The tongue of the Jats, *Getæ* (*Xanthii*), through whom we derive probably our words Egyptian, Gipsy, Gitano, as it was a colony of this tribe which was first transported from Western India to Persia and Asia Minor, and spread thence into the Lower Empire and through Rúmelia up the Danube.

leave their country under the pressure of famine, and who have now returned. The small settlement of Kashméri in the North-West Provinces is a permanent one, consisting apparently of the Hindu or literate class, not of Musalman artisans. There are but few instances in the census record of the languages of the Hindu-Kúsh. In the Panjáb a few families of Ghilghit, Chitrál, and even of Káfiristán and Húnza, or Borishka, origin were found, but the bulk of the population of those tracts was altogether outside the census. There is no need, therefore, to enter into the discussion of the correct nomenclature or classification of this group of little known but philologically interesting languages.

The Western group includes nearly $33\frac{3}{4}$ millions. Taking the languages in their geographical order, Sindhi comes first. Philologically, it is a more backward language than Hindi, having retained far more of the inflections it derives from its Sanskrit parentage. On the other hand, owing to its frontier position, it has borrowed freely from the languages of the Persian Gulf. Indeed, since the country has passed under British rule, a modification of the Arabic character has been adopted in place of the local combinations of debased Devanágari letters. These last, both here and in parts of the Panjáb, only serve to record personal memoranda or accounts, and can hardly be called a means of correspondence, since one of the main objects of the scribe is to keep his production legible by no one but himself. Sindhi is not at all a widely spread language, and most of those speaking it beyond the province are to be found in the two States of Kachh and Baháwalpur, contiguous to Sindh, where the proportion of the sexes amongst those returning it shows that the migration is only the ordinary interchange of children in marriage between adjacent villages. Like the Kashmér trader, however, the merchant of Sindh is met with in most of the large towns of India, and, if a census were taken of Russia, he would be found in the far-off markets of Bokhára and Samarkand, and even in Nizhni-Novgorod, or, rather, he would have been so found at the time of the Indian census, for there is a report that this race has since received notice to quit the territory of the white Tsar.

Language.	Population returning it.
Sindhi	2,592,341
Kachi	439,697
Márwádi	1,147,480
Gujaráthi*	10,619,789
Maráthi†	18,892,875
Goanese, &c.	37,738
Total, Western Group	**32,729,920**

*Patnuli, 77,534. †Konkani, 314,435.

Sindhí.

Kachhi.

The connection between Kachhi and Sindhi is very close, and were it not that the parent State of the former is politically and geographically more in touch with Gujaráth than with Sindh, it would be hard to say that Kachhi was not still a dialect of the latter. In the present day, however, the vernacular is receiving a strong tinge from its southern neighbour. As Kachhi is the home of a large body of the most enterprising merchants of Western India, it is not surprising to find their language returned from nearly all parts of the country.

Márwádi.

The case of Márwádi, again, is one in which it is hard to say whether a distinction should be drawn, as with Panjábi, or whether the language thus returned should not be absorbed, like Búndéli, Maithili, and so on, into the general term Hindí. We have not, however, the advantage of seeing from the census of Márwár what is the opinion of the people of that State and Bikanér, or rather, that of their enumerators, on this question. At any rate, Márwádi approaches very near Gujaráthi as the latter is spoken on the south border of Rájputána; so it is taken as forming a link between Gujaráthi and Hindí. Like Sindhi and Panjábi, when written by Hindus, Márwádi has no graphic merits, and several good old tales are current as to the consequences of extending its use to correspondence, a purpose for which it was never intended. As regards its local prevalence, it is superfluous to state here that Márwádi is a widely spread tongue. As we have seen in the second chapter of this work, the thrifty denizen of the sands of Western and Northern Rájputána has found his way to fortune all over India, from the petty grocer's shop in a Deccan village to the most extensive banking and broking connection in the commercial capitals of both East and West India. The census returns show us Márwádi as a vernacular only in the tracts immediately adjacent to Rájputána, but it appears largely in Berar, where the race has established itself in the villages and in connection with the cotton trade, and also in Bombay and the Central Provinces, for much the same reason, with additional

attraction in the case of the former, of the grand field of speculation in rain, grain and silver afforded by the circumstances of the chief town. Relatively to the population, and the distance of the region from their native land, the Márwádi is strong in Assam, but Burma is a country which he has not yet begun to tap. To a peaceful man, whose inclination is to start life in a village remote from competitors, commercial existence in rural Burma is too full of the unexpected to be palatable.

Gujaráthi. Gujaráthi, in like manner, has become the commercial language of Western India. But as it is also the vernacular of a considerable area of British territory as well as of Baroda and many of the States connected with the Bombay Presidency, it appears in the returns to be nearly ten times as prevalent as Márwádi. In reality, it may be about thrice as numerously represented, if the whole country be taken into account. Gujaráthi is one of the main offshoots of the Prakrit of Northern India, and differs little, save in detail and its more complex inflection, from vernacular Hindi. It is almost free from dialect, but as it is the language of commerce, it acquires modifications according to the class using it. For example, the Musalmán trader combines it with Kachi, and the Parsis, who have abandoned their original tongue in favour of it, have engrafted certain peculiarities of their own. One very remarkable offshoot of Gujaráthi is found in the Patnúli or Saurâshtri dialect of the silk weavers of the Deccan and Madras. The migrations of this class have not been clearly traced, but probably it was first brought above the Ghâts through one of the many local courts of old time in the Deccan.* The descendants of the original silk weavers are now found exercising the same trade in Mysore, the Deccan, and in quite the south of the peninsula. The dialect they use is peculiar to themselves, and is not current amongst them when dealing with other communities, though it has taken the colour of the countries through which the caste has passed, and is at present mainly Telugu, whereby it has lost its northern twang. The reason for this segregation may be found, perhaps, in the fact that a class of this sort, especially when engaged in a lucrative industry, raises its demands for social recognition as it recedes farther from its place of origin. We thus find the Saurâshtri weaver of the south employing priests of his own caste, who claim Brahmanical honours and ignore connection with a region where silk-weavers are not in such a high position. This leads them to neglect or depreciate their former tongue. There are, nevertheless, over 77,000 Patnúli in the Madras province who still return their language as of yore. In addition to the extension given to the Gujaráthi language by traders and artisans, there has been a considerable movement up the Tápti valley, in the shape of agricultural colonists, from the plains below, and Sindh, too, has received its share from across the lower desert. Then, too, there is the well-known class of domestic servants, called Sùratis, who were returned in most provinces in India.

Maráthi. Maráthi is the chief language in the Western group. In structure and vocabulary it is remarkable for its adherence to the later Sanskrit dialects of North India, and may be called particularly Brahmanic in all its elements. It has suffered less change than the rest of its companions, and retains much of the complexity of grammatical form that has been sloughed off by Hindi and Gujaráthi. The Bráhmans of Western India have for generations borne a high reputation for scholarship, and as the region under their influence was late in receiving the shock of Musalmán invasion, and more or less successful in repelling it, the Hindu character of the language has been well maintained, whilst its fertility has enabled it to develop without the expedient of continually taking to itself fresh grafts from the Sanskrit. It is what some writers have called a "playful" tongue, abounding in jingles and alliterations, such as "ándhala-pángala," a blind and lame man; "dagad-gigad," a stone; "lagbag," close by, and "jat-pat," quickly. Foreign words, too, are not respected, for we find "bandhuk-enduk," a gun; "pádri-widri," a missionary; "ardóshi-pardóshi," the neighbours, and so on. The Maráthas have named their hill-forts and any villages that have anything striking about their position on the same principle, and their tongue has struck out, it is said, more diminutives and secondary words than any other of the Prakritic derivatives. Setting aside the variety of pronunciation, Maráthi is singularly uniform throughout the Deccan. There are, it is true, certain entries

* Hofrath Dr. Bühler has directed my attention, since this was first written, to the Gupta Inscription, translated at page 79, vol. iii., of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. In this, the colony of silk weavers which immigrated to Dasápur (Mandesúr) from Central and Southern Gujaráth, are praised for their industry and piety; the latter being shown by the erection of a temple to the Sun in the time of Kumára Gúpta.—J.A.B.

from the north of that tract giving Ahiráni as a distinct language, but this is the result of caste, not linguistic, difference. It may be recollected that the later Prakrit grammarians applied the ancient name Apabhransha specially to the language of the Abhira or Ahír, the cattle-grazing communities of the north-western plains, and there has always been some jealousy between the agricultural classes and those of nomad stock who settle down amongst them at a later period. A real distinction is drawn, however, on the other hand, between the Maráthi of the table-land and that of the Konkan, or the strip of country between the coast and the foot of the Ghâts. As far south of Goa this distinction is not recognised, except amongst a small community of native Christians, who entered that fold under the auspices of Portuguese missionaries, and have adopted the language of their instructors from Goa; for in the latter territory there is a decidedly Portuguese element in the vernacular, due probably to the discouragement of native studies and to the destruction of the records in the vernacular when the western Christians first occupied the coast and took in hand the propagation of their religion. The basis of the language, however, is distinctly Maráthi. Farther south, the foreign element changes to Kanarese, which is more perceptible as we approach Mangalore, where Konkani gives way to pure Kanarese and to Túlú. But wherever Konkani is the vernacular it may be held to be a variety of Maráthi. The language spoken by the Christian natives of Goa, who are found nearly all over British India, is usually given as Goanese, but so many have returned it as Portuguese that to avoid misconception the two have been combined, and are placed after Maráthi in the Indic, not the European, section of the tables. The return of birthplace shows that only 168 persons were born in Portugal, and whatever may be the language used by the class in question in their correspondence, the proportion of Portuguese in the spoken dialect is insignificant. The geographical distribution of Maráthi remains to be noticed. Its covers a wide area, including, as it does, the whole of the North Deccan plateau, the Konkan coast, Berár, the western portion of the Central Provinces, and the greater part of the western districts of the Nizam's dominions. It is met above the Ghâts by Kanarese in the south and Telugu in the south-east. On the coast, as just stated, it merges through Konkani into Kanarese or Túlú. In the north, it meets Hindí and Gujaráthi, without mixing with either. Settlements of Maráthas are to be found in Mysore, and there is the small Tanjore colony in the south of Madras; but, as a rule, the language is not found much in tracts where it is not the vernacular. In Baroda, for instance, which is a Marátha State, there are only about 52,000 Maráthi-speakers, mostly confined to the south division of the State, where there is a forest tract in which it is the vernacular, and to the troops and retinues of the Gaikwár and his officials. In other parts of the west and centre of India, those who return this language are chiefly in the native regiments, or engaged on railways or as clerks, and in the north as priests.

Halabi.

Crossing India from the Deccan, only one Aryan language is met before we enter the Eastern group of that family. This is the Halabi, which is prevalent only in the south-eastern portions of the Central Provinces and the tracts adjacent thereto. It has been grouped with the eastern Aryan tongues from its position, although in structure and vocabulary it is more akin to Hindi. In fact, it seems doubtful if it is not mainly a dialect of the latter adopted by the Hill men on coming into contact with others from the plains, like the cases mentioned above in connection with the Gangetic valley. On the other hand, it is surrounded by Dravidian Hill languages, and the people by whom it is spoken are not reputed to have made such an advance in civilisation as would lead to the improvement of their former language. Their whole strength is only 143,000 souls.

Language.	Population returning it.
Halabi	143,720
Uriya	9,010,957
Bengáli	41,343,672
Assamese	1,435,820
Total, Eastern Group	51,934,169

Úriya.

The Eastern group proper begins with Úriya or Útkali, the least advanced of the Prakritic tongues. The country of its adoption is difficult of access, and the hilly tracts that protect it on the west bear an evil name for air and water, the two elements of comfort in a residence that a native of India first values. They have been left,

accordingly, in the possession of a collection of tribes of the race either Dravidian or Kolarian. The language of the Hindu population of Orissa, therefore, has retained a good deal of its archaic form and vocabulary. It is also peculiarly free from dialectic variation. In addition to geographical isolation, Úriya has the drawback of a remarkably complicated and awkward character, attributed by several good authorities to the use of strips of the leaf of the Palmyra (*borassus flabelliformis*) as writing material, on which the local scribe performs with a sharp steel stylus, in place of the reed pen common to most of Áryan India. Thus the horizontal line which keeps together the Devanágari characters and their immediate descendants is here out of the question, as it would split the leaf along its fibre, so the top stroke is omitted. Again, it appears that in writing, the style is worked on the left thumb as a fulcrum, a process which imparts a circular form to the results. Mr. Beames, from whose work the above explanation has been taken, adds, "Perhaps the above account may not "seem very convincing to European readers, but no one who has ever seen an Úriya "working away with both hands at his style and strip will question the accuracy of "the assertion, and though the fact may not be of much value, I may add that the "native explanation of the origin of their alphabet agrees with this." It should be mentioned in confirmation of the above that the same explanation has been adopted by Dr. Caldwell, the chief authority on Dravidian language, the southern forms of which are always written on the same material as Uriya. Mr. Beames states also that when he wrote in 1871, the extension of the use of paper was leading to the abandonment of the round top to the Uriya letters; but judging from the census returns, the fashion is certainly dying hard. The literature of Orissa is neither extensive nor valuable, except as showing the little change the language has undergone in the last few centuries. As to the geographical prevalence of Uriya, it appears that this tongue is practically confined to the tract from which it takes its name and the bordering districts and States of Madras and the Central Provinces. Its representatives found at the time of the census elsewhere in India belonged probably to the class of palki-bearers and domestic servants, for which Orissa and the north-east coast generally are famous.

Bengáli. Bengáli is the largest in point of numbers in this group, and is surpassed in this respect by Hindí alone. Though it has no distinct dialects, it resembles Panjábi in having no standard, so that it varies from place to place more probably than any other of the Aryan tongues. It is true that some years ago an attempt was made to degrade Úriya into a dialect of Bengáli, so as to exclude it from schools and public offices; but fortunately history and philology prevailed over political ambition, and the elder language has held its own against its hybrid sister. For Bengáli has no doubt been unfortunate in the circumstances that have attended its development. The latest of all the Prakrit offshoots to be recognised as a language at all, it dates in that capacity only from the decay of the Dehli empire. Bengal, too, is the province of all others in which there is the widest gap between the small literary castes and the masses of the people. One of the results is that the vernacular has been split into two sections; first, the tongue of the people at large, which, as remarked above, changes every few miles; secondly, the literary dialect, known only through the press, and not intelligible to those who do not also know Sanskrit. The latter form is the product of what may be called the revival of learning in Eastern India, consequent upon the settlement of the British on the Hughli. The vernacular was then found rude and meagre, owing to the absence of scholarship and the general neglect of the country during the Moghal rule. Instead of strengthening the existing web from the same material, every effort was made in Calcutta, then the only seat of instruction, to embroider upon the feeble old frame a grotesque and elaborate pattern in Sanskrit, and to pilfer from that tongue whatever in the way of vocabulary and construction the learned considered necessary to satisfy the increasing demands of modern intercourse. He who trusts to the charity of others, says Swift, will always be poor; so Bengáli, as a vernacular, has been stunted in its growth by this process of cramming with a class of food it is unable to assimilate. The simile used by Mr. Beames is a good one. He likens Bengáli to an overgrown child tied to its mother's apron-string, and always looking to her for help, when it ought to be supporting itself. For instance, when the instructions for filling up the census schedule had to be translated into the vernacular for use in this province, the local Superintendent of the operations, a civil servant of much experience of men and cities, obtained versions, not from the men of light and leading in the capital, but from officers administering districts, who knew what the lieges can and will understand. A good working translation was thus obtained, which, when read over to a Calcutta

scholar, no doubt made him stare and gasp, and mourn over the opportunity thus lost of giving the widest possible dissemination of culture in style. It is to be feared that not Bengáli alone is passing into the hands of official scholarship, though this language is probably the least unwilling captive. Bengáli, in whatever form it may be, is spread all over the southern valley of Assam, which was till 20 years ago a part of the province of Bengal. In Arrakan, too, this language has made some way, but elsewhere it is confined to a few colonies, at religious centres, and to persons employed in offices of Government or the railway companies, both of which look largely to Bengal for their supply of clerical labour.

Assamese.

Assamese, which concludes the list of Áryan vernaculars, has had, like Úriya, the experience of resisting the attempt of the ambitious Bengáli to reduce it to a patois, and thus open a wider field of employment to the studious youth of the Lower Provinces; and, like Úriya, too, Assamese has been hitherto successful.* Possibly the political separation of the province from Bengal may have helped on the declaration of independence, for the tongue of the eastern and northern districts of Bengal bears scarcely greater resemblance than Assamese to the euphuistic speech of Calcutta and Nadiya. Assamese is hardly found out of its native valley and the immediate neighbourhood.

Sanskrit.

In bringing to a close this review of the Aryan tongues of India, the fact should be mentioned that 308 persons returned the language habitually spoken in their parents' household as Sanskrit. This survival of 25 centuries is a thousand less than the corresponding tale in the last census returns; still it is hardly expected that the ladies, at all events, of the households in question spoke in a classical language. The truth seems to be that in the south of India the term *Nágaram* is used by the priestly families of the Gujaráthi silk weavers to denote their divergence from the ordinary language of their caste, whilst in the rest of the country, the entries may be set down to schoolboys or undergraduates studying the rudiments of the ancient tongue of their faith.

In dealing with the Dravidian section of the subject, two groups have been formed. The first or southern covers nearly the whole field occupied by this class of languages, but the balance, which is here called the northern, comprises tribal forms of speech differing from the rest, except in general structure; so it has been thought best to keep them apart.

Tamil.

The first language to be mentioned is the Tamil, not because it is numerically or geographically the most important, but by reason of its being the most cultivated and the best known of the Dravidian group. It has, indeed, given to the latter its original name.† Two dialects are by some attributed to Tamil, but these seem rather caste varieties than those of special tracts; so both *Irulár* and *Kúrúmbar* have been included under the general head, whilst *Yérukala*, which has been in some cases separately tabulated, has been added to the Gipsy dialects, of which mention has been made above. Tamil, then, may be taken to be a homogeneous language, covering the whole of Southern India up to Mysore and the Ghâts on the west, and the Ceded Districts, as they are called, on the north. It is disseminated, however, as widely as any tongue in India by special classes, such as labourers, who flock chiefly to Ceylon and Burma, and domestic servants, who are found hailing from the Tamil country in every large town and cantonment in India. The Madras servant is usually without religious prejudices or scruples as to food, head-gear, or ceremonial, so he can

Language.	Population returning it.
Tamil*	15,229,759
Telugu	19,885,137
Kanarese†	9,751,885
Kodagu	37,218
Malayálam	5,428,250
Túlú‡	491,728
Tôda	736
Kôta	1,201
Sinhalese	187
Máhl	3,167
Total, Southern Dravidian Group	**50,829,268**
Gônd	1,379,580
Kandh (Khond)	320,071
Oraon	368,222
Mal-Pahádia	30,838
Kharwár	7,651
Brahui	28,990
Total, Northern Group	**2,135,352**
Total, Dravidian	**52,964,620**

* Kurumba, 5,288. † Badaga, 30,656. ‡ Koragu, 1,868.

* There is a tendency, however, towards assimilation, I understand, in the present day.—J.A.B.

† Dravid is said by Dr. Caldwell to be a corruption of Tamir.—J.A.B.

accommodate himself to all circumstances, in which respect he is unlike the northern Indian domestic.

Next to Tamil comes Malayálam, or the language of the Malabár coast. This is an offshoot of Tamil, and has maintained a close relationship with its parent. Its name is derived from "mala," the local term for a hill, and an abstract noun signifying possession, like the Persian *dár*, so that it means the "mountain tract." The term Malabár is comparatively modern, as the last syllable is probably the Arabic for a coast or roadstead. Malayálam has been closely hemmed in by its neighbours, and, indeed, the whole tract in which it is spoken has been peculiarly secluded from the foreign influences which have swept over the table-land overhanging it. Those returning this language in Coorg and Mysore are probably settlers just within the frontier, or temporary sojourners who have gone above the Ghâts for the coffee season. In other parts of India there is reason to suspect that, except at the seaports, the entry really means Malabári, a vulgar name for Tamil, originating with the early Portuguese travellers. Malayálam.

I come now to Kanarese, the north-western representative of the Dravidian group. As stated in the introductory chapter, its name seems derived from the Telugu words for *black* and *country*, a title that the denizens of the light soils of the eastern table-land would not improbably apply to the rich western tracts of what is now known as "cotton soil," but other derivations have been suggested. The language itself, however, has a far greater affinity with Tamil than with its neighbour on the east. The only form of speech that can be called a dialect of Kanarese is that of the *Badaga* tribe on the Nilgiris, called by our early historians the *Burghers*. If this be admitted, it seems not unreasonable to attribute to *Kodagu*, the dialect of Coorg, a like relationship. Both communities have been shut off by their hills and climate from Brahmanising influence, and seem to have preserved in their speech the older forms of Kanarese, which have been rubbed off that language in the busier life of the plains. The tract held by Kanarese is very compact. It includes Mysore, most of Coorg, and a strip of the coast between the Túlu and the Maráthi. Above the Ghâts, it stretches eastwards well into the Nizam's territory, and northwards to the Kistna river. Kanarese.

Its neighbour, Túlu, is confined to a small area in or near the district of South Kanara in Madras, and it is doubtful if it ever prevailed far beyond its present limits. It has the curious feature of linguistic independence without a character or literature of its own. Dr. Caldwell regards it as a very interesting and highly developed tongue, bearing but a distant relationship to Kanarese and Kodagu, still more distant to Maláyalam, which presses on it from the south, and most distant of all to Tamil. The Kanarese character has lately been adopted in printing modern Tulu works, and it is likely that Tulu will ultimately give way to that language. But as it is, it shows an increase of 10¼ per cent. over the return of 1881. Túlú.

The last of the chief Dravidian languages is Telugu, which is also the most numerously represented at the census. It is said to be the most euphonious, and, next to Tamil, the most ancient and advanced of the whole class. There are no dialects returned under it, for the languages returned as *Yánádi* and *Chentsu* in 1881 are said to be merely tribal corruptions of the standard language, and in no way distinct. On the other hand, the language of certain wandering tribes, such as the *Waddar* and *Kaikádi*, though no doubt of Telinga origin, suffers such change in the course of the peregrinations of these earth-workers and mat-weavers, that in provinces beyond Madras it has been grouped with the Gipsy tongues instead of with Telugu, wherever it has been returned under a tribal designation. The Telugu character has been adopted for Kanarese, as the latter has carried it on to Túlu. Like the Tamil, Malayálam, and probably the ancient form of Kanarese, it has been modified from the Devanágari of the Southern Asoka inscriptions, curved at top to suit the palm-leaf book which is current here as in Orissa. A very ancient form is still occasionally used in Malabar for formal documents, but, for the most part, the resemblance to the original is scarcely traceable. A counter theory has been adopted by some writers, namely, that the Asoka character is based on Dravidian forms; but though the question cannot be considered yet closed, the balance of evidence and probability seems rather on the side of an Aryan ancestry. Telugu.

As a vernacular, Telugu is more widely spread than Tamil. We find it not only all over the eastern coast of Madras, but throughout the Ceded Districts above the Ghâts and in one half of the Nizam's territory. It has also gained a considerable

footing in Mysore and in a corner of the Bombay Karnátak, with branches in Berár, the Central Provinces, and Orissa. Although only the inhabitants of the North Coromandel coast have any right to the name of Kling, that title is applied on the other side of the Bay of Bengal to labourers from both Kalingapatam and Negapatam. During the rice-shipping season, and now, in fact, throughout the year, Burma is thronged with labourers from this part of the peninsula, who have almost monopolized the hard work so distasteful to the Burmese. It was noticed that in some of the schedules filled up by or for this class, the antiquated term of Gentoo was used to denote caste or race. This word was introduced by the Portuguese, to whom all Hindus were Gentiles, even as to the British soldier all natives of India, whether Musalmán or not, were collectively Moors. In the present day Gentoo means a Telingáná man.

Tóda and Kóta.

There are a few of the minor Dravidian languages belonging to the Southern group which require a word or so of comment. First, the Tóda of the Nilgiris. The tribe has received a great deal of attention, ethnological, phrenological, social, and linguistic, mainly because it resides within an easy walk of a favourite hill resort. One member of the tribe has even been distinguished by temporary incorporation into the establishment of the greatest showman of the world, the late Mr. P. T. Barnum, of New York. Tôda is returned by 736 persons, instead of 673 as in 1881, and the members of the tribe are only more numerous by three than those who return the tribal tongue. This last is of similar origin to the Tamil and Kanarese, and was kept from advance by the secluded life of the tribe in the hills. The Kôta is another of the Nílgiri tribes, lower in position and occupation than the Tôdas, and speaking a dialect of archaic Kanarese, like that of the Badagas or Northerners mentioned above. Neither of these languages extends beyond the limits of the eponymic community.

Sinhalese and Mahl.

A few entries of insular languages of this class may as well be noticed here. The Sinhalese is included amongst the Dravidian, since it shows morphological peculiarities which distinguish it from the Aryan class in which, owing perhaps to the cultivation of Páli by the literate classes of the island, it used to be placed. Then, again, the Máhl is returned only by the inhabitants of the little island of Minikoi, situated almost midway between the Máldiv and the Laccadiv archipelago, and belonging politically, though not linguistically, to the latter. The language in question is allied to the Sinhalese, it is said, though the Arabic character has been introduced, as in the Laccadiv, to suit the Musalmán proclivities of the people.

Gónd.

The Northern group of Dravidian languages comprises one large item, which includes the various dialects spoken by the numerous Gónd tribes of Central India. These dialects, which are all unwritten, differ considerably in detail from each other, but are all Dravidian in their main characteristics. The Gónd tract, entered in the old maps as "Góndwána—Unexplored," radiates from the Central Provinces into Bengal, Berár, Madras, and the Nizam's dominions, and the tribes therein are suffering much change, in the course of which their tribal dialects will infallibly assimilate a great deal of the vernacular of the encircling plains.

Kandh.

The Kandh or Khond of the hills of Orissa and the neighbourhood has, like the Tôda, attracted more attention than was perhaps his due, owing to his persistent attempts to keep up the habit of human sacrifice as a means of securing a good harvest. The language is localised to his native hills, and the only wanderers found on the census roll are in Assam, where, if the return be not due to clerical error, the Kandh speakers must be immigrant labourers who have joined a gang of adventurers from Orissa. It is the same with a few of the Kolarian tribes, which have been found even in Burma, though not retaining their tribal language there.

Oráon and Kharwár.

Farther north, we enter the region of the Kolarian languages, and the distinction between them and the Dravidian becomes much weakened. The Oráon, however, and the Kharwár may be said to present decidedly Dravidian features. As to the language of the inhabitants of the hills of Rájmahál, who hold that tract against the Santháls, there seems to be less information available. Following such authority as seemed trustworthy, a Dravidian ancestry is attributed to the language of this curiously isolated community. If this be correct, the survival of this relic so far from its fellows seems to indicate the former existence of a considerable Dravidian colony between the Kolárian and the mixed races of Eastern Bengal, though the two former may have been identical in blood.

Last of the Dravidians has been placed the Bráhui, though the link attaching it to the rest is of the thinnest. There are, however, curious features in common which can hardly be ignored. Ethnically, there seems to be absolutely no resemblance between the tawny cattle-graziers of the Khelát desert and the squat dark cultivators of the peninsula or the mountain tribes of Central India, any more than can be found between the former and the Mongoloid settlers of the north-east, to whom Signor Finzi would, on linguistic grounds, attach them. The bulk of Brahui speakers dwell in Balóchistán, a tract which was not enumerated at the census, and the traditions of the race as to their migrations have yet to be satisfactorily investigated. The language of a good number of the Brahui tribes would no doubt be returned as Balóch, to which their own tongue is rapidly approaching in the frontier districts, so here again we have an instance of the obliteration of valuable philological evidence. Bráhui.

The Kolarian class, to which our attention is now directed, is small, but considerably subdivided amongst tribal dialects. The chief is the Santhál, which includes nearly three-fourths of the whole. This language, like so many others, owes its reduction to grammar and writing, to the labours of missionaries, chiefly Danes and Germans, who have devoted their lives to the study of this race. It is widely disseminated over Bengal, as the Santháls are first-rate labourers, and show no reluctance to leave their native country for work at a distance. They are found even in Assam, both as settlers and as temporary hands on tea estates. Kolarian Class.

Language.	Population returning it.
Santhál*	1,709,680
Múndá or Kôl	654,507
Kharria	67,772
Baiga and Bhúnjia	48,883
Korwá or Kúr	185,775
Bhil	148,596
Sáwara	102,039
Gadaba	29,789
Juáng and Malér	11,965
Total, Kolarian	**2,959,006**

* This figure for Santhál has been since reduced, on final revision of the Bengal return, to 1,642,154, the balance being distributed apparently between Bengáli and Hindí.

The Mundá, in which returns of Kôl and Hô have been included, has apparently a somewhat wider range, but this is probably due to the partition of their tract amongst three provinces. Like the Santhál, the Mundá has taken kindly to foreign labour. The language seems to resemble Santhál in its main features, but its local varieties are frequent, and each main clan returns a separate designation to both itself and its language, and also, by the way, to its religion. The Kharria is on the same pattern. The Baiga, Bhinjwa, or Bhúnjia is probably a tribe of earlier date in the country than the Mundá or the Dravidians of these hills, judging from the fact that amongst the other tribes the name is used for a priest or exorcist, even if the functionary is not of the Baiga tribe. In the Central Provinces, the Baigas are said to speak Hindi to a large extent, but whether their women do or not is a more important point, on which information has not been furnished. The Kúr, Kórwa, or Kúrku reaches across the hills to the west of the Kolarian tract, and joins the Bhíl, which carries the class on nearly to the sea. The former varies in detail throughout its length, and is different in Berár, for instance, from what it will be found to be in the Chútia Nágpúr division of Bengal. As to the Bhíl tongue, it has been adulterated to such an extent that it retains little but corrupt Hindi, Maráthi, or Gujaráthi, according to locality, in its vocabulary, though its construction, at all events in the eastern portions of the tract it occupies, is still agglutinative. Múndá and allied tribal dialects. Kúr and Bhil.

The most southerly forms of Kolarian speech are the Sáwara and Gadaba, both of which are almost confined to the hills bordering on Orissa, in the Madras Presidency. The former may have extended nearly to the sea in earlier days, as it is said that the *Suaroi* of Greek geographers are the ancestors of the present Sáwara. The last of this class of languages which has to be noticed is the Juáng or Patua, spoken by a tribe which Colonel Dalton, in his work on Bengal Ethnology, considers the lowest of all found within the tract he describes. It is but within the last few years that either sex wore clothes at all. The women were till then content with bunches of leaves tied round the waist in front and behind, and renewed, as required, when the fair wearer went to fetch in the cattle from the wood which provided her millinery.* With the Juáng is grouped the Malér, which is not returned by more than a few hundred persons. Sáwara, &c.

* An attempt was made some years back to introduce waistcloths, which were distributed gratuitously, but it is reported, I believe, that, as a rule, the innovation did not outlast the material.—J.A.B.

Gipsy dialects.

The group entitled Gipsy dialects contains many items which are in use only amongst a single caste or tribe. The chief of these, the respectable body of carriers and cattle-breeders, called Brinjáras, is a community which is spread all over Northern India as far as the Deccan, where many have permanently settled as landholders, speaking Maráthi only. In the south of the latter tract it gives place to a similar tribe, known as the Lambáni, which is the term used, too, in the Panjáb. In both provinces the tribe has an evil repute. There are also the numerous tribes of wandering artisans, such as knife-grinders, grindstone-makers, and matting-plaiters; the last of whom alone is held popularly to be of bad character, wherever in India it is found. Perhaps, as formerly with the broom-making trade in England, the facility of the occupation makes people regard it as only a cover for nefarious but more lucrative means of livelihood. Then come the tumblers, rope-dancers, and acrobats, with the castes which unabashedly maintain the name of cut-purse (*Ganti-chor*), all notorious evil livers, each with its special form of thieves' Latin unintelligible to respectable people. Jugglers and snake-charmers, who are equally nomad in habit, are not invariably regarded malevolently, though open to suspicion. These tribes collectively represent the class from which originate the Róm or Gipsy of Europe and Asia Minor and the Lúri of Persia. Their name of Gipsy is probably a corruption of Zotti, or Jat, as already mentioned, which became "Egyptian," either by misnomer, or because, as some say, Nikomedia, through which they reached Europe, was sometimes called "Little Egypt." The other term for them, Zigane, is probably due to their capacity for music, *Chang* being a stringed instrument in Persia, and *Tchingián* or Tsigán, the musician, in Western Turkey.

Khási.

There remains the small group of Khási dialects (178,637) between the above and the enormous field of the Thibeto-Burman tongues. It has been stated already that this group cannot be affiliated to any of its neighbours, and it is confined to the range of hills that separates the two valleys of Assam. There are three tribal dialects the Lyngám, Dýko, and Sýnteng. Through the efforts of the Welsh missionaries in this tract, the Roman character is now used in all three, and the census was taken in it. It seems thoroughly established, and as the surrounding languages are different in structure, Khási will probably withstand their influence.

Thibeto-Burman languages.

The Thibeto-Burman group, which is the first and largest of the Tonic class with which the census has to deal, has been subdivided, chiefly for convenience in treatment, into geographical sections, in the same way as the Aryan. The first of these comprises not only the Thibetan of the region immediately to the north of the Himálaya, but the language of the Mongoloid tribes of the higher valleys on this side of the range, and those of Sikkim and Bhotán, none of which regions were included in the census. We are thus dealing with immigrants, except in the comparatively insignificant case of Kanáwari, or the language of the higher valley of the Satlaj, where it passes through the State of Bashahr, between Thibet and the Panjáb. The Thibetan was found chiefly in the valleys of the Panjáb Himálaya, in the neighbourhood of Sikkim and the Bengal Himálaya, and in the Tarai of the north-west, which is the winter resort of the inhabitants of the upper valleys of Kumaon and Garhwál. The Rong or Lepcha is nearly allied to the Thibetan, like the Bhotáni, or the tongue of that portion of the Himálayas known in India as Bhótant, or the end of Bhót, Thibet. The former language is found only at Darjiling, and the latter either there or amongst the winter traders in North Assam. Most of the languages of Nipál of

Language.	Population returning it.
Thibetan	20,544
Kanáwari	9,265
Nipáli, unspecified	141,273
„ Múrmi	20,597
„ Mangar	11,281
„ Limbu	12,605
„ Newári	5,217
„ Sunuwár	4,236
Other Nipáli dialects	657
Lepcha	10,125
Bhotáni	9,470
Total, Himalayan Group	**245,270**
Bôdo (Kachári)	198,705
Gáro	145,425
Lálúng	46,204
Kôch	8,107
Mêch	90,796
Tipperah	121,864
Other Bôdo dialects	4,314
Total, Bôdo Group	**609,415**
Miri-Ábor	35,703
Other Frontier dialects	1,282
Total, N.E. Frontier Group	**36,985**

Thibetan dialects.

Language.	Population returning it.
Nága dialects*	102,908
Mikir	90,236
Kákhyín and Lisháu	5,669
Total, Nága-Kákhyin Group	**198,813**
Manipuri (*Kathé*)	88,911
Kuki	18,828
Zhô (*Lúshai*)	41,926
Khyín	126,915
Total, Khyín-Lúshai Group	**276,580**
Arrakanese (Magh)	366,403
Burmese	5,560,461
Total, Burmese Group	**5,926,864**
Nikobári	1
Total, Thibeto-Burman Group	**7,293,928**

* Seven, but not completely distinguished in the returns.

the Tonic class are the mother tongues of people living beyond the British frontier, and many of those mentioned by Mr. Brian Hodgson, the chief authority on the subject, were not represented at the census at all, either because the tribes had not penetrated down to India, or, having got there, were confounded by a Hindu enumerator in the general term Nipáli. In addition to the recruits in our infantry regiments, Nipál furnishes a fair number of immigrants of Himalayan race to the adjoining hill country in Bengal and the west of Assam. The Gúrúng and Mangar are the main languages returned by the former class, and Múrmi, Limbu, and Newári, by the latter. It is remarkable that we find hardly any trace of the great Nipáli family of Kiránti languages in the schedules, and none of those of what Mr. Hodgson calls the "Broken tribes" of the lower portion of the State. The Nipáli soldiery as often as not had their language set down as Gurkháli, a title to which probably very few of them would have advanced a claim in their own country.

Nipál dialects.

Keeping still to the east, we enter the thorny path of Assam Hill philology, which requires as cautious treading as those of the country itself, where stockades, pitfalls, and bamboo caltrops beset the unwary at every turn. The languages of the western and southern tracts are comparatively easy to classify, as they have been studied for some years. Following the practice of local experts, they have been formed into a separate group, called, from the leading dialect, the *Bódo* or *Kachári*. This last has been fully examined in the works of Messrs. Hodgson and Endle. It is spread widely over the tract in question, and holds nearly the whole of the north-west of Assam. There is no literature or means of keeping up a standard of Bódo, and variations are therefore frequent. It is curious that no trace of the allied language, Dhimál, mentioned by Hodgson, should appear in the Assam return, nor in Bengal are there more than a couple of individuals returning it. It is probably confined to the Eastern Tarai, within Nipál territory. So the two persons just mentioned have been included under the Nipál troup. The Gáro language is current in the Western Assam Hills, and is said to be closely allied to the Bódo. The Méch, Rábha, Hajong, and Hojai, with the Lálúng, are all more or less local forms of the same family, and prevail respectively in small tracts along the Bengal and Assam border-land and the north bank of the Bráhmapútra. There are two other languages of this group worth note. The Kóchh, which includes the so-called Páni-Kóchh, belongs to an early tribe of settlers along the great river, which has been almost entirely converted to Bráhmanism. They number no less than 2,364,000, but the vernacular has been abandoned for Bengali towards the west, and the small State which represents the former Kóchh domination found no more than a dozen in it to return the ancestral tongue. The Tipperah language is found almost contiguous to the south-eastern branch of the Bódo, with which it is closely connected. It is returned chiefly from the State bearing this name on the Bengal frontier. The repelling force of the Hill tribes of a more northern descent has proved sufficient here, as farther south, to keep the dialects of the plains strictly within their political limits.

Bódo dialects.

Of the curious group of Tonic languages spoken amongst the wild tribes of our north-eastern frontier, we have but little on the census record. The Aka, Daphla Abor, Miri, and Mishmi inhabit the lower valleys of the Himálaya and send but few offshoots into what is known there as the "inner belt" of our influence. There is a settled colony of the Mishmi, however, in British territory, and some progress has been made with the investigation of the languages of this and the neighbouring tribes by frontier officers, to whom we have to look at present for our knowledge of the subject. Probably better acquaintance will lead to the discovery of more links between

Miri-Abor group.

the various forms of speech amongst them; for in this corner of the empire tribal hostility is the leading feature of intercourse, and the mere fact of separation is reason enough for considering a neighbour a natural enemy, and in disclaiming, of course any former connection with him.

Nága-Kákhyîn group.

Between the above group and the next in order lies a small wedge of the Tai or Shán family, which will be dealt with in connection with the languages of Burma later on. The Nága group is not confined to the tribes which bear that name, but, as stated in the introductory section of this chapter, includes the inhabitants of the Mikir hills to the north-west, and the tract stretching east, probably along the whole of the northern frontier of Upper Burma, which is in the hands of the people collectively known as Kákhyîn. There are seven tribal languages of the Nágas returned at the census, but unfortunately there is also a large body of people who are shown as speaking Nága only, without the distinction that could easily have been obtained had the enumerators been warned to look out for it. We have, for instance, a fair approximation to the number of the Angámi and Á-o Nagas, but the Kácha or Empe-o, the Kezháma, the Lho-tá, the Séma, and the Rengámá are but poorly represented. The language of the main Nága tribes on the western slope of the Indo-Burman watershed has been reduced to more or less grammatical form by Mr. Davies, the officer in charge of the Hill tracts, who is at present the best authority on the subject; and when similar work has been accomplished for the language of the Burmese tribes of the same race, the two results will be a very valuable contribution to philology. The curious off-shoot of the Kákhyîn race in the north-east corner of Assam has been already mentioned under the name of Sing-phô, or, more correctly, Ching-pau. It had its centre at Mogaung on a tributary of the Irawadi, near which the fighting took place last year, and established itself in Assam near the end of the last century, and made slaves of a good many of the Assamese of the neighbouring tribes. A mixed race, the offspring of this connection, is in existence, but returns the language of the country, not of the foreigner. The whole community is very small, just over 2,000 in all, of whom two-thirds are Sing-phô, and the rest, Duánia, of half-breeds.

Kúki-Lúshai group.

The next group of languages on which comment is required comprises the languages of the tribes of the range of hills separating India from Burma. In their northern extension these tribes are collectively known as Kúki. The term Lúshai, which is applied farther south, is not recognised by the people themselves, who use the name Zhô. Shendú is also a synonymous title for the Lùshai tribes. The tribes of the country between Bengal and Burma are known collectively as Khyîn in the east, and by a variety of local names in Bengal. The whole lot was left very much to itself in former years, as the inhabitants of the plains hold such races in considerable respect, and, trading on this feeling, the mountaineers have manifested their superiority over the peaceful communities they overhang in ways that the British had to stop with some vigour. It is hardly necessary to point out that with so many tribes close together, each under hereditary obligations to lay by a store of the skulls of its neighbour, the diversity of language is as great as in the tract across the Bráhmapútra. Information on these dialects has not yet been obtained, as the hills have but recently been permanently occupied. The only civilised community is that of the valley of Manipur, which acquired so painful a notoriety from the disturbances of March 1891. The language of this tract is called Manipuri in Bengal and Assam, and Kathé or Ponnú in Burma. The returns available relate only to the colonists or visitors in the adjacent portions of Assam, and the *entourage* of the late chief in Bengal and Mathura. In Mandalay there is still a considerable colony, descended from prisoners or slaves brought over during the wars of the late dynasty. In Lower Burma the number is decreasing, owing either to cessation of immigration or to the adoption of the Burmese language by the settlers, since there is no single colony in that part of the province like that in Mandalay, where the similarity of fortune and intimacy of intercourse has helped to keep up the original language. The cultivated dialect of Manipur has been studied and described by Colonel Lewin and Mr. Brojonáth Sháha, according to whom it shows a great advance on the rest of the tribal dialects. It is said to have had a special character of its own, which, like that of Malayálam, is now only used occasionally in formal deeds. For ordinary purposes it has been superseded by Bengali, introduced by the officials and settlers from that province. Manipur, like Nipál, has had its Bráhman invasion, with its concomitant traditions of the orthodox descent of the ruling family from the demigods of Bindraban on the Jamna, and there is a good deal of mixed blood in the central valley, which accounts for the relatively high culture of

that tract. The hills are still held by Kúki and other tribes of the same stock, and it is doubtful, therefore, if the language of Imphál is current far beyond the immediate influence of the court and its Hindu officers.

Khyîn dialects.

Between the Zhô country and Arrakan the tribal languages are badly mixed at the census. We have, however, grammars and vocabularies of the dialects current on the Burma side of the Yóma hills, amongst the Southern Khyíns, but the literary Burman, in his contempt for the men of the mountain, avoids discrimination of the rest of these tribes, and to him all Khyíns are one, or nearly so. We find, however, a few tribal languages set down, such as Mrô (15,891), Khwé-mi (14,126), and Daignét (856), from Northern Arrakan, but some of the races returning these are doubtless more numerons than the above figures would imply. Possibly, therefore, as the tribes expand beyond the shelter of the hills, they are absorbed linguistically into the gulf of Burmese.

Arrakanese.

We then come to Burma itself, and here it has been found advisable to show the main language under the two heads of Burmese and Arrakanese. Historically and philologically they are the same, but geographically it is possible to distinguish them. Arrakanese is the older form of the language, and has preserved features, especially of pronunciation, which the soft and indolent inhabitant of the rest of Burma has been willing to let drop. But there are still dialects outside Arrakan which belong to it rather than to the inland tracts. *Tavoyer*, for example, the special dialect of Tenasserim, and *Chaungthâ*, a vanishing relic, may be cited in proof of this. On the Bengal side of the bay, north and east of Chittagong, the language is returned as *Magh*, a name unknown to Arrakan, and, like the Goanese of the western coast, calling to mind the modern kitchen rather than the ancient kingdom from which it is derived, for the Magh and the Goanese furnish European India with the best of its *chefs*.

Burmese, &c.

In Burmese we have the language most numerously represented at the census of all the Tonic class. We have had occasion to mention already the tradition that this tongue came from the west, but, in fact, the only impression received from India viâ Ceylon is the alphabet in a very modified form, and a comparatively small vocabulary relating to the Mágadhi-born religion. On the other hand, the appearance of the people betokens a far more northern origin. Within historic times Burmese has proved itself a great absorbent of local dialects, either owing to political influences from Pegu and Mandalay or to the prevailing ecclesiastical system, which includes monastic training and education. *Yebein*, a tongue held to be distinct from the Burmese, and which was represented by 436 persons in 1881, has vanished from the returns, though there are nearly 2,300 of the tribe left. *Kádu*, *Dánu*, and *Yau*, too, are well on the way to the same fate, and show signs of decrepitude in the last 10 years, though the tribes are flourishing. But however strong the Burmese may be in its own country, it spreads but little into India. With the exception of the Maghs of Chittagong, most of the Burmese speakers who are to be found across the sea have strayed thither against their will, and include the late King and his establishment, and the "true patriots" scattered amongst the Indian jails—

> "For be it understood,
> They left their country for their country's good."

Môn group.

The Môn or Talaing languages may be mentioned here, though little more need be said about them than is to be found above in connection with the general subject of classification. The language is found in Anam and Cambodia, though in the latter case the influence of Chinese is very marked. It is worth noting, too, that the same tradition as to the advent of a prince from across the Bay of Bengal is current in all three communities. The only link between Pegu and the Môn colonies of the far east is found in Palaung, a language spoken by a small and isolated tribe in the north-east of Upper Burma. In the time of the late dynasty the Môn language was almost obliterated in Lower Burma, owing to the discouragement of it by the Burmese rulers and their officials, and it was expected to become extinct in a generation or so. Now, however, the census returns seem to

Language.	Population returning it.
Môn	226,495
Palaúng	2,847
Total, Môn Class	**229,342**

indicate that this language is either reviving, or that persons who were reluctant to return it on former occasions have taken heart, for there were only 154,553 returning it in 1881: but it is imprudent to prophecy that it will ever resume its position as one of the leading vernaculars in Amherst and Pegu. As yet, it is returned by little over one-half of the Môn-Talaing community in Lower Burma.

Shán or Tai group.

Between the two branches of the Môn there has been thrust a long belt of the Shán language, called in the centre and south Láo, or, by Europeans, Siamese. It has already been pointed out that the Ahôm or Shán settlers of Upper Assam failed to preserve their language in their new circumstances, so we find no entries of that tongue amongst them; and the Aitôns, a more modern tribe, are returned as mostly speaking Shán only, which is very likely due to mistake on the part of Hindu enumerators. The two other Shán colonies in Assam return a few entries of Khámti and Phakiál respectively, but the tongue does not extend beyond the limits occupied by those tribes. Khámti has been investigated by a frontier officer, and a grammar written of it; but there is a gap between this tract and the Láo or Htái of the Siamese kingdom, in which the intervening linguistic changes have still to be investigated. This cannot be done until the cis-Sálwîn Shán States have been brought into closer touch with the new administration of Upper Burma. By next census, therefore, more information will have been obtained, even if the States be not completely enumerated.

Language.	Population returning it.
Shán	174,871
Láo (*Htai*)	4
Aitôn	2
Khámti	2,945
Phakiál	625
Total, Taic Class	**178,447**

Malay group.

The Malayan class of languages is represented chiefly in the south of Burma, where there are a few settlers from the peninsula. The Sea-Gipsies or Salôn of the Mergui Archipelago, too, speak a tongue of this class, and owing to more careful enumeration, show nearly double the number that appear in the returns of 10 years back. The rest of the Malays are seafaring people, enumerated at the ports of India. As this class of languages does not really prevail within the sphere of the census operations, no more need be said about it.

Language.	Population returning it.
Malay	2,437
Salôn	1,628
Javanese	19
Total, Malay Class	**4,084**

Japanese.

Japanese can be disposed of in the same way. A few residents of the chief towns are all that return this language, and as the women returning it are more numerous than the men, its introduction is probably due to the fame of the Musmé of the baths and tea-houses of the Far East, which has been productive of emulation.

Chinese.

The Sinitic class is represented by two languages, Chinese and Kárén. The former is scattered nearly all over India, since merchants, carpenters, and cane-workers of this race are to be found in most large towns and cantonments. In Rangoon and Upper Burma there are regular communities from the Flowery Land, though in the latter the number of immigrants seems to have decreased since the country became British. In nearly every district, however, there are a few Chinese. They belong mainly to two classes. First, the merchant who hails from Canton or the east, and who comes round by sea; secondly, the people from Yún-nán, who come across by land to trade in petty wares and forest produce, and whose language is different from that of the former.

Language.	Population returning it.
Chinese	38,504
Kárên	674,846
Total, Sinitic Class	**713,350**

Kárén.

Kárén has been classed with Chinese on the authority of Dr. Cushing and other missionary scholars. The Kárén tract has been for some years the main field of missionary labour in Burma, and the results are to be found in most districts of the lower division of that province. The three chief dialects of this language differ considerably from each other, owing probably to much the same reason as is found operative in the case of the Lushai group, namely, the dispersion of the tribe over

wide tracts of difficult country, after the first arrival from the north. The Pwô dialect was returned by 449,450 persons, though only about 27,000 are given as of that tribe. The Sgáu shows 225,193. The Bghái or Kárén-nî was returned under these titles by no more than 16, so is evidently included in the first-named dialect. Taungthû, Mópghâ, and so on, are said to be only local names for one or other of the above three dialects. The Kárên does not extend much beyond the tract occupied by the tribes themselves, and some of the outskirts are said to be getting rapidly Burmanised in speech.

We can here take leave of the languages of India, and discuss the return of other Asiatic tongues. First comes the sister branch of the Aryan class, which may be called the Erânic, because, whatever its origin, the few representatives we have to deal with are well under the influence of Persian. As regards this last, in spite of the connection of India with Iran, and the settlement of natives of the latter in the north and west of the country, the language has obtained, as a parent tongue, little footing within the empire. It is still the language of polite society and of *belles lettres* amongst the educated classes of Musalmáns, but those to whom it is the only or the most familiar language are but few. In Bengal and Rangoon there are remnants of the old ruling families of Dehli and Lucknow; in the Panjáb, traders and immigrants are found, and the refugees from Afghánistán; and in Bombay, horse-dealers and emigrants from Persia, who have settled down in the chief towns. Beyond these centres there is hardly any real Persian spoken, and a good deal of what is returned as such is but the better sort of Urdu.

Eránic-Aryan languages.

Persian

Language.	Population returning it.
Persian	28,189
Armenian	833
Pakhtú (Pashtú)	1,080,931
Balôch	219,475
Total, Eranic-Aryan Class	**1,329,428**

Armenian is the parent tongue of a small colony of that race in Bengal, Lower Burma, and a few other parts of India. The persons returning it are permanently domiciled in India, and probably use English more and more each generation.

Armenian.

Pakhtú or Pashtu, the language of the Pathán (Pakhtwán), belongs, as has been said, to the Indic-Aryan class in its structure, but to the Erânic in much of its vocabulary. It has been grouped under the latter, as it is geographically beyond India, and Persian of a sort is undoubtedly the vernacular of the north and west of Afghánistán. Most of the Pashtu-speakers are located in the Panjáb, either as settlers or amongst the retainers of the refugees. There is another class which travels over nearly all India peddling rugs and fruit, and sometimes selling horses brought down from their native land. They leave the latter in the autumn, perambulate the genial plains of India during the winter, and return to Ghazni, or wherever it may be, in the late spring, in time to resume their home occupation of agriculture and fruit-growing. Year after year they do this, and many tribes of the Sulaimán and Kharoti map out India into regular divisions, one of which is assigned to be exploited by each company. There are a few who do not return at all, but remain all the year round in India, varying the monotony of commerce, according to the police, with exploits less legitimate.

Pakhtú.

Balôch, again, is a language of Persian affinity, used as a vernacular only in the frontier districts of the lower Panjáb and in Sindh. The prevalence of this tongue, according to the returns, in some of the native States, is due to the number of mercenaries of Balôch race entertained by the chiefs as personal retainers and treasury guards. They are usually Makránis, speaking that dialect of Balôch. They have a strong strain of African blood, and are not of the pure type of the north.

Balôch.

Next to Erán, we naturally come to its enemy, linguistically known as Turán, but the latter is very poorly represented in India linguistically. The majority of Túrki speakers come from Turkestán, and there are a few Osmánli settled in Bombay and Haiderabád. It is not worth while for so small a number to distinguish the various entries of Uzbegi, Yárkandi, Chagatai, &c., from the cultivated dialect of Stamboul. The Finn entries are from the vessels in port on

Turánic languages.

Language.	Population returning it.
Túrki	607
Finn	10
Magyár	42
Total, Túránic	**659**

the census night at Calcutta and Rangoon. Magyár is returned by a few merchants and travellers, and by artisans on the railways, where nearly all the tongues of Europe are to be found. The term Turánic has been reserved for this class of languages, instead of being extended, as is sometimes done, to the whole of the Tonic and Agglutinative languages of Burma and the Himálaya, for which the title selected above raises, it is to be hoped, fewer questions.

Semitic languages. Arabic.

The Semitic is the last of the Asiatic classes with which the census is concerned. It is made up mainly of Arabic, the vernacular of Aden, which Settlement furnishes nearly half the return. Most of the rest of the entries are returned from Haidrabád, where a portion of the Nizám's force and the body-guards of his chief nobles are recruited from Arabic-speaking tribes of Africa and the coast of the Persian Gulf.

Language.	Population returning it.
Arabic	53,351
Hebrew	2,171
Syriac	12
Total, Semitic	**55,534**

Hebrew.

Hebrew was returned by a number of Jews, much on the same principle that Sanskrit was put down by Bráhmans and Arabic by Musalmán teachers of the Kurán. It is the distinctive language of their faith, though it can hardly be called a mother tongue, so it is considered dignifying, if the head of the house is at all conversant with it, to have the fact recorded. The entries were chiefly from Jewish colonies where Arabic, Maráthi, or Malayálam would be the correct return. Turkish Arabia supplies a good number of Israelitish settlers. In Cochín there are two permanent colonies, one of which is certainly of foreign origin, whilst in the coast district round Bombay the class of rural Jews habitually use Maráthi in their households. In Aden, too, the colony is permanently settled, and speaks a dialect of Arabic. No definite information has been recorded about the few entries of Syriac which are found here and there. Possibly they are traceable to Nestorian priests, of whom there may be some in Cochín and other parts of the country.

Negro dialects.

From Africa we get a number of dialects, found mostly in Aden, where there is a constant stream of migration to and from the opposite coast. The Somáli and Swahíli tribes furnish most of the entries. The negroes who are employed on board the steamers trading with India are often called Sidi or Habshi, which, strictly speaking, is Abyssinian. They are from farther south, however, and usually take ship at Zanzibár, or come from the Persian Gulf ports, such as Mascat. It would be incorrect, therefore, to class their languages as Abyssinian, which would bring them into the Semitic class. It may be remembered that in the early days of operations against the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, vessels full of boys and girls were captured, and the children made over to certain missionary orphanages and other institutions in Bombay. They were trained to a mechanical trade or to domestic service, and thus remained in the country of their adoption. Another class found in the households of chiefs and rich nobles is still recruited in less reputable ways, mainly on account of the high character for fidelity to their employer borne by men of this race.

European languages.

We have now to consider the return of the languages of Europe and the west. Of these there is a great variety, though none but English is strongly represented. This last, which, for census purposes, is held to include *Scotch*, though not Gaelic, is returned by 100,000 or so born in the United Kingdom, by scattered denizens of Australia, the United States, and Canada, &c., as well as by the increasing class of Europeans of British descent born and domiciled in India, and the Eurasians. Of the other languages returned, German, French, Italian, and Greek may be taken as those of commercial sojourners, and Welsh, Gaelic, and Irish are recruited from the regiments that happen to be on service in India. In the same way, the Scandinavian languages depend on the number of vessels in port on the census night for their representatives.

Language.		Population returning it.
Teutonic	English	238,499
	German	2,215
	Dutch	119
	Flemish	22
Scandinavian	Danish	94
	Swedish	187
	Norwegian	152
Keltic	Welsh	245
	Gaelic	264
	Irish	299
	Keltic (*unspecified*)	2
Mediterranean	Greek	380
	Latin	1
	Italian	690
	Maltese	32
	Roumanian	22
	Spanish	159
	French	2,171
Slavonic	Russian	95
	Polish	46
	Czech	1
	Bulgarian	49
	Slavonic (*unspecified*)	1
Basque		1
Total, European		**245,746**

Comparing the return of these languages with that of the preceding census, it will be seen that the Europeans have increased by some 37,000, out of which number more than 35,000 are amongst the English speakers. Changes in the garrison, as well as the natural increase amongst the domiciled population and Eurasians, sufficiently account for the latter. Of the foreigners, the three commercial classes, German, French, and Greek, have all largely increased, but the Italian-speaking population has fallen off, owing partly to the disappearance of a colony of that nationality from Rangoon, where it was established during the existence of the kingdom of Upper Burma. The Scandinavians were much fewer, and the Celts many more, than in 1881, owing to the temporary causes just mentioned. Looking up some of the details, it appears that the priest who returns Latin as being the tongue of his mother, the Church, has safely weathered the intercensal decade; so, too, have the two Kelts and the single Slavonian, who still refrain from further particularising their mother tongue; but the Lapp has given place to a Basque, and representatives of Bohemia and Iceland have appeared, besides various Bulgarians.

Comparison of Tribal languages with Tribal population.

No general comparison between the returns for the two enumerations has been attempted, since, partly owing to the wider scope of the present operations, partly perhaps, to the better understanding of the rules by the enumerators, it is only in the purely localised or tribal dialects that such comparison could be practicable. But there is a certain interest, connected with what has been said regarding the prevalence of tribal dialects, in comparing the return of languages in this table with that of the tribe in Table XVII. The following statement, accordingly, gives specimens of the results of this comparison, the population where language was not returned being deducted in all cases:—

	Tribe, &c.	Numerical Strength.		Difference of B. from A.
		A.—By Tribe.	B.—By Tribal Language.	
N. Central Belt.	Santhál	1,494,045	1,642,154	+ 148,109
	Bhíl	933,512	148,596	— 784,916
	Baiga, Bhinjwa, &c.	1,030,332	48,883	— 981,449
	Múndá, Hô, Kól, Kur, and Korwa	1,109,157	840,282	— 268,875
	Kharria	68,425	67,772	— 653
	Kharwár	112,298	7,651	— 104,647
Central Belt.	Oraon	523,258	368,222	— 155,036
	Gond	2,897,591	1,379,580	—1,518,011
	Sáwara	438,317	102,039	— 336,278
	Gadaba	34,127	29,789	— 4,338
	Kandh	627,388	320,071	— 307,317
	Mal-Pahádia	18,506	30,838	+ 12,332
	Juang	9,179	11,171	+ 1,192
Nilgiri.	Irula	58,503	1,614	— 56,889
	Tóda	739	736	— 3
	Kóta	1,201	1,201	—
Assam.	Miri-Abor	36,738	35,703	— 1,035
	Khási	172,150	178,637	+ 6,487
	Kachári	243,378	198,705	— 44,673
	Kóchh	2,364,365	8,107	—2,356,258
	Gáro	150,227	145,525	— 4,702
	Méch	96,873	90,796	— 6,077
	Nága	101,568	102,908	+ 1,340
	Manipuri	84,540	88,911	+ 4,371
	Kúki	25,940	18,828	— 7,112
	Lúshai	43,840	41,926	— 1,914
Nipal.	Murmi	21,889	20,597	— 1,292
	Mangar	19,383	11,281	— 8,102
	Limbu	15,079	12,605	— 2,474
	Sunúwár	5,210	4,236	— 974
	Newár	4,979	5,217	+ 238
Burma.	Burmese	5,408,984	5,560,461	+ 151,477
	Arrakanese	452,164	366,403	— 85,761
	Karén	540,876	674,846	+ 133,970
	Món	467,885	226,495	— 241,390
	Chinese	41,832	38,504	— 3,328

The general drift of the statement is to show how the tribal tongues are falling before the general dialects of the plains. This is marked out very plainly in the figures for Bhíl, Gónd, Baiga, with its companions, and Kharwár, in the case of Hindi, and equally well in that of Uriya, amongst the speakers of Kandh and Sáwara. A

TABLE showing, proportionally, the LANGUAGES prevalent in each PROVINCE, &c.

Province and Language.	Per-centage on Total.
1. Ajmér :—	
1. Hindi	56·58
2. Marwádi	12·20
Others	1·22
2. Assam :—	
1. Bengáli	50·06
2. Assamese	25·82
3. Hindi	4·20
4. Kachári	3·59
5. Khási	3·25
6. Gáro	2·19
Others	10·89
3. Bengal :—	
1. Bengáli	52·89
2. Hindi	36·65
3. Uriya	6·46
4. Santhál	1·99
Others	2·01
4. Bengal States :—	
1. Uriya	45·21
2. Bengáli	19·72
3. Hindi	15·29
4. Santhál	8·25
5. Tippera	3·34
6. Múndá, &c.	3·19
Others	5·00
5. Berár :—	
1. Maráthi	79·46
2. Hindi	9·67
3. Gónd	3·24
Others	7·63
6. Bombay :—	
1. Maráthi	53·82
2. Gujaráthí	20·78
3. Kanarese	15·59
4. Urdú	5·62
Others	4·19
7. Bombay States :—	
1. Gujaráthi	60·68
2. Maráthi	22·19
3. Kanarese	7·25
4. Kachhi	4·73
5. Urdú	3·20
Others	1·95
8. Sindh :—	
1. Sindhi	83·00
2. Balóch	6·20
3. Márwádi	4·74
Others	6·06
9. Baroda :—	
1. Gujaráthi	93·00
2. Urdú	3·39
3. Maráthi	2·11
Others	1·50
10. Central Provinces :—	
1. Hindi	60·25
2. Maráthi	19·61
3. Gónd	9·32
4. Uriya	6·35
5. Urdú	1·43
Others	3·04
11. Central Province States :—	
1. Uriya	42·41
2. Hindi	36·06
3. Gónd	8·47
4. Halabi	6·48
5. Kandh	3·06
Others	3·52

Province and Language.	Per-centage on Total.
12. Upper Burma :—	
1. Burmese	92·91
2. Shán	2·68
Others	4·41
13. Lower Burma :—	
1. Burmese	60·49
2. Karén	14·28
3. Arakanese	7·41
4. Món	4·85
5. Bengali	3·50
6. Khyín	2·15
7. Shán	2·02
Others	5·30
14. Coorg :—	
1. Kanarese	43·99
2. Kodagu	20·40
3. Tamil	9·36
4. Malayálam	6·47
5. Túlú	6·94
6. Urdú	3·99
7. Telugu	2·14
Others	6·71
15. Mysore :—	
1. Kanarese	73·94
2. Telugu	15·19
3. Urdu	4·73
4. Tamil	3·22
Others	2·92
16. Madras :—	
1. Tamil	39·51
2. Telugu	38·32
3. Malayálam	7·54
4. Kanarese	4·06
5. Uriya	3·63
6. Urdú	2·29
7. Tulu	1·34
Others	3·31
17. Madras States :—	
1. Malayálam	73·54
2. Tamil	22·86
3. Telugu	1·54
Others	2·06
18. Haidrabád —	
1. Telugu	43·61
2. Maráthi	30·28
3. Kanarese	12·58
4. Urdú	10·38
Others	3·15
19. North-West Provinces :—	
1. Hindi	97·06
2. Kumáoni	1·46
3. Garhwáli	1·19
Others	0·29
20. N.W. Province States :—	
1. Hindi	69·58
2. Garhwáli	30·32
Others	0·10
21. Panjáb :—	
1. Panjábi	63·13
2. Hindi	17·63
3. Jatki	8·43
4. Pakhtú	5·06
5. Western Pahári	3·54
6. Bágri (*Márwádi*)	1·50
Others	0·71
22. Panjáb States :—	
1. Panjábi	60·40
2. Western Pahári	18·39
3. Hindi	11·21
4. Jatki	3·27
5. Marwádi (*Bágri*)	5·61
Others	1·12

few items seem to be capable of special explanations. For instance, the Khási speakers include those returned as Christians, not under the tribal name. The Manipuris, too, use the title of Kshatria, or the warrior caste of Brahmanic society, to some extent. Assamese, moreover, seems gaining ground amongst the Kachari tribes and their fellows, as Burmese is further south. The discrepancy between the two returns of Karéns is not explicable on the surface, as the Christians who have returned that as their race are included for the purposes of this table under the tribal head. The Chinese have the peculiar custom of attributing their own nationality to the male children of mixed parentage, but of returning the females as Burmese, a fact which seems to account for the difference noticeable in the table. The Irula tongue is no more than a rude dialect of Tamil, so there is no reason to expect its return under a distinct head. In the case of the Nipál tribes the mother-tongue was mostly entered simply as Nipáli or Pahári. The figures for Mal-Paháḍi are clearly confused with those of other tribes. There is no more detailed explanation available as to the rest of the discrepancies in the statement.

The third part of Table X. in the Imperial series shows the linguistic distribution of the population of each province and State. A proportional summary of it is shown opposite. It seems to require no special comment.

B.—The Distribution of the Population by Religion.

> "One religion after another may fade away, but the religious sense which created them all can never become dead to humanity."—*Richter.*

The various forms of religious profession current in India bear, as a rule, very distant relationship to the ethnic distribution of the population, as each includes recruits from nearly every section of the community. But all bear traces of the general influence mentioned in the opening section of this chapter. That influence, indeed, finds perhaps its strongest manifestation in the hold still universally retained over the beliefs of the masses by concrete notions regarding the relationship between man and the supernatural, such as are associated with the very earliest stages of organised Animism. The subject is, from its very character, too wide to be discussed here, but it is impossible to deal adequately with the statistics given in Table VI. of the Imperial series without considerable explanation of the scope of the nomenclature adopted, and this entails something in the way of a disquisition on the development of the various component elements of the general titles which have been thus brought into the service of the census.

Animistic religion.

To begin with a term just used above, it is necessary to show what is here meant by Animism. As the word is extensively used by Dr. Tiele in a sense somewhat wider than that which other writers on the subject have given to it, his own interpretation, which is that adopted for the purposes of the present work, may as well be quoted :—

> "Animism is the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful—those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe—acquire the rank of divine beings, and become objects of worship. These spirits are conceived as moving freely through earth and air, and, either of their own accord, or because conjured by some spell, and thus under compulsion, appearing to men (*Spiritism*). But they may also take up their abode, either permanently or temporarily, in some object, whether lifeless or living it matters not: and this object, as endowed with higher power, is then worshipped or employed to protect individuals or communities (*Fetishism*). Spiritism, essentially the same as what is now called Spiritualism, must be carefully distinguished from Fetishism, but can only rarely be separated from it."

Such is the general conception of Animism, but, as we have no occasion to treat of it in its more primitive form, it has been used above with the addition of the word organised. By this is meant that in the stage of development in which we find it in India, it has passed from its archaic and indeterminate shape into a collection of polydaimonistic tribal religions, in which spells, magic, and exorcism are all prominent. It is relevant to what has to be said a little later, to point out that in this stage the malevolent spirits are considered the more important, and little notice is taken of the good. The main object, in the first place, is to get power over the spirits by magic, and, in a higher stage of belief, to propitiate them by gifts or homage. These notions are to be found in every stage of evolution in different parts of India, but the term Animistic has been restricted, in the census tables, to a certain class of the community. As in the case of several other forms of creed in that country, it is necessary to define the scope of the title negatively, or by explaining what is not included under it, rather than what is. In anticipation, therefore, of an explanation of the term Hindu, it may

be stated that it was the intention of the framers of the rules for enumeration that under the head of Animistic should come all members of the forest tribes who were not locally acknowledged to be Hindu, Musalmán, Christian, or Buddhist, by religion. No general title for the religion of such communities was prescribed, but the enumerator was instructed to enter in the column reserved for this information the the name of the tribe, and the compilation under the above-mentioned head was made at the Central office of the Provincial census. The distinction between the tribal form of faith and that of the lower grades of the Bráhmanic community is very elastic, as will be shown below, so that the application of the rule on the borders of the hill tracts was no doubt arbitrary. It is well known, too, that the process of Brahmanising has been long and continuously in progress amongst these tribes, where, indeed, the latter religion is said to find the only fields left for its propaganda, so that very probably the more advanced branches of one of these tribes, who presumably dwell in closer proximity to the plains, are in fact affiliated to the Brahmanic faith, which makes but small demands upon their capacity for change, whilst their fellows in the remote valleys and forests continue in their former unregenerate condition. In this way we can account for the fact that out of 15,922,000 members of the forest tribes, only 9,280,000 are returned under their tribal form of religion. But the distinction is really of little moment, because, as was mentioned in the beginning of this section, every stratum of Indian society is more or less saturated with Animistic conceptions but little raised above those which predominate in the early stages of religious development.

Hinduism.

We can pass on, therefore, to the next form of creed, which, under the title of Hinduism, is returned by more than 72 per cent. of the population of India. The clumsy name is only justifiable by convention, and only definable by the same process of successive exclusion as was used above with reference to the application of the term Animism. Primarily and historically, it is the antithesis of Islám, and thus includes all Indian forms of faith in which the uncompromising Unitarianism of the adherents of the Prophet detected signs of the worship of idols. But for the present purpose greater discrimination is necessary, and internal dissent is entitled to recognition. For example, there are two purely Indian offshoots from the parent stock, the systems adopted by the *Sikhs* and *Jains* respectively, that have been, on the whole, sufficiently differentiated to form distinct professions, although, in the present day, the dividing lines are anything but clearly denoted, owing to the confusion between social identity and doctrinal diversity. *Buddhism*, again, originally a manifestation of nonconformity arising almost in the centre of the orthodoxy of the day, received a new set of characteristics when allowed to develop *in partibus infidelium;* and even in the few tracts within the borders of its native land where it still prevails, little affinity is traceable between it and the religion in the bosom of which it was nurtured. There are two modern schools of doctrine to each of which the name of a separate religion is sometimes given, Brahmoism and Aryanism, but neither is current beyond a section of the community numerically insignificant, or differs sufficiently from the vital tenets of orthodoxy to be entitled to such a distinction. In the return under review, accordingly, they are shown subordinately to the general title, and in the other returns in which religion is specially recognised, they are included in the latter. The confusion between Hinduism and the lower or tribal forms of religion has been sufficiently mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. And in some parts of the country, as, for instance, the Panjáb and Central India, there is a marked disinclination to apply the term Hindu to members of the lower and impure castes, such as sweepers and village menials. In the Panjáb, however, such returns have been added to the Hindu, but in Central India many have been classed as Animistic which are shown elsewhere as within the pale of orthodoxy. Thus, by the process of exclusion, we reach the conclusion that Hinduism is the large residuum that is not Sikh, or Jain, or Buddhist, or professedly Animistic, or included in one of the foreign religions, such as Islám, Mazdaism, Christianity, or Hebraism. Thus limited, a more applicable title for it would be Brahmanism, which connotes its two chief characteristics in the present day, the recognition of inherited social status and the authority of a hereditary sacerdotalism. It must be understood, however, that this use of the term does not imply that absolute supremacy of the priestly class which induced M. Barth, a leading authority on the subject, to restrict the term to the earlier stage of the faith, before the Buddhistic schism, nor does it imply that the sacerdotalism in question is invariably that of this class, for we have instances where the office is undertaken by those of other sections of the community, such as the Jangam, amongst the Lingaiat heretics,

and the Gosains of the quasi-orthodox converts of the Assam valley. The expansion of the creed consequent on the recrudescence of Brahmanic influence that succeeded the decay of Buddhism in India has induced the authority just cited to employ the term Hinduism for the present system, but as the latter is the work of the Bráhman, and the entire tendency, whether of orthodoxy or dissent, is in the same direction as during the earlier development, it seems inadvisable to ignore in the nomenclature the main factor in the actual conditions.

In few, if any, other parts of the world can be found so apt an illustration of what Gibbon puts as an *obiter dictum* into the mouth of the Roman magistrate, that in every country the form of superstition which has received the sanction of time and experience is the best adapted to the climate and its inhabitants. Religion, in the etymological sense of the word, it is not, and never was. The binding element is only educed by active opposition on the part of some other form of faith, such as Islám, and is generally confined to that part of the country where the two communities are separated by race as well as doctrine. Elsewhere, if there be any general feeling at all, it is limited to sectarian disputes, subordinate to social considerations. Its extraordinary vitality is due, obviously, to its power of adapting itself to many new circumstances, to the elasticity that accompanies the absence of dogma in the faith taught to the masses, and to the relegation of ceremonial and liturgy to social observances, and equally concrete worship. To quote Gibbon, again,—

> "The superstition of the people was not embittered by any mixture of theological rancour, nor was it confined by the chain of any speculative system. . . . The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed in peace their local and respective influences. . . . Such was the mild spirit of antiquity that the nations were less attentive to the differences than to the resemblances of their religious worship."

This applies very fairly to the state of feeling in India in the present day. The faith of the masses is purely local, and Brahmanism, as a whole, is absolutely restricted to the Indian continent, from the Himálaya to Rámnád, and from the Indus to the borders of Arrakan. Here it lies, as has been said, like a lake, in gentle motion within its banks, from local ferment below, or as its surface catches some stray gust of fresh ideas. Every now and then an island of Animism is sapped and crumbles into the depths till no trace of it remains, but beyond this there is no accretion affecting the dead level of the contents.

The process by which the community has reached this stage of, so to speak, marking time in its religious development, is highly instructive, for, as its recent historian, M. Barth, writes :—

> "Nowhere else do we meet with circumstances, on the whole, so favourable for the study of the successive transformations and destiny, so to speak, of a polytheistic idea of the universe. Among all the kindred conceptions that we meet with, there is not another which has shown itself so vigorous, so flexible, so apt as this to assume the most diverse forms, and so dextrous in reconciling all extremes, from the most refined idealism to the grossest idolatry; none has suceeded so well in repairing its losses; no one has possessed in such a high degree the power of producing and reproducing new sects, even great religious, and of resisting, by perpetual re-genesis in this way from itself, all the causes that might destroy it, at once those due to internal waste and those due to external opposition."

Of the religion brought by the early Arya into the plains of India, little, if any trace is left, By comparison of the more archaic conceptions of the Mazdaistic creed with those of the same class in the Vedic, it seems that the worship of the elements was one of the chief features in both. But the earliest utterances on the subject in the collections that have come down to us are clearly stamped with the mark of their sacerdotal origin, and can only be accepted as the productions of an age far more advanced in religious conception than that in which the Arya crossed the mountains, leaving their nearest kin in possession of the field in Central Asia. In the Vedic literature there are invocations, no doubt, parts of which are far older than the rest, which were pieced together after the sacrifice with which they were connected had grown into the appanage of a hieratic body, and from these some notion of the Vedic theology may be obtained; but this is very different from what must have preceded it, and between the two is drawn a curtain which bears no sign or representation of what it conceals. Modern investigators, however, are satisfied that alongside of the higher Animistic ideas that are shadowed forth in the Vedic, or sacrificial literature, there must have been an exoteric, and lower, stratum of beliefs, of much the same sort as are found amongst undeveloped communities in other parts of the world. As the immigrants advanced eastward, this lower influence asserted itself, and the superstition of the dark races came into contact with that of the foreigner. The sacrifice, as a means of securing the material favours of the gods, had by this time become the main feature

in the religion of the Arya, and it is curious to note that even in this early period the religious element was egregiously restricted, for the altar of each clan or family had, by special prescription, to be erected as far as possible from that of any other member of the community. This is, perhaps, only what is to be expected from the very practical bargain which the sacrifice was the method of concluding with the supernatural powers, the benefits of which could not possibly be shared by any besides the provider of the oblation. From the time when the sacrifice passed from being an office undertaken by several of the leading classes of the community into a mystery in the hands of a special body, the liturgy naturally closed upon what it had already acquired, and the production of fresh invocations ceased, lest the monopoly of the sacrificing priest should be endangered. Thus a close body of literature was created, and the text grew in importance over the spirit, as the conceptions of the community were popularised away from their original tradition, and all participation in communion with the supernatural was withdrawn from the bulk of the population. The effects on the language of the Arya has been already mentioned. On the hieratic body the results were more direct. The whole duty of the Bráhman was held to lie in the preservation of the verbal accuracy of the ancient invocations, and in the interpretation thereof as the original tongue fell more and more into disuse. With the exception of the metempirical speculations that began to be rife soon after the class had outgrown the duties imposed on them in connection with ministration, the whole course of study was directed to the ritual, in which their male progeny were trained by long and arduous instruction. Women and the lower orders were excluded from this course, and, in fact, no class but that of the priests was admitted to what was at the time the only learning. Ere long, too, the Bráhman abandoned the practice of the sacrifice in favour of study and devotion, with a view to his own personal salvation. The hereditary sub-division of society was also developed so as to ensure the permanent debasement of the masses of the people, as seems to have been the intention of the later authorities amongst the Jews, in the Levitical stage of their history. But the impassable gulf between the hierarchy and the rest, the restriction to the former of all knowledge, study and ritual, still more, the selfishness of their system, under which all effort was centred in the thaumaturgical storage of merit for personal use only, to the exclusion of others—all these are traits that inevitably lead to a reaction.

Buddhism.

This came in the shape of Buddhism. Regarding the question whether such a person as Sákya Muni ever existed, there is this to be said, that there certainly was a personal head to the movement, and that to this fact is due a great deal, in fact, most, of the success that attended the propagation of the new creed in later years. On the other hand, there is no doubt that, as pointed out by M. Senart, most of the legend that attached itself to this personality in the hands of the proselytes who were not with the Founder from the beginning, is little more than can be attributed to the ordinary glamour of a solar myth. But the main point to be noted in reference to our present subject is that the reaction grew out of the system itself, leaving much of the latter unaffected. The great change lay in the substitution of the merit of the good life for that of cult, theological lore, or asceticism. There was no overt opposition offered to the current creed, but the flank of the priestly class was completely turned by the new doctrine. The monopoly of the knowledge of the sacred works of Vedic literature by the Bráhman was not impugned, but Buddhism explained that such knowledge was not essential to emancipation. The practice of asceticism was not deprecated, provided that it was accompanied by active benevolence to others. Worst of all, as a good life is within the capacity of all, the merit thereof could be reaped by anyone, irrespective of social position, so that salvation was placed within the reach of the lowest caste as much as within that of the Bráhman or warrior. In the monastic discipline, which was described as the first step towards that object, caste distinctions, and afterwards those of sex, were obliterated. Human nature, however, was probably not so very different then from what it is now, so there is no reason to conclude that this equality was at once carried to its extreme, save in theory; and as many Brahmans are reported to have joined the monasteries, it is more than probable that the impure castes, from long habit, held aloof till the new religion had made considerable way. Just so, in the present day, we find that in spite of the theoretical equality of all castes before the governing power, it has been found impossible to mix together the middle classes and the helots in the same school. The latter are either not admitted into the same building at all, or, where they are provided with a separate quarter, the teacher is said to provide himself with a supply of clay pellets as instruments of chastisement, to avoid the pollution of the orthodox rattan

by contact with their bodies. But in this monastic discipline lay, in the first instance, the strength of the whole Buddhistic system, and its weakness in the end. The object was to train people to disseminate the principles of the faith by exhortation in the tongue of the masses. All was on a popular basis, and in the teaching there was nothing esoteric, but much morality and little or no spiritism. Buddhism made way slowly but steadily at first, without fanaticism or aggressiveness towards the Brahmanic tenets and practice. But, in accordance with the tendency, we have already had more than once to notice, the founder received the honour of apotheosis at the hands of his disciples; miracles were attributed to him, and on the recognition of his system as the State church of the only consolidated monarchy in India at the time, the new faith enjoyed for rather over a century unprecedented opportunities of expansion. There was evidently opposition of some sort from without, and schismatics and Laodiceans crept into the fold, but all this, so long as the path lay upward, only served to strengthen the faithful, and dissent was subdued by a General Council held under royal auspices. Selected missionaries were sent abroad with instructions from the king himself to see that the doctrine was made available to one and all in their respective vernacular languages. This last provision, however, was apparently disregarded in later years. But at all events Buddhism was conveyed across the Vindhya through the Deccan and the south to Ceylon. The mission to that island had the honour of being conducted by the son of the king in person, and from thence it spread later on to Burma, Java, and the surrounding country. The advent to power in the north of monarchs of considerable strength, both Skythian and Greek, gave an opportunity of diffusing the creed over the trans-Himalayan tracts bordering on India, and from thence into the north-east. Menander himself is claimed by the Buddhists as a convert, and there is no doubt that the human element in the creed carried it where the narrow doctrine of Brahmanism would receive no hearing.

We have now to look briefly at the causes which led to the decline of Buddhism. We have seen that in the first instance it was the founder's intention to run parallel with the orthodox faith, and even to retain caste, where conduct was in conformity with Buddhistic prescription. But there was the obvious denial of the right of the Brahman, as such, to assume superiority over the rest, and this was the thorn that rankled. Harmony was outwardly maintained, however, until the favour of the monarch began to divert the stream of charity, which, under the old system, to be meritorious had to flow into the coffers of the Brahmans, to whom a gift was personal, into the laps of the monks, who by their vows endowed their monastery with all the largess they might receive. The results, apart from the effect on the Brahmanical mind, were twofold. In the first place, the monastic orders rapidly increased and throve, so as to be able to provide the army of trained missionaries of whom we spoke above, and again, the establishment of these large bodies of more or less educated men in fixed situations, gave rise to architectural art in India, to the enrichment of the simple ritual of the founder, and, finally, to the erection of gorgeous temples and shrines over his relics. For, following on his canonisation came, of course, the desire to perpetuate his miraculous powers by the distribution of portions of his clothing, his begging bowl, and even his hair, teeth, and other terminals. But the tide of Buddhism as professed in India did not remain long at the full. We have no trustworthy or complete account of the causes that led to its decadence. It is plain, however, that soon after its accession to power as a State church it began to temper propaganda with persecution. One of the passages in the inscriptions of King Asoka puts this point with Thukydidean terseness:—

> "In less than two years the gods that were worshipped as true in Jámbudvípa have been rendered false, the result, not of my glory, but of my zeal."

Then, too, in the monastic system it was forging the means of its own extinction. The number of monks increased till they formed a society of their own, apart from worldly interests and from the lower sympathies of the community. When the zeal of conversion and exhortation had spent itself, the monks had nothing left to do but what is their fate in all countries where they exist, to withdraw from active life, and pass their time in discipline, introspection, and what Bacon calls vermiculate discussion. Thus their hold over the people and over their creed as a working religion, weakened. The Brahmans, during their period of depression, had laid to heart the methods of their adversaries. Theological teachers arose who enrolled bodies of disciples, in rivalry of the monasteries of Buddhism. Their tenets were popularised, their ritual enriched and modified, temples were built with public and gorgeous ceremonial, and, more important than all this, the Brahmanic pantheon was avowedly opened to the most

widely popular of the local deities, male and female. Thus the regenerated and transformed Brahmanism was very soon in a position to gain an easy victory over their enervated rivals. The rapidity and completeness of the decay of the faith of Buddha, in spite of the short and partial revival under Shiláditya, is one of the most remarkable features in the history of Indian religion. Not that it has not left a praiseworthy mark on the latter-day Brahmanism that succeeded it, for no doubt the charity and tenderheartedness with the disregard of sacrifice that characterise the latter, are indirectly due to the lessons learnt by the masses whilst under Buddhistic influences, as they are alien to both the older Brahmanism and the Animism with which it is mingled. But as a religion, it has completely disappeared from the continent. We find the north-eastern portion of Kashmér and of the Panjáb, the Lepcha and Bhótia of the eastern Himálaya, and a few tribes in eastern Assam still acknowledging the creed of Buddha in its northern development. In Nipál, too, it holds the higher valleys, though the lower have succumbed to the social attractiveness of Brahmanism. Omitting this last-named tract, the Buddhists of India number but 243,000, of whom, again, one-half are found in the border land of Burma and Arrakan. When we take into consideration, moreover, the number of Chinese traders and of Burmese convicts in Indian prisons, the actual Buddhist population becomes very small indeed, and of the Aryan community professing this faith not a single representative remains. All that are not Burmese are of Thibetan extraction.

Jainism.

A second offshoot from the earlier Brahmanism is found in the Jain, a form of belief that still subsists and flourishes in India to this day. Its origin is veiled from us, but it bears a strong family likeness to the earlier form of Buddhism, and it is a question amongst scholars whether it rose about the same time or a little earlier. At all events it seems to have been unpopular with the Buddhists, and to have diverged less from Brahmanic orthodoxy. The monastic system was not countenanced, but ritual was simplified and women were allowed to share in it. As in Buddhism, however, the larger section of the Jains decline to allow that women can attain Nirvána. The latter, however, is with them perpetual bliss, instead of complete annihilation. Caste, amongst the Jains, is maintained, and though they have no special reservation of the priesthood to a class, there is a general tendency in that direction, and in some cases Bráhmans even are employed. In later years the Jains seem to have competed with the Bráhmans in literature and science, so that they fell into disfavour, and would very probably have succumbed, but for the advent of the Musalmán power. In the north and west of India they are still a cultivated class, mostly engaged in commerce, whilst in the south, where they share with the Buddhists, who preceded them, the credit of forming the Kanarese and Tamil literature, they are as a rule, agriculturists. Except in a few of the larger cities of the north there seems to be little sectarian hostility between them and the orthodox; and in the west, where they are still closer in customs and observances, the line of division is scarcely traceable. In parts of both tracts there is, in the present day, a tendency for Jainism to regard itself as a sect of Brahmanism, in spite of the non-recognition of the divine authority of the Veda. It is probable that in compliance with this tendency many have returned their religion as Hindu of the Jain sect, so that where sect is not separately compiled, as in the Imperial series of returns, the total of the Jain religion is reduced by that number. As it is, the number of Jains is given as about 1,417,000.

The Neo-Brahmanism.

To describe in other than very general terms the religion that superseded the Buddhism of about the first century before and after the Christian era is a task that would require a volume to itself of very considerable size. It will be sufficient to give a mere sketch of its more prominent characteristics. In the first place, the Bráhmans, in whose hands the whole of the reconstruction rested, had to reconcile the popular element implanted by Buddha's teaching with their own supremacy. The first method adopted was the incorporation into their system of the local gods and goddesses, which seem never to have been ignored by the masses, whatever may have been the views taken of their power by the educated portion of the population. These divinities were accordingly proved to belong to the Vedic pantheon. The Veda was held up as the key of all knowledge, and the knowledge of its prescriptions alone gave man the power of controlling the supernatural. These notions were adapted to the popular understanding by means of the later Brahmanic literature, epic and Puránic. By the term used here it is not, of course, meant that the authors were all of the Bráhmanic caste, for it is well known that the most celebrated works of this class are attributed to others, but it is essential that all should bear testimony to the authority of the Veda.

Now the knowledge and interpretation of the latter was the monopoly of the Bráhman caste, and we have seen that this fact was not disputed by even the most strenuous opponents of the orthodox system as a whole. It is immaterial, accordingly, to what number of deities the pantheon is opened, so long as they derive their recognition from, and are alone approachable through, the Veda. In the actual ceremonial of worship the Bráhman takes no part, according to strict interpretation of the later Vedic prescription, and those that are occupied about a temple, either as ministrants, or as guides to pilgrims, administrators of bathing-places, or other offices of a like character, are regarded as of a very inferior type of Bráhman, and scarcely recognised as of the caste at all by the higher grades of the hierarchy. In fact, there are many functions which in the eyes of public opinion are not acceptable to the divinity, if undertaken by a Brahman, another testimony to the non-Aryan origin of the present theology. But the authority of the Veda is found in all social ceremonies or those unconnected with worship. Here, the sacred text is all important, and only a Bráhman is competent to enunciate it. That is, it has become the spell by which the local deities are influenced, and public opinion, which is that of the caste, demands that the precautionary measure implied by its use shall not be disregarded. It has fallen a victim, in fact, to the particularism of which religion in India furnishes so many examples. Caste has been called the stronghold of the Brahmanic religion, in spite of its apparently purely social attributes, and it is to caste uses that the Veda has been inextricably bound. Sect, again, of which there is so much heard in the accounts of the Neo-Brahmanic system, begins, where it constitutes a radical reformation, in declaring itself open to all castes. Very shortly afterwards, it finds it has to except the leather-worker and the watchman, and, if it does not become a shadowy figment of doctrinal hair-splitting, turns into a caste, with all its exclusiveness, and its tendency to sub-division, as its number waxes. Next to caste in their hold on the minds of the masses, and it is of them alone, not the educated few, that we speak, come pilgrimage and the deification of the teacher, or spiritual guide, both of which owe their origin, in all probability, to the doctrine of faith current in this later form of religion. Into this it is out of place to enter, save to point out that it is itself a derivative, apparently, of the direction of worship to a special protective divinity. From the general conception, it was very soon detached in favour of the concrete figure of an incarnation, and from the adoration of the latter at the most efficient shrines, it is a short step to that of the mortal to whom is due all the knowledge one possesses of that worship, more especially as the age of miracles is by no means past and the canonised teacher is as competent to perform them as any god in the pantheon. As an act of faith is in itself an absolution, pilgrimages are the substitutes for most other religious observances, always excepting those connected with the propitiation of local spirits, whether family or attached to the house or village. It may be worth remarking, too, that in south India, where some local form of belief must have attained considerable development before the Árya influence on it began to be felt, and perhaps in Lower Bengal, also, for the same reason, the number of local deities, especially those requiring to be attended by people of the helot class, is much larger than in Upper India, and the propitiation of the malevolent spirits holds a far more important place in the popular ceremonial. The Brahmanical faith, too, was more developed when it reached the south, and as its greatest influence was probably exercised after it had begun its reconstruction on the new plan, the Dravidian element that it had to assimilate was proportionately high. The decline of a polytheistic religion, too, it has been said, is traceable in the exaltation of female deities, as well as in the multiplication of those of the other sex, and in both Madras and Bengal we find this feature very prominent. It almost seems, moreover, that in India, at all events, the weaker the race, the more numerous and more bloodthirsty are its gods, and the greater the influence of the sacerdotal system of caste. In connection with the present development of Brahmanism there is no need to speak of the contact with it of foreign religions, since whatever its effect on them may have been, they have made no impression on it, though the progress of conversion in one or two cases has been considerable.

Neo-Buddhism.

As regards Buddhism, the greatest, if not the earliest, of the offshoots from Bráhmanism, there is but little to add to the historical summary above given, except in relation to local developments. In the Himálayan form of this creed, which received its shape from the daimonolatry of the Skythian races which it replaced, the original tenets have been quite overlaid by the incorporation of former Animism. The Lama has become a priest and exorcist, instead of being a monk and preacher, and where the Indian frontier is approached the caste system of modern Brahmanism has attacked

the tribal communities of the Buddhists. In one valley, for instance, the census shows that the inhabitants are in doubt as to what their religion may be, for in 1881 they were all set down as Hindus, and on this occasion they appear as Buddhists. In the eastern Himálaya the Lamaism is more restrictive, and of Nipál there is no occasion to speak. In Assam there has always been a suspicion of serpent worship and other forms of Animism, and the Buddhism of the days of the Chinese pilgrim bore but a poor character, as the inhabitants were, he says, addicted to the worship of Deva, or local gods, and to sacrifices. In the present day the Buddhism is confined to those who have apparently brought it with them from the north-east, so that it was altogether obliterated for some centuries, even if it ever had a firm hold of the wild tribes of the valley. The only country, therefore, of those with which the census has to deal, in which Buddhism still flourishes, is Burma, where it is the religion of about 90 per cent. of the population. But even here, as Mr. Eales points out in his report on the census, the popular belief is little but Animism, and the attachment to the higher creed is largely due to the educational influence of the religious orders, because every boy has to be sent, if only for a short period, to one of the monasteries as a novice or lay brother. Like the Neo-Brahmanism, too, it is gradually absorbing within its sphere the forest tribes who are professedly Animistic in their belief, and, like its former rival, it places no embargo on their tutelary gods, whilst as above stated, through the monastic system, it tends to raise them in the social scale. Considerably more than half the males in Burma can read and write, a feature in which the difference between the two systems is very clearly denoted.

Sikhism.

Of Jainism as a present-day religion we have said enough above. Sikhism was not specially mentioned in the general sketch of the Brahmanism from which it is derived, as it is a comparatively modern movement, and one that is not connected with the general history of the later development of its parent, since it has been confined to a single province and almost to a single community. It originated towards the end of the 15th century, and seems to have been due to the teaching of one of the most influential of the sectarian leaders of a quasi-Unitarian revival amongst the lower classes of Brahmanism. Kabir, the leader in question, was very appreciative of the tenets of Islám, on which ground he was alleged to belong to that faith, but in all other respects his doctrine and practice was that of Brahmanism, and there is no doubt that though he wished to combine part of Islám with the teaching he founded on the Veda, his views of the Kurán were anything but orthodox. The founder of the Sikhs, or disciples, Nának by name, seems to have rejected both Kurán and Veda, but maintains Brahmanic practice in social matters, and still employs that caste in ceremonial. The influence of Islám, however, as was natural to one of the frontier province, is traceable not only in his doctrine, but in the conception of the virtue of aggressive hostility towards dissentients, which was not brought to its full significance until the fifth Gúru from the founder espoused the side of the emperor's son in one of the numerous family disputes amongst the Moghals. He was promptly thrown into prison and died there. From that date the Sikhs became a political force, and have never since relaxed their hostility towards the Musalmán. The conversion was completed by the 10th Guru, Govind Singh, who died early in the 18th century, and under his guidance the separation of the disciples from the Brahmanic community was effected. But the new departure seems to have been largely nominal only, and a good deal of orthodox practice remained intact. The political objects of the Sikh leaders obscured the doctrinal, and culminated in the establishment of the kingdom of Ranjit Singh. In the present day, peace has relaxed the bonds of discipline, and the distinction between Sikhs and the rest of the Brahmanic community is mainly ritualistic. For example, it was found by experience that at the census, the only trustworthy method of distinguishing this creed was to ask if the person in question repudiated the services of the barber and the tobacconist, for the precepts most strictly enforced nowadays are that the hair of the head and face must never be cut, and that smoking is a habit to be absolutely avoided. The observance of these two injunctions, writes Mr. Maclagan, the Census Superintendent for the Panjab, is the best practical test of true Sikhism, "without any further rigmarole about sects"; for not only is a true Sikh generally called a Hindu in common parlance, but many of those who are spoken of as Sikhs are not true Sikhs, but Hindus. It is this confusion between the sectarian and the ceremonial elements that makes the return of Sikhs liable to correction, and instead of the number shown in Table VI. of the Imperial series, which is 1,907,833, the Panjáb Superintendent estimates that, so far as his Province is concerned, which is the only one in which this religion prevails to any significant

degree, about 85,000 should be added from the Brahmanic total, and that 483,000 should be deducted from the Sikhs and added to the latter. The first item, he adds, is fairly accurate, but of the so-called Nánakpanthi, or sectarian Sikhs, it is possible that some may be true Sikhs as well.

Modern reforms.

It is as well to complete this review of the Brahmanic and quasi-Brahmanic religions by adding a few lines on the two modern developments of Bráhmoism and Aryanism. The former is more or less known in Europe from its adoption by the scholar Rám Mohan Rai, who came to England, and died there in 1833. It originated in Bengal, and whatever stimulus it has since received has been due to teachers belonging to that Province. Some 30 years after its foundation the usual detachment took place of a party that desired greater communion with the orthodox Brahmanism from which they started, and the younger spirits that proposed independence, based on the eclectic assimilation of what they thought applicable from other religions. The leader of the innovators lost his influence, in great measure, by his approval of the marriage of his infant daughter with Brahmanic rites to a young *parti* of considerable mundane attractions, and on his death shortly afterwards, another split took place, in consequence of the disputed succession to the post of leader. The movement is purely local, and confined to the literate classes of Bengal Hindus, with a few converts, it is said, from Islám. The total number of those who returned this form of faith, either as their religion or as a sect of Brahmanism, is 3,051, out of whom 2,596 are in Bengal, 239 in Assam, and 128 Bengalis serving in Government or railway employ in the Panjáb. The sporadic entries under this head in other parts of India are generally debitable to the somewhat similar sect of the Aryas, which is noticed below. As regards the number of the Brahmoists, it is highly probable that there are many more sympathisers with the doctrine than are shown in the census return, but, owing to the natural dislike to break from their social moorings in the haven of orthodoxy, a result which might follow on open sympathy, they adhere to the original term, and hold their creed to consist of a sectarian distinction, which commits them to nothing when marriage or caste ceremonies are in question.

The Áryan schism is based on much the same lines as the Bráhmo as regards its relation to Brahmanic orthodoxy. Doctrinally, it seems to be something in the nature of the "Veda up to date," and finds that these sacred works contain all the discoveries of modern sciences, including electricity and natural selection. In theory, the study of the Veda is opened by them to all, but in practice, caste is maintained in all its strictness, and, as most of the adherents of the Neo-Arya faith are of the Writing or Trading class, a line is drawn below these, but none between them and the Bráhman. The census return shows the number of this sect to be just under 40,000. It was founded about 1877, in Lahore, by a Bráhman from western India, who retired to Ajmér, where he died in 1883, some say by poison. Most of its adherents are found in the Panjab, North-West Provinces, and the surrounding tracts in which the clerical agency required in State or railway offices is recruited from those provinces. It is interesting, as a study of the results of western instruction on a hereditary literary body in social subordination to an equally inaccessible hierarchy. It makes no appeal to the masses, and as the female element in the return is mostly illiterate, and the founder has not yet been canonised, it does not seem likely to supersede orthodoxy at the family hearth, and will probably manifest no more vitality or influence than any other of the almost innumerable sects of the Neo-Brahmanism. It has achieved the first step towards success in the possession of an adversary, a "religion" started by a personal enemy of its founder. The new faith was proclaimed on the occasion of the Jubilee of Her Majesty, at Lahore, and is now estimated to have 190 followers. It publishes three periodicals and a shower of tracts, mostly directed against its rival. The latter is not slow to retort, and as both parties are recruited chiefly from the officio-cleric community, to whom composition is a recreation, the amount of literature produced, in proportion to the number of the faithful, is enormous.

Mazdaism (*Pársi*).

We have now to consider the religions foreign to India. First of these may be placed that of the Pársis, entitled Mazdaism, from the name of its supreme deity, or Zoroastrianism, from the Greek rendering of Zarathústra, the reputed founder of the creed. Its claim to be treated of next after the religions that have taken their rise in India rests upon the common origin of Mazdaism and Brahmanism. In both cases we find the same gods named, but as the community split into two branches before the religion had been at all organised, it is impossible to trace more than a vague outline. As is usual in such cases of early dissent, the gods of the one branch became the devils

of the other, but whether, as some think, the Indian branch went south and kept on attacking the Eránic branch from their standpoint on the upper Indus, or whether the two quarrelled on the north side of the mountains, and separated in consequence, seems an open question, and likely to remain so. In the reign of the Persian monarch, Darius the First, the two resumed contact, as the former obtained possession of the north-west corner of India. But his hold was slight, and the intercourse, even if not barred by the intervention of more than one chief of Skythian race, was barren of results. By this time, moreover, the religion of the Eránic branch had been moulded in quite a different form from that taken by the early Arya of India. It is another open question whether the founder of the former, Zarathústra, had any more real existence than Buddha, but it is certain that in the time of Darius, the religion attributed to his agency was established as that of the State, throughout Persia. The invocationary literature, as with that in the Veda, consists clearly of compositions of very different age. Most of it bears the trace of the influence of the forms of belief that prevailed at the time in Mesopotamia, that great birthplace of creeds, under which influence it diverged completely from the luxuriant growth taken by the Aryan mind in the more genial conditions of the south. The Greek invasion drove the Mazdian religion into temporary obscurity, but during the rule of the dynasty of Sásán it achieved a temporary revival, and to this period is due the greater part of the Mazdaistic liturgy, which is in the Pahlavi language, in contradistinction to that of the Avasta, or original scripture. Then came the flood of Islám, which directed all its force to the extirpation of what it denominated fire-worship, with such efficiency that only in the north-west corner of what is now Erán was any remnant left of the Eránic faith.* This brings the history of that faith down to the point with which we are chiefly concerned. A portion of those who preferred exile to either the abandonment of their creed or massacre, left their native country by the Persian Gulf for Ormuz, where they resided for some years. In the year 717 they reached India, debarking at Sanján, a small place some 60 miles north of Bombay. Here they settled, and four years later built their first place of worship in the land of their adoption. It would be pleasant to be able to attach thorough credence to the legend that with them they brought the sacred fire from their home in Erán, as Æneas conveyed his household gods from the flames of Troy to their new home in Latium. For several centuries the Parsis, as we may call them in their new domicile, peacefully waxed and multiplied. On several occasions they rendered important services to the local chief, who requited them with grants of land for settlements. Some of their number even visited the court of the Moghal Emperor, Akbar, who favoured Mazdaism with the affectation of temporary adhesion. Up to the middle or end of the 18th century, Súrat and Nausári were their headquarters, with colonies all over Gujaráth and even in more distant parts of India. They have ever since that time been gradually transferring themselves and their interests to the city of Bombay and its suburbs, on account of the opening they found there under British auspices for their great enterprise and commercial talents. Their religion during the early years of their residence in India suffered from the influence which must be exercised over a small and foreign body, numerically weak, by a strong Animistic atmosphere, combined with that absorptive power which is, as we have seen, one of the most prominent characteristics of the Brahmanism of the day; and from the accounts of contemporary travellers it appears that at one time it was barely distinguishable from the surrounding form of worship. But reinforcements arrived from Erán, and race-feeling has since served to keep it unmodified in all main doctrine, so that the lower influence is now confined to social and semi-religious ceremonial. On the other hand, the long period of political extinction in such a small community, jealous amongst foreigners of the tenets of the faith they had taken such pains to preserve, checked the development of their creed beyond the limits of the scripture and ordinances of rite and ceremony to which they attached so patriotic a value. In the present day the Parsi is a completely Indian community. The language they brought with them from Erán has been relegated to their liturgy, where it is studied like a classic by the scholars of their race. The mass of the Parsis in speaking and writing use Gujaráthi, the vernacular tongue of the tract where they first landed, and which is said to have been imposed on them as a condition of residence. In certain circles, especially in Bombay, the census shows a considerable tendency to return English as their mother tongue, a statement which

* Some writers have said that the Eránic religion was destroyed by the Túrk invaders, and that those under Abu-Bakar allowed its exercise in peace, but there must have been strong grounds for the voluntary exile of so small a band, and the cessation of communication on their part with their native country.

will be by no means improbable in a few years, when the girls of the present generation arrive at the dignity of maternity, for this race has shown a remarkable aptitude for assimilating the lighter tints of western life, so that it will be interesting to those of a few generations hence to see in what way this occidentalisation has affected the religious development of the community. Taking the whole of India together, the Parsis number just under 90,000, but on looking into some of the details, it seems likely that a few Persians may have been here included, owing to the similarity of the names in some of the vernacular characters. The grounds for this supposition is that there are a few Parsi entries under the Musalmán religion, and if there are any two creeds in India the votaries of which are absolutely antagonistic to each other, they are Islám and that which it did its best to destroy. On the borders of the Caspian and a little to the south, in Yezd, there are still some of the ancient fire temples, with a congregation estimated at from 6,000 to 10,000 souls, with whom, during the last 20 years or so, the Parsis of Bombay have re-opened communications, so that when a famine took place in 1871, or thereabouts, a considerable number were brought down from Yezd to Bombay, where they were maintained by their more fortunate co-religionists.

Judaism.

Of the Jews and their religion little need be said here. Apart from the modern immigration to the chief commercial cities, such as Bombay and Calcutta, there are two colonies of this race, both on the west coast. It seems probable that both arrived by sea, and though the date of their anabasis is not known, there is no doubt that they are of very considerable antiquity. In both cases are there two sections in the community; one, called the white, the other that of the black. The former justify their title by the tradition that they have kept aloof from intermarriage with the daughters of the land, whilst the others, like the Árya, have fallen victims to native alliances. In addition to these, though not strictly speaking within India, we find a colony of traders of this race in the settlement of Aden. These, being nearer to their native country, are of purer race and less tainted with local custom in their religion. They speak, too, a northern dialect of Arabic. The whole number, including these last, is only about 17,200, and of these 10,500 are found in Bombay, 2,800 in Aden, 1,300 in Cochin, and 1,450 in Calcutta. The rest are scattered over India, both in trading centres, and, in the case of the Bombay coast colonists, in the ranks of the native army. These last, whilst maintaining the main principles of their faith intact, have adopted the language and much of the social custom of the Marátha population by whom they are surrounded. It is much the same with the Israelites of Cochin.

Islám.

One fifth of the population of India is returned as of the faith of Islám, but these 57 millions, like the 208 millions of Brahmanism, though to a less degree, contain an extraordinary collection of heterogeneous elements. In the first place we must divide the community into those of foreign race, who brought their faith into the country along with them, and those who were converted from one of the previous creeds of the country itself under various inducements and at many different periods of history. Not counting the teachers of Islám, who are scattered pretty numerously over India, the foreign colony, speaking generally, consists of three main bodies; first, and numerically the most important, are the immigrants from just across the north-west frontier, who are found chiefly in Sindh and the Panjáb. Next come the descendants of the court and armies of the Musalmán dynasties, who are also centred in upper India, with considerable offshoots in the large feudatory States of the Deccan; lastly, we have all along the west coast, settlements probably of Arab descent, who arrived by sea. Some of these, especially those who took to agriculture, appear to have mixed with the natives of India, and to have adopted a good deal of the social system of the latter, whilst others, including the trading classes, who could keep touch more easily with their country of origin, are decidedly of purer descent, and have preserved, moreover, their faith in much more of its primitive form. As regards the converts, no such subdivision is practicable. It is true that the process of conversion in India was of two very different characters, only one of which is still extant; but at the present time we cannot distinguish, at least in the parts of the country where both have prevailed on different occasions, the results of the one from those of the other. It seems probable that the first in the field was the method of peace introduced by those from over sea. Omitting considerations of doctrine, the new faith held out inducements of great worldly attractiveness, especially to those whom the Brahmanic régime had chained to a position of perpetual subordination. We find this along the west coast, and it is in full operation in the eastern division of Bengal at this moment. The official propagation of Islám does not seem to have been undertaken for several

reigns after the establishment of the Musalmán power in northern India. The early monarchs, though no doubt they took no steps to quench the iconoclastic ardour of their followers, had their attention fully occupied by the novelty of their administrative task; and it is also fairly plain that Bábàr and his family were not troubled with much anxiety for the salvation of their infidel subjects, since they were by no means convinced of the exclusive merit of the substitute they had to offer. It was not until the tolerance of Akbar and the indifference of his two immediate successors had given place to the zeal of Aurangzib that the diffusion of the faith of the Prophet was taken in hand with real fervour.

From this time downwards we hear of wholesale conversions, some to avoid the alternative of death or confiscation of property, others to gain the favour of the great. The same system was pursued later on in the Deccan, when the Sultán of Mysore was seized by the desire to add to the number of the faithful. It does not appear that more than the public profession of belief was required, with the requisite punctuality of attendance at the Friday service and the observance of the prescribed fasts, so that all that is of the more vital importance to the masses in India—especially to the women—was left as before. The simplicity of the Kurán made but a feeble appeal to the mind of those accustomed to the sensuous rites of the new Brahmanism and the neighbourly proximity of the supernatural in the Animism that governed the life of the people at large. Hence arose the remarkable differences that demarcate the Islám of India from that of the population amongst whom the religion originated. In the former the "mild spirit of antiquity," as we have seen above, mitigated the asperity of sectarian hostility, so that Shíah and Súnni joined issue in doctrinal discussion without recourse to arms. The good men amongst the teachers received divine honours as if they had never left the Brahmanic fold, and in default of the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was beyond the reach of the majority, resort was had to the tombs of the canonised, where fruit and flowers are offered, as to one of the orthodox pantheon and often by Hindu and Musalmán alike. Saints are the special feature of the Indian development of Islám, and the worship of relics follows. In some places there is a hair or two, in others a slipper, elsewhere a footprint, of the Prophet, to which the devout pay homage and are rewarded by miracles. Even where the two religions do not participate in the same festival, the more simple has borrowed for Indian use some of the attributes of the more elaborate, as in the case of the procession of the tombs at the Muharram, and the subsequent dipping of the imitation fabrics in water, as in the Dúrga Púja of Bengal. In many instances, where the two forms of faith exist more or less in numerical equality side by side, the Brahman officiates at all family ceremonial, and, as it has been put by a local writer, the convert to Islám observes the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither. This state of thought is very much like that described by Lady M. Wortley Montague as existing amongst the Makedonian Arnauts of her time, who, living between Christians and Mahomedans, and—

> "Not being skilled in controversy, declare that they are utterly unable to judge which religion is the best, but to be certain of not rejecting the truth, they very prudently follow both. They go to the mosque on Friday and to the church on Sunday, saying for their excuse that at the day of judgment, they are sure of protection from the true Prophet, but which that is, they are not able to determine in this world."

Compare with this the following experience in the present generation as having occurred in the eastern plains of the Panjáb:—

> "A traveller entering a rest-house in a Musalmán village found the headman refreshing the idol with a new coat of oil whilst a Bráhman read holy texts alongside. The pair seemed rather ashamed at being caught in the act; but, on being pressed, explained that their Mulla (priest) had lately visited them, and being extremely angry on seeing the idol, had made them bury it in the sand. But now the Mulla had gone, they were afraid of the possible consequences, and were endeavouring to console the god for his rough treatment."

On the frontier of this province, where the bulk of the population is Musalmán, and fanatically devoted to that faith, the Animism takes a different shape, and the Mùlla is simply a magician. In the southern tract the spiritual guide is valued, it is said, by his supposed ability to procure the object of the vows of his disciples. In the north, the description given by Sir Herbert Edwardes is so graphic that its reproduction will be excused:—

> "For the Bannuchi peasant the whistle of the far thrown bullet, or the nearer sheen of his enemy's sword, had no terrors; blood was simply a red fluid; and to remove a neighbour's head at the shoulder as easy as cutting cucumbers. But to be cursed in Arabic, or in anything that sounded like it, to be

told that the blessed Prophet had put a black mark against his soul for not giving his best field to one of the Prophet's own posterity; to have the saliva of a disappointed saint left in anger on his door-post, or behold a Háji who had gone three times to Mecca, deliberately sit down and enchant his camels with the itch, and his sheep with the rot; these were things that made the dagger drop out of the hand of the awe-stricken savage, his knees to knock together, his liver turn to water, and his parched tongue to be scarcely able to articulate a full and complete concession of the blasphemous demand."

To find a parallel to this feeling, one has almost to go west of Bantry Bay. But the above remarks refer mainly to the rural population, and in the towns, where the masses of the Musalmán community are equally converts from Bráhmanism, the standard of doctrine and practice is better maintained. In the tracts, too, where conversion is still going on, and the bulk of the surrounding population is Brahmanic of the lower polydaimonic type, as in Bengal and the Malabar coast, the antagonism is sufficient to keep Islám alive. In the Panjáb, on the other hand, the caste is weak, tribe and race are strong, the power of the Bráhman is in abeyance, and religion is altogether on a popular basis, where supernaturalism is strictly localised, so as to be under the control of special persons or agencies. Conversion and reversion, therefore, amongst the lower classes are here common. Where the caste system is very strict, on the other hand, the lower orders, instead of retaining their social titles on conversion, affiliate themselves to one of the foreign tribes, Shaikh, by preference, as has been mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, so that they obliterate the traces of their origin, and, if lucky in their worldly affairs, become the social equals of the best. One point regarding Islám in India may as well be noted here, as it is of considerable interest in connection with the general results of conversion; it is that the prejudice against postponing marriage till the girl is grown up is very much weakened, even if not altogether obliterated, and this, as well as the absence of prohibition against widow-marriage, seems to account, according to the views of Mr. O'Donnell, the Census Superintendent for Bengal, for the better lives of the Musalmán population, and the consequent greater rapidity of its growth in that province. Something, too, may be due to the diet of the Musalmáns, which in Bengal is more varied and nutritious than that of the Brahmanic castes, whilst in the Panjáb, on the contrary, the restrictions on the Musalmán are greater than those on his rivals, so that a year of high prices or scarcity is said to drive many of the lower class of the former into the ranks of Brahmanism, for the time being, to revert to the more liberal creed when its rules as to diet press less harshly on their resources.

It is thus plain that in India the religion of the Prophet is in practice by no means the uncompromising Puritanism it is found to be in, say, Arabia, whatever may be the theoretical identity of the two forms. In the towns, indeed, antagonism between it and the local religions is always smouldering, and if the strong hand were to be lifted for a moment, there would be no loss of time in finding an excuse for collision. To the Musalmán, Hindu, Sikh, and Parsi are alike obnoxious, as he to them, and against another religion, Sunni and Shiah fight shoulder to shoulder, leaving their own sectarian differences to be settled after the disposal of the common enemy.

Christianity.

Christianity was probably the latest of the great religions to be disseminated in India. It is true that a small settlement of early Christians was established on the west coast within the first two centuries of that era,* but the real spread of the creed dates from the 16th century, when the Portuguese navigator, Cabral, was instructed by royal commission to conquer territory and to promote Christianity, beginning the latter task "with preaching, and proceeding, if that failed, to the sharp determination of the sword." The methods adopted were, in fact, political, and the support of the Portuguese power was the reward of profession of Christianity by any of the petty chiefs of the tracts surrounding the European settlements on the western coast. A generation later, with the arrival of St. Francis Xavier, missionary enterprise was not only extended, but took a milder shape, detached from the polemic zeal of the first Portuguese Crusaders. The missionaries assumed the habits, dress, and often the titles of Brahmanic ascetics. It being their avowed object to build on an indigenous foundation, in order that the priesthood might be recruited from amongst the people themselves, they recognised much of the local Brahmanic customs, such as that of

* The arrival and death of St. Thomas on the east coast of Madras is probably apocryphal, as it seems that his labours terminated in the Skythian or Indo-Baktrian territories of Gondofares, apparently in lower Sindh. But there were Christians whose conversion was attributed to his influence settled on the Malabar coast at the end of the second century, who were visited by a Roman navigator about the year 190.

caste. The upper orders were separated in church from the lower, and intermarriage between castes was not sanctioned. Then, again, the creed had its miracles and martyrs to hold up to their congregation, its relics and acts of faith. Pilgrimages are still made to the tomb of St. Francis Xavier in Goa, on which occasions devout aspirations are fulfilled and fleshly ills are cured. These manifestations are probably now confined to the faithful, but in old days, Hindu and Musalmán joined at the tomb of Albuquerque in imprecations against his successors. In Upper India, the mission of the Jesuits and others, though less fruitful in numerical results, were apparently subjected to less opposition from the local rulers, as was to be expected from the policy of Akbar and his son towards the creed of any denomination. In the present day, the missions of the Roman Church are widely spread over India, but their chief strongholds in British territory are found in the extreme south and on the west coast of the peninsula. Recently, too, their propagandist zeal seems to have been remarkably successful amongst the dark tribes of the hills of western Bengal. Missionary enterprise on the part of the reformed churches of Christianity was two centuries later in its inception. Its pioneers were Danish Lutherans, who began work in the tracts surrounding Tranquebar on the south east coast, just above the Roman field of labour on that side of India. At the end of the century, too, the English mission to Bengal established itself under Danish protection, on the Húghli, and there carried out the literary work which has made the name of Serámpur so famous. In 1813 the Established Church of England entered the field. A bishopric of Calcutta was established, with archdeaconries for the two other Presidencies. In the next year, missionaries were sent out, followed, 12 years later, by another society. Since then bishops and societies have greatly multiplied. Some of the latter spread themselves all over the country, others settle down in selected localities, and confine their labours to it. We find amongst the nationalities represented, not only the principal ones recognised at the Sacred College, by whom the various ecclesiastical divisions of the Roman Church in India are respectively manned, but the Reformed Church comprises English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, American, Swiss, German, Danish, Moravian, and Swedish. The various denominations represented are given in Supplementary Table A., at page 495 of the first volume of returns, for in the case of this religion, the tabulation of sects was prescribed as part of the Imperial scheme, instead of being left, as in that of the other religions, optional with the provincial authorities. Unfortunately, for spite of special instructions to secure accurate nomenclature, the results show that for a considerable proportion of the Christian population, the denomination was not returned at all, or else entered under the general title of Protestant. Thanks, however, to the courtesy of the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, reference has been made practicable to a volume of Statistical Tables of Protestant Missions for 1890, through the aid of which the mission to which the above indefinite entries should, from their locality, be probably assigned, has been ascertained. Taking into consideration this adjustment, the return shows that out of a total of 2,284,380 Christians, 57½ per cent. belong to the Roman Church, 8¾ to the Jacobite or Syrian Church, 33 per cent. to the various denominations of the Reformed Church. The rest comprises the unspecified, and a few members of the Greek and Armenian forms of creed. The details will be considered below, where the statistics of each religion are dealt with in more detail.

Minor forms of religion.

In every enumeration of forms of faith room has to be found for a residuum of special classes of belief which cannot be fitted into any of the corners of those more generally prevalent. In India this residuum is small but varied. It is not, however, complete, for we find samples of Unitarians, Theists, and Agnostics included with Christians, probably because the enumerator found them mostly in the schedules of Europeans. Similarly, there were a few instances, altered on scrutiny, of Buddhists amongst European and Eurasian Christians. Some of these related probably to the professors of the new Theosophy; others may be set down, perhaps, to the example of a high official, who pronounced for Buddhism, on the ground that there was less to be said against it, he thought, than against any other form of religion. The number of persons from whom the return of religion was not required, or who did not fill in the column reserved for it, was remarkably small, so that no more than 42,578 people are excluded from the table. These are not to be confounded with those who positively assert that they have no religion, of whom there appear to be 18, including one whose attitude was further emphasised by the entry of "indifferent."

Statistics.

We have now to deal with the returns which are to be found in Table VI. on page 87 of the first volume of the Imperial series, and in a summarised form on page vi. of the same volume. The three aspects in which they are to be regarded are their respective and local prevalence, and their variation, wherever it is possible to ascertain it, from the corresponding return in 1881. The marginal table summarises the first and last, and in the table on the next page will be seen the proportion borne by each to the total population of the Province or State. Wherever there are special features to be noted with regard to the territorial distribution, mention of them will be found in the text. Comparison between the two years is in some cases little better than approximately correct, as has been admitted in the heading of the marginal table, since to uncertainty as to the exact limits of the tracts not enumerated by religion in 1881, there is added that regarding the identity of the definition and application of the nomenclature on the two occasions. On looking over the provincial details for the purpose of compiling this statement, the latter defect was found very prominent in the case of Sikhs, especially in Sindh, and of Jains, in most of those parts of the country where they are only found as exotics. The territories not brought under the census of 1881 have been, of course, excluded in making the comparison, but, in the case of Brahmanism, there may possibly be a little excess in the 1891 return, as compared with the one preceding it, owing to the inclusion of some parts of the wild tracts of Rájpútána, Madras Agency, and Eastern Bengal, but looking at the numbers dealt with, the difference in the proportional figures will be insignificant.

Religion.	Population (1891).	Per-centage on Total Population.	Approximate Per-centage of Variation since 1881.
Brahmanic	207,731,727	72·33	+ 10·82
Animistic	9,280,467	3·23	
Sikh	1,907,833	0·66	+ 2·12
Jain	1,416,638	0·49	+ 14·86
Zoroastrian	89,904	0·03	+ 4·91
Buddhist	7,131,361	2·48	+ 24·46
Jew	17,194	0·006	+ 20·93
Christian	2,284,380	0·80	+ 21·85
Musalman	57,321,164	19·96	+ 10·61
Minor forms	185	—	—
Unreturned	42,578	0·014	—
Total	**287,223,431**	**100·00**	**+ 10·98**

Territorial distribution of religions: Brahmanists, or Hindus.

The mean proportion of the Brahmanic to the total population is 72⅓ per cent., and the table under review shows that this ratio is exceeded in all parts of India, except Burma, the Panjáb, Kashmér, Assam, Bengal, and Sindh. The detached Settlements also show greater variety of creed, as is to be expected, and the small State of Rámpúr, under the North-West Province Government, reduces the proportion in that group, owing to the preponderance of the followers of the faith of the ruling family. In the case of Kashmér, Sindh, and Bengal, too, the main competitor in popular favour is Islám, but in the Panjáb and its States, the Sikh faith, and in Assam, tribal Animism, are considerable factors in the distribution. Burma is almost exclusively Buddhist, but it is interesting to note the difference between the prevalence of that creed where it has been for generations the State religion, as in the Upper division (96½ per cent.), and where non-sectarian administration prevails, as in the lower, and it has had to compete with the local Animism on the one side and Christian missionary enterprise on the other, not to mention a considerable admixture of Brahmanism casually introduced by the labouring population from Madras and Bengal, all of which reduce its proportion to 86·8 per cent. It may be remarked, in passing, that in Kashmér a purely Brahmanic administration is placed over a population of which but 27 per cent. profess that creed, whilst, on the other hand, in Haidrabád, a strictly Músalmán régime presides over the destinies of a community of which 90 per cent. are, in its eyes, doomed to perdition. Taking Brahmanism as returned in the tables, its greatest relative prevalence is found in the south of India, Mysore, Coorg, Madras and Haidrabád; Bombay, Berár, and Baroda follow close behind, and eight other Provinces or States, including Rajpútána and the populous tracts of Oudh and the North-West, shows this creed in a proportion of over 80 per cent. of the total population. It has been sufficiently shown in the foregoing portion of this section that the identity of the title does not imply anything like identity of doctrine or practice, except in regard to caste and pilgrimage, and the variety is on the whole local rather than dogmatic. Certain sects attain popular acceptance throughout a certain class of the community, not always in the tract in which they originate, and are there localised.

TABLE showing Territorial Distribution of Population by Religion.

Province or State, &c.	Proportion of each Religion to 10,000 of the Population of the Province or State.										
	Brahmanic.	Animistic.	Musalmán.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Zoroastrian.	Christian.	Jew.	Minor.	Unreturned.
Ajmér	8,075	—	1,369	4	497	—	4	50	1	—	—
Assam	5,472	1,771	2,710	—	2	14	—	31	—	—	—
Bengal	6,338	322	3,285	—	1	26	—	27	—	—	1
„ *States*	7,899	1,391	670	—	1	17	—	5	—	—	17
Berár	8,738	473	717	1	65	—	1	5	—	—	—
Bombay	8,814	85	805	—	150	—	45	95		—	—
„ *States*	8,414	121	1,060	—	391	—	3	10	1	—	—
Sindh	1,976	271	7,714	3	3	—	5	27	1	—	—
Aden	616	—	7,984	—	—	—	72	682	641	—	—
Burma, Upper	98	66	144	9	—	9,653	—	30	—	—	—
„ Lower	306	320	452	1	—	8,680	—	240	1	—	—
Central Provinces	8,189	1,476	276	—	45	—	1	12	1	—	—
„ „ *States*	7,675	2,266	55	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	—
Coorg	9,063	—	732	—	7	—	2	196	—	—	—
Madras	8,981	133	631	—	8	—	—	243	—	—	4
„ *States*	7,456	—	609	—	—	—	—	1,931	4	—	—
N.-W. Provinces	8,579	—	1,380	3	24	—	—	14	—	—	—
„ „ *States*	6,935	—	3,060	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—
Oudh	8,708	—	1,281	1	2	—	—	8	—	—	—
Panjáb	3,711	—	5,575	666	19	3	—	26	—	—	—
„ *States*	5,850	—	3,006	1,127	15	1	—	1	—	—	—
Quettah	4,291	—	4,170	414	—	—	14	1,103	—	8	—
Andamans	6,044	15	2,551	253	2	826	—	309	—	—	—
Haidrabád	8,941	25	987	4	24	—	1	18	—	—	—
Baroda	8,850	124	781	—	208	—	34	3	—	—	—
Mysore	9,384	—	512	—	27	—	—	77	—	—	—
Kashmér	2,720	—	7,051	45	2	116	—	1	—	—	65
Rajputána	8,483	342	825	1	348	—	—	1	—	—	—
Central India	7,496	1,857	551	2	87	—	1	6	—	—	—
Provinces	7,016	264	2,240	64	22	321	4	67	1	—	1
States	7,958	520	1,176	76	140	5	2	120	—	—	
INDIA	7,233	323	1,996	66	49	248	3	80	·6	—	1·4

We find, for instance, the greatest tendency to sectarian fissiparity amongst the imbellic Dravidians of the south, and the maximum of eclecticism or indifference, whichever it should be the more correctly termed, amongst the hardy and oft-invaded tribes of the Panjáb. In the former, a doctrinal schism, such as the Lingaiat, for example, led to a completely separated section in every caste that joined in the movement. In the Panjáb, the sects, though equally numerous, bear no relation to the life of the community, and the Brahmanic and Musalmán sections, whether of the same tribe or district, pay their respects to the same shrine. In the eastern portion of the Central Provinces, again, the lower classes, such as weavers and tanners, have joined in large numbers the Kabirpanth and the Satnámi, a couple of sects of the sort described earlier in this chapter, which begin with universal brotherhood and end in becoming a somewhat enlarged caste. The former of the two, though not indigenous to this part of the country, is found but sparsely represented elsewhere, and the latter also is almost entirely local in its development. In 1881 they were shown in the returns as separate religions, like Sikhism and Jainism, but on this occasion they have not been so distinguished, as it appeared that beyond their acceptance mainly by low castes, they had no better title to such treatment than many other well-known modern sects, such as the Wallabhachárya, Mádhwa, Swámi-Náráyan, Sákta, and so on. In the provincial volume, however, the numbers of their followers are given, from which we can presume that they are not at all falling off, though the increase may not be so large as that represented by the figures for the adherents of the doctrines of Kabír. As regards sect in the Panjáb, where the subject was dealt with at a census for the first time, the remarks of the Superintendent are well worth perusal, and show clearly the Animistic origin of the most popular beliefs, as distinguished from those inculcated by sacerdotalism. In the adjoining province, too, of the North-West and Oudh, the subject has been taken up, but no report on it is at present available. The development of Bráhmanism in Assam is well described by Mr. Gait in his Provincial Report, and seems in the Bráhmaputra valley to present the peculiarity of dispensing largely with the Bráhman and substituting the efficacy of the influence of the Gúru, or teacher. The progress and distribution of the small sects of Bráhmo and Arya need no more comment than has already been given to them, but before quitting the subject of the Brahmanic religion a few words are necessary regarding the confusion between its statistics and those of Animistic religions. It has been before remarked that the application of the two terms in tracts where the hill population is closely connected with that of the plain was very arbitrary. For instance, in one district, the whole of certain tribes which were shown as Animistic in 1881, appeared as Brahmanic in 1891, though in the next district the same communities were returned under their former appellation, and in neither had any material change been effected in their creed during the decade. Conversely, the opportunity offered by an alternative title was eagerly seized by the enumerators in Central India as a means of stigmatising as outside the Brahmanic communion, if that term be admissible, all the class of village menials, whose touch is doubtless polluting to the higher castes, but whose religion is but a trifle lower in Animism than that of the society they serve. Thus, in estimating the prevalence of Animism in this part of the country, a deduction of probably nearly one-half should be made, referring to the class of people whose beliefs are elsewhere included under the title of Brahmanism. This reduces Central India from its place as second in the order of prevalence of tribal religions, to fifth, or thereabouts, below the Central Provinces and their States, Assam, and the Bengal States, in all of which the definition has been probably applied as accurately as the state of religious practice will at present allow. In the extreme east and west, that is, in Burma, and in Bombay, Sindh, Baroda, and probably Rajputána, the line between the two is very ill-defined, and the distinction, consequently, of little value. In Ajmér and the North-West Provinces the tribes shown as of an Animistic form of religion in the neighbouring territory are returned as Brahmanic. In the Panjáb, where there is but one tribe thus diversely treated, it is almost certain that the form of religion has really changed in proportion to the distance between the northern settlements of the tribe in question and the hill tract from which it originally came, and where its fellows still reside. The distinction, therefore, is actually in existence, and is not the arbitrary creation of a Brahmanic enumerator. It is not proposed to enter into any discrimination between the different forms assumed by what is here classed under the general head of Animism. There are certain layers of belief throughout the community which are all susceptible of classification into groups now recognised in ethnology, some of the items being tribal, others local, in their prevalence. The task of examination and description has been

Animism.

undertaken by various investigators at different times, and Bengal, the Central Provinces, Berar, Bombay, and a portion of Assam have been fortunate in the results, but no general collection of the results has yet been attempted, nor can it be successful until the inquiry has extended over the whole field open to such a survey. Steps in this direction are now being taken by Messrs. Gait and Crooke, in Assam and the North-West Provinces respectively; and in the Panjáb, where Animism in its tribal form has been beaten out through the whole community, so that it can no longer appear under that title, the subject has been well worked by Mr. Ibbetson and others.

Músalmáns.

The next religion to come under review is that of Islám, which is taken here on account of its numerical importance. The Músalmán population of the world has been roughly estimated at various amounts from 70 to 90 millions, so that whatever the real figure may be between those limits, the Indian Empire contains a large majority of the followers of the Prophet. No Province or large State, and probably few districts or other subdivisions in the plain country west of Burma, is without a certain number of Musalmán inhabitants. We find them relatively most numerous, of course, in the north-west, where Sindh and Kashmér head the list, with 77 and 70 per cent. respectively. In the former there is a considerable foreign element, consisting of Balóch and Bráhui from across the frontier, but the bulk of the population has been converted from a lax form of Brahmanism. For a short period in its history the province was under a Bráhman régime, centred about Haidrabád, where it was disturbed and afterwards confirmed by Alexander the Great, but was overthrown not long afterwards by one of the numerous waves of Skythian origin that broke upon the west and north-west frontier of India before and shortly after the beginning of the Christian Era. According to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, Sindh was in the seventh century both barbarous and superstitious, and orthodoxy of any sort sat lightly upon its unscrupulous population*, as it is said to do even now. In Kashmér, the present population, whether Skythic or Árya, has been addicted within historic times to serpent worship, Buddhism and Brahmanism, by turns, before its conversion to Islám was undertaken by the Moghals during their summer visits to the valley. The Sikh rule succeeded, but left both Músalmán peasant and Bráhman professional alike untouched, except that the privileges of the latter were confirmed. In the north-west the tribes were probably converted from the side of Afghanistán, not from India, and their example was followed by the Mongoloid Thibetan races to the north along part of the upper Indus. On the east, however, in Ladákh, the sparse population is still Buddhist, and along the south range intervening between the valley and the Panjáb, there is a considerable Bráhmanic element of comparatively pure Árya descent, but, on the whole, 70½ per cent. of the population of the State is Musalmán. In the Panjáb we have samples on the largest scale of both foreign immigration and local conversion. In the British portion of the province, 55¾ of the population professes Islám, the proportion rapidly rising towards the west and gradually falling as the Jamna is approached. On the States, the largest of which, with one exception, are under Sikh rule, Islám has made, of course, less impression, and it is returned by only 30 per cent. As has been said above, the outward observances of the faith are more or less strictly regarded where the religion is that of a large majority of the people, but left in abeyance where the conversion was effected by force or worldly pressure and without the example of foreign zealots to sustain devotion. The more martial races are converted to the extent of at least one half, and the lowest class of the Brahmanic community favours alternatively Islám and Sikhism. Passing eastwards, we find the proportion of Musalmáns high in the submontane tracts of the North-West Provinces, but below the average in the province as a whole. In Bengal, as we had occasion to note in connection with the density and migration of the population, there is a strong Musalmán element, exceeding one half the population, nearly all over the whole of the eastern division, and the same remark applies to the Súrma Valley, now included in the Assam Province. It is in this part of the country that the results of conversion are more marked in the circumstances of the population than anywhere else in India. We have seen that the growth of the population here has been more rapid than in any other division of the province, and the Provincial Census Superintendent attributes this in a great degree partly to conversion and partly to other ecclesiastical factors as they are understood in India. In the first place there is the rise in *status*, then the range of diet is

* "The cattle-breeders are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, given only to bloodshed. They have no masters, but shave their heads and adopt the mendicants' robe."

greater than amongst the Brahmanic classes. Thirdly, not only is marriage deferred till the bride is grown up, but there is no prohibition of widow-marriage, both of which are facts tending towards a longer life on the part of the women and a healthier offspring. In connection with this part of the country, we may mention the Musalmán population of Lower Burma, which is largely indebted to Chittagong and its neighbourhood for its recruits, chiefly sea-faring people, supplemented by a certain influx of the trading Musalmáns of Bombay and Madras, and the followers of the last Dehli princes, who were assigned a residence at Rangoon. The high proportion of Musalmáns in the Bombay States and in Baroda is, in its turn, partly due to the number of traders in Kachh and other Gujaráth States, partly to that of the cultivators mentioned already—both foreign converts—who abound in that division of the Presidency. It must be remembered, too, that Gujaráth was the seat of a considerable Musalmán power in the days of Moghal rule in Upper India, and Cambay, Júnágadh, Pálarpur, Rádhanpúr, and Balásinur, testify to the extent and durability of its authority, as Sachín and Janjíra do to the influence of the same religion amongst the foreign employés of the Marátha chiefs. We can now turn to the parts of India where the proportion is the lowest. The Nadir of Islám, numerically speaking, is found in the Hill States under the Central Provinces, and, with the exception of Upper Burma, where there are now fewer immigrants of the Pánthé class, in those provinces themselves. Next to these comes Mysore, in spite of its former period of Musalmán rule. In fact, it nowhere appears that rulers of that faith, when detached from its centre in Upper India, surrounded themselves with large numbers of their co-religionists. Witness the case of Haidrabád, where, though the whole administration is in the hands of Musalmáns, less than 10 per cent. of the population is of that faith, or only 2 per cent. more than in the neighbouring province of Bombay. The proportion in Madras would be very low, as it is in other parts of Southern India, were it not for the trading community of the Labbé on the east coast, and the semi-trading semi-agricultural Mappila of Malabar and its two adjacent States; for the local convert, in spite of the zeal of Tippoo, is not a considerable feature in the general population, though he is in sufficient force in the larger towns, as shown some years back at Salem, to present a strong front to infringement on what he considers his privileges by Brahmanical neighbours. The Músalmán element in Central India is singularly low, seeing that it was the refuge for many years of wandering bands of marauders of considerable strength. But the strong hand of the two great Marátha powers and the exclusiveness of the Brahmanic chiefs of comparatively pure race in the south-east of the Agency, tend to confine the foreign religion to the Musalmán States, of which only one, Bhopál, is of considerable size. As regards the progress of the faith of Islám, little need be added to what has been already written above. It has been undoubtedly rapid in Eastern Bengal, and has been perceptible, though on somewhat an uncertain basis, in the Panjáb. Elsewhere, the increase seems to be mostly that due to normal growth. But so far as regards the large and heterogeneous class of urban Músalmáns found all over the country, it is possible that that growth may have been actually impeded by the difficulty found in getting a living under the new conditions of British rule. For the minimum of literary instruction required now as a passport to even the lower grades of middle-class public employ is decidedly higher than it used to be, whilst the progress of learning amongst this class of Musalmans has not proportionately advanced, and with the comparatively small number of recruits for the army, police, and menial offices that is now found sufficient, few outlets remain available. It is possible that some such reason as this accounts for the fact that the general rate of increase outside the tracts above mentioned is a little below that found to prevail amongst the population as a whole.

Buddhists.

In the course of the general sketch of the history of Buddhism, it was mentioned that outside Burma and the Himálayan valleys and table-lands this religion was no longer prevalent in India. The few specimens we find of it in the returns for Madras, the Central Provinces, the Andamans, the North-West Provinces and so on, are chiefly from the jails, where Burmese convicts were drifted temporarily to relieve the local prisons during the days of dacoity. There are also Chinese shoemakers and carpenters, found at Calcutta and other large sea-port towns. Finally, we have from one district in Bombay a relic of the time when in statistical returns Jains and Buddhists were combined, for a small colony of the former were set forth as the latter by some enumerator whose memory was apparently more accurate than his eyesight, or his perusal of his instructions. The increase of the religion, as a whole, is determined, of course, by the actual growth of the population of Lower Burma, which is, as we have

seen, the most rapid in rate of any part of the country. In the Himalayan tracts, too, a little more accuracy in regard to Thibetans has been observed, but still, it is said, a good many of the Bhótia, or Thibetans of the northern uplands of Kumaon and Garhwál, return their religion as Brahmanic, when they are in the submontane grazing grounds for the winter.

Jains.

The Jains are widespread over India, though they form an appreciable numerical element in the population only in Rájputána, Ajmér, and Western India, and nowhere reach 5 per cent. of the total. It is worth notice that they seem to flourish most where they have devoted themselves to trade and commerce, and are weak in number where they have become agriculturists. In the latter capacity they are found in Madras, but only to the number of 27,400, in Mysore, where there are 13,300, whilst the Bombay Karnátak returns about 46,000, the bulk of whom are evidently cultivators. This is a very different state of things from that of the early centuries of the Christian Era, when the ancestors of these communities were leaders of literature and art in the south. Of the trading communities a good deal has been said already in different parts of this work. There are large colonies along the Jamna and in parts of Central India, but except in Dehli, they do not much effect the Panjáb. In the Gujaráth division of Bombay they flourish exceedingly, with headquarters in Ahmedabád and settlements at their mountains of pilgrimage in the Káthiawár peninsula, Palithána and Girnár. Between them and their co-religionists in Upper India come the best known, perhaps, of the whole body, called by the generic name of Márwádi. In Assam and Upper India they are stigmatised as Káya, a term of uncertain etymology, but vulgarly attributed to their inquisitiveness, as it has an interrogative sound about it. Perchance it will occur to philologists at some future period to connect it with the nick-name Kaitoukeitos, given to one of the Deipnosophists of Athenæus, in consequence of his aggressive thirst for information. The Jains of the Central Belt and the north Deccan are of this race as well as of Gujaráthi origin. It is remarkable that in the country of its birth, Párasnáth in South Bihár, there should be no more than 1,487 of this religion returned at the census. From evidence indirectly afforded by applications made from the neighbouring tract just before the census, it seems highly probable that in this part of the country, instead of desiring to emphasise the distinction of their religion from Brahmanism, as was the case at Dehli, &c., the Jains are anxious to efface it, as their social position is evidently based on caste orthodoxy within the Bráhmanic fold. If this tendency be true, it will account for the disappearance of the Jains into the general sea of Hinduism.

Sikhs.

The Sikh religion may be considered as localised in the Panjáb, for though there are members of this faith in most provinces, 98 per cent. of them are returned from its birthplace. The bulk of those in the North-West Provinces are colonists or soldiers, and in the rest of India and Burma, the latter only. In Kashmér, of course, there are some belonging to the Panjáb, who have been permanently settled in Jammu or the valley ever since the time of Goláb Singh, or of the Sikh domination that preceded the assignment of the State to him. The Superintendent of the Panjáb census shows in his report that in British territory the Sikhs have increased by 24 per cent., whereas in the States under that Government, their numbers have declined to the extent of 19 per cent. He attributes the latter fact to greater accuracy of definition only, and it is probably due in great measure to the exclusion of the Brahmanic classes returning the Nánakpanth, &c. as their sects. Undoubtedly this is the cause of the notable decrease in the number of Sikhs returned from Sindh, where there are few, if any, of the true, or Govindi, Sikhs, outside native regiments. Mr. Maclagan summarises the effect of the change of definition as tending to increase the Sikhs on the return where they are few and to diminish them where they bear a high proportion in the population.

Zoroastrians or Pársis.

As the Sikhs appertain specially to the Panjáb, so the Zoroastrian religion is almost confined to the Western Presidency and States surrounding it. The early settlements of the Pársis at Nausári, in the Baroda State, and in Súrat and Broach, still contain about 30·4 per cent. of the entire community, and their original fire temple at Udwáda on the Súrat coast has maintained its supreme repute. But the head quarters of the race have been gradually shifted to Bombay, where there are now 52·8 per cent. returned. Colonies of some strength are also to be found in Karáchi, Aden, the Haidrabad State, and in Poona. Elsewhere, small detachments, sometimes consisting of one or two families only, are settled in military stations, or along the lines of rail. In Upper Burma, the flag was soon followed by the Pársi, and the

enterprising Zoroastrian settled himself down in Mandalay on its occupation with the same promptitude and confidence in British protection as his forerunners showed in Aden and Quettah. The only province into which he has not yet penetrated seems to be Assam. Here, apparently, trade is not yet sufficiently extended to invite competition, and perhaps, too, the small and isolated European community, for whom the Parsi is always glad to cater, has placed co-operative institutions already in the field. The numerical progress of the Pársi community is a matter of some uncertainty, owing to the migratory habits of the race. Unhampered by caste rule as to food or clothing, the Parsi is free to seek employment all over the world, and many leave Bombay for years together, to work in China, England, or even more distant countries. The census Superintendent for Bombay finds in the age tables reason to think that in 1881 the young children were over counted, so that the increase is really greater than that shown in the tables. On the other hand, temporary causes are manifested in a small community with unwonted prominence, and the conditions of the case, apart from emigration for a certain time from the native country, seem to point to the probability of a slow growth. The community is a small one, and in spite of its general prosperity and the probable infusion of fresh blood from time to time from various local sources, the marriage field is a restricted one, and domestic ceremonial which is very strictly observed, weighs with undue severity on the weaker sex. Hence, especially amongst the wealthier families, who all belong to the professional and higher commercial classes, there seems to be a tendency towards deterioration in both prolificity and physique, which is not counteracted, as in the case of the middle and the rural classes, by outdoor life and the relaxation of caste rule amongst the latter, or by the energy and success with which the former have of late betaken themselves to athletic sports and exercises.

Jews.

Of the Jewish community, as in the case of the Jains and Sikhs, there is little more to be added to what has been said above. The returns do not discriminate between the various classes of the race, so we are not in a position to exactly demarcate the foreign element from the local. The chief seaport towns, such as Bombay and Calcutta, contain a small and wealthy community which came thither from Baghdad or other places in Turkish Arabia, but which is now domiciled in India. The Aden colony, too, is domiciled there, and seems to flourish and multiply greatly under local auspices, as in 1881 there were but 2,121, and 10 years later the number had risen to 2,826, an increase of 33 per cent. Lastly, there are the two purely Indian communities of the Beni-Israel, on the Bombay coast, and the Cochin Jews, further south. The former, in which the local element predominates, shows a tendency to migrate, but does not increase very rapidly. In Malabar, the white Jew, with his small endogamous circle, is apparently stationary, or even on the wane; nor does he travel far from the places where he first settled, whereas the Beni-Israel is more enterprising, and forms a small, but intelligent and valuable, fraction of the native army in the Western Presidency.

Christians.

In the returns of the Christian population, the distribution by race is given, in addition to that by territory and denomination, and it will serve as a sort of introduction to the rest. From Supplementary Table A, at page 496 of the first volume of the returns, the community will be seen to be composed of 89·1 per cent. of natives of India, including a few negroes; 7·4 per cent. of Europeans, including Americans and those from Australasia, and 3·5 per cent. of a mixture of these two, known by the general title of Eurasian.

Europeans.

The foreign element is composed of, first, the military, next the civil employés of the State, thirdly, those engaged on railways or mines, and then the professional and commercial classes chiefly congregated at the seaports and provincial capitals. There was also, at the time of the census, a considerable contingent of seafaring people on board vessels in harbour. It is not practicable to separate these groups in the general return. Speaking roughly, the military section amounts to a little over one-half. At the time of the census the strength of the European troops was about 67,800, with 2,550 officers, 3,120 women, 5,900 children, and approximately, 800 people engaged on the staff and in various military avocations in India. To these can be added about 1,200 wives and children of officers and those on the staff, &c., with 2,530 European officers attached to the native army, and about 1,100 persons representing their families, making in all about 85,000 souls. As to the other classes, we have still less of a foundation to build on. A recent estimate gives the civil employés and their families 10,500, and the railway servants 6,100, leaving about 66,400 to be distributed over the other groups, but this is admittedly no more than

an approximation. Then, again, the distinctions between the three races is very shadowy, and there is a tendency for Eurasians to enter the European group, and for native Christians to be returned as Eurasians. As the return stands, however, the influence of the army is visible in the number of Europeans found in the Panjáb, which heads the list. On the other hand, Bombay, which follows very closely, there being a difference of less than 200 people, is recruited chiefly from the non-official civil element, including seafarers. The North-West Provinces and Oudh come third, owing, again, to large garrisons, such as those at Meerut, Lucknow, Bareli, &c. Bengal follows with a fall of nearly 4,700. In the case of this Presidency the civil element is relatively considerably higher than in Bombay, as there are no large garrisons, and, in addition to the mercantile and professional population, and the large port of Calcutta, there is the planting colony in Bihár, East Bengal, and the sub-montane tracts, to be included. Madras and Burma come next, though at the very wide interval of 9,800 in the first case, and of 10,900 in the second. In Burma both trading and military population prevail. In Madras the latter is less prominent, perhaps, and the resident European more so. The number of Europeans in places like Quettah, Haidrabad, Mysore, and Central India depends obviously on the strength of the garrison in Belóchistán, Sekandrabád, Bangalore, and Mhow respectively. The marginal table gives the European population of a few of the chief towns, exclusive of the stations purely military.

Town.	European Population.
Bombay	11,458
Calcutta	11,914
Madras	4,200
Rangoon	4,120
Karáchi	3,182
Total	34,874

Eurasians.

Assuming the Eurasian return to be correct, Madras heads the list with 26,600 out of the total of 79,790. Bengal, which comes next, returns only 15,000. Bombay shows 8,500, amongst whom there are no doubt a good many Goanese or others with Portuguese patronymics. The North-West Provinces have always been remarkable for the number of their Eurasians, and Burma, which, in spite of its small population has nearly the same number, owes its pre-eminence to its peculiar domestic institutions which foster the supply of children of mixed race. Haidrabad and Bangalore follow Madras in the frequency of the entries of this class. It would be interesting to compare the returns of the two last enumerations, so as to see if this community is numerically on the rise or not, but owing partly to defects in the schedules filled up, partly to the number in 1881 not filled up at all as regards race, the census operations give little help in this direction, and the matter can only be satisfactorily dealt with through special investigation. Since the community is mostly congregated in the chief towns such an inquiry is not difficult, and can be made to include within its scope valuable details, such as the number of children per family, the age of parents at the time of marriage, and so on, which are impossible at a census.

Indian converts.

The bulk of the Christian community is, as we have seen above, of native Indian origin, and out of the 2,036,600 souls of which it consists, no less than 1,538,800 are found in Madras and the Malabar States. It includes, also, 152,500 in Bengal, 122,600 in Bombay and Sindh, and 101,300 in Burma. The rest are scattered about in comparatively small societies, such as 23,400 in the North-West Provinces, 19,600 in the Panjáb and about 43,400 in Haidrabád, Mysore, and Coorg, where the Madras influence makes itself felt. Its greatest development is thus found where the Brahmanic caste system is in force in its fullest vigour, in the south and west of the peninsula, and amongst the Hill tribes of Bengal. In such localities it is naturally attractive to a class of the population whose position is hereditarily and permanently degraded by their own religion, as Islám has proved in Eastern Bengal and amongst the lowest class of the inhabitants of the Panjáb. We have seen that in the early days of Portuguese missionary enterprise, it was found necessary to continue the breach that Brahmanic custom had placed between certain grades of society and those above them, but in later times, and in foreign missions of the Reformed Church, the tendency has been to absorb all caste distinctions into the general communion of the Christianity of that form. The new faith has thus affected the lower classes more directly than the upper, who have more to lose socially, and less to gain, and a good deal of its early spread in the Malabar States seems to have been due to the success achieved by the missionaries in their efforts to mitigate the rigour of the local rules and customs

towards those classes.* In Burma, again, the chief success has been amongst the Karén races, who are dwellers in the hills and forests, of Animistic proclivities, who, before the arrival of the British in this province had been grievously oppressed by the Burmese. The instruction placed within their reach by the missionaries enables them to take their place in society on a level with their former tyrants, who refused them that means of rising; but though Christianity has, doubtless, got a footing amongst these tribes, the present conditions in Burma seem favourable to the extension amongst the Karéns of the local Buddhism rather than of a more advanced form of belief. It is a question whether amongst the converts in the south-east of the Indian peninsula caste has not still a considerable attraction, for we find that when one of the lower caste converts has prospered in his worldly affairs, he manifests a tendency to dub himself one of the warrior-caste of the Brahmanic system, and to appear in the census returns as a Christian Kshatría; and in another part of the country the same class, on conversion, considers himself justified in attempting to avail himself of wells, the use of which had been prohibited to him by public opinion whilst he was in his unregenerate stage, thereby causing a village commotion. For the same reason as affects the return of Eurasians, namely, the number of Christians not returned by race in 1881, there can be no estimate formed from the census figures of the general increase in the ranks of native Christians on the last 10 years. Taking special localities, such as the south-east of Madras, the district of Lohárdaga in Bengal, and of Siálkot in the Panjáb, the variation is very large, and due probably exclusively to the growth of the active community. But even with these remarkable cases of increase the Christian native is but in the ratio of seven in a thousand of the whole population, and of these about five would belong to the older churches and the balance to the reformed. The remark, accordingly, made by the Roman Bishop of Ágra to Jacquemont, is as applicable now as it was in 1828: "La caldaja è molto grande, ma la carne è molto poca."

Christian denominations.

The return of Christian sects is not altogether complete, for we find in the original tables no less than 60,350 persons who omitted to fill in this column of the schedule, and 60,700 more who returned their sect simply as Protestant. With the help of the volume of Missionary Statistics before mentioned, these figures were finally reduced to 9,350 and 14,200 respectively, as shown in the following statement:—†

Denomination.	Total Number.	Distribution by Race.		
		European.	Eurasian.	Indian.
A.—Church of England, with Churches of India, Ireland, America, Anglican, and Episcopalian churches.	340,613	103,145	29,922	207,546
B.—Church of Scotland, Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, American or Irish Presbyterians, Irish Presbyterian Mission.	46,351	10,581	2,440	33,329
C.—Baptist	202,746	2,907	2,352	197,487
D.—Wesleyan, Wesleyan Methodist, Methodist, Primitive Methodist, Episcopalian Methodist, Bible Christian.	32,123	5,362	2,349	24,412
E.—Congregationalist, London Mission, Independent, Calvinist, Welsh Calvinist.	48,036	1,285	742	46,009
F.—Nonconformist, Dissenter, Puritan	557	230	180	147
G.—Plymouth Brethren, Open Brethren, Swedenborgian, New Jerusalem, Catholic Apostolic, Quaker, Friend, Salvationist, Anabaptist.	1,445	178	38	1,229
H.—Lutheran, German Mission, Swedish Church, Reformed Dutch, Zwinglian, Moravian, German Church, Evangelical, Evangelist Church, Evangelical Union, Reformed Church.	69,405	1,285	195	67,925
J.—Protestant	14,213	3,938	4,052	6,223
Total, Reformed Church	755,489	128,912	42,270	584,307
K.—Church of Rome	1,315,263	35,645	36,089	1,243,529
L.—Syrian Church (*Jacobite Section*)	200,467	15	3	200,449
M.—Greek, Abyssinian, and Armenian	1,258	726	275	257
Total, Older Churches	1,516,988	36,386	36,367	1,444,235
Unsectarian and Unreturned	11,903	2,702	1,153	8,048
Grand Total	**2,284,380**	**168,000**	**79,790**	**2,036,590**

* Linschoten, for instance, writes "As these Nayros (*Nairs*) go in the street they use to cry 'Po, Po,' "which is to say 'Take heed, look to yourselves,' or 'I come, stand out of the way,' for that the other sort "of people, called Polyas, that are no Nayros, may not once touch or trouble one of them . . . . . for, if "any of the Polyas should chance to touch their bodies, he may freely thrust him through, and no man ask "him why he did it." There are also strict sumptuary laws regarding the dress and habitation of this class, which are only now in abeyance during the rule of the British, and would be reimposed, with the acquiescence of those subjected to them, within a week from the removal of the foreign hand. *See* Mr. Mateer's Account of Travancore.—J.A.B.

† The grouping was suggested by Sir T. C. Hope, K.C.S.I., whose help in this portion of the work I have the pleasure of gratefully acknowledging.

The most striking feature of the return is that 76½ per cent. of the Europeans return some denomination of the Reformed Church, whilst 71 per cent. of the Indian converts appertain to the Roman and Syrian denominations of Christianity. It may also be noticed that the last term includes a considerably smaller number than in 1881, the reason being that in the latter year the section of the Eastern Church that had been combined with the Roman on the arrival of the Portuguese was shown under the same head as the Jacobite section, which has remained independent. The marginal table gives the above statement in a proportional form, so as to show the per-centage of each race returning each denomination. The Eurasians are fairly equally divided between the two sections of the Church, but the proportion of the unspecified, such as Protestants, is relatively higher than in the case of the two other races. The ratio of the Roman to the total, in the case of the Europeans, depends first upon the strength of Irish in the regiments serving in India, and next upon the number of Goanese, &c. who have been returned as Portuguese. Next to the Church of England, the native Christian shows a partiality for the Baptist denomination of the Reformed Church, which seems to have achieved its numerically greatest results in the northern districts of Madras and amongst the Karéns in Lower Burma. The latter field has been in the hands of this denomination for many years, but the latter received its great impetus during the famine of 1876–78, where it afforded a refuge for orphans and other destitute persons. The Church of England societies are found in most parts of India, but by far its largest congregations are in the southern districts and the Malabar States of the Madras Presidency. There is also a nucleus of this denomination in the hill tracts of Western Bengal, and in the Karén tracts of Burma. The Congregationalists, too, are mostly found in the Malabar States and in North Madras, whilst the Methodists chiefly haunt the North-West Provinces. The Lutherans, who, as seen above, were the first of the Reformed Churches to systematically take up the evangelisation of the natives, have nearly 68,000 converts, chiefly in Madras, where they began, and amongst the hill tribes of Bengal. A branch is settled also on the western coast to the north of the Malabar missions. In fact, as a rule, the different bodies of this section of Christianity seem to map out the field pretty definitely to meet each other's convenience, though there are, no doubt, instances of aggression. We find, for instance, that the newly arrived "Salvation Army," wherever it is in force, is in or near the nests of an older denomination, whose "fort" has been duly stormed like Jericho of old, by the aid of the instrument which, as we have seen, is the most popular one in India, and whose efficacy in the service of sectarianism is attested by no less an authority than Hudibras.* The Roman Church, though the great bulk of its native adherents are found in Madras and in the neighbourhood of that Presidency, has a strong foothold in Burma, but its greatest success during the last decade has been in the Lohárdága district of Bengal, where the wild tribes came over in numbers during an agrarian crisis a few years ago. In other parts of Bengal, too, as well as here, the census Superintendent points out that there have been reprisals from the Baptist and Lutheran denominations to a considerable extent. The Goanese element, together with the curiously isolated community of native Christians on the island of Salsette, near Bombay, is the main factor in the Roman Church of the Western Presidency.

Denomination.	Total Christians.	By Races.		
		European.	Eurasian.	Indian.
Church of England -	14·9	61·4	37·5	10·2
Presbyterian - -	2·0	6·3	3·1	1·6
British Nonconformists -	12·4	5·8	7·0	13·2
Lutheran - -	3·0	0·8	0·2	3·3
Protestant, unspecified -	0·6	2·3	5·1	0·3
Total, Reformed -	32·9	76·6	52·9	28·6
Roman - - - -	57·6	21·2	45·2	61·0
Syrian, &c. - -	8·7	0·4	0·3	9·8
Total, Old Church	66·3	21·6	45·5	70·8
Others and unspecified -	0·8	1·8	1·6	0·6

It is worth while to compare the returns furnished to the census enumerator with those in the missionary publication already more than once quoted, though this can only be done in a very general way. The figures for the Roman Church agree very

* "We'll beat a drum, and they'll all follow.
A drum, quoth Phœbus, 'troth that's true,
A pretty invention, quaint and new!"

fairly with those given in the year book called "Missiones Catholicæ," the difference being a trifle in excess on the side of the census. In the case of the Reformed Church, too, the total results are biassed in the same direction, but in some of the details there appears a great difference. In the course of the preparatory operations before the enumeration, a circular was issued by the Superintendents to all missionary agents suggesting that the Societies concerned should issue cards to all native householders of their denomination, with the name of the latter legibly entered thereon in the vernacular character of the district, so that it might be copied into the schedule with as little danger of error as possible. This course was evidently not universally followed, and in default of such a guide both enumerator and enumerated were at a loss to get at the correct entry. The neglect of such a precaution seems to indicate a dislike on the part of the leaders of the congregation, similar to that which prevails in Great Britain, to the return of denomination. On the other side of the question it may be pointed out that a good deal of the missionary statistics is admittedly approximate only, and in some cases is based on the simple rule of multiplying the number of communicants by $2\frac{1}{2}$ to get that of the whole denominational community. Taking Indian converts only, we find the main differences between the two returns to be as shown in the marginal table; some of the discrepancy is attributable, no doubt, to defective nomenclature. For instance, the group marked F. should be distributed, apparently, in the case of the mission return, between Lutheran and Baptist, and the census return under group C. includes, probably, some Congregationalists. The Salvation Army, again, claims considerably more than are assigned to it in the census schedules, and may possibly be confused with the Presbyterians, alongside of or amongst whom it works in some parts of the Bombay Presidency. As regards the variation from the 1881 return, the scrutiny of denomination shows that the only figures coming under identical heads are those for the older churches, which, too, omitting the small number of the Greek and Armenian sections, must be taken *en masse*, on account of the confusion between the Roman and the Jacobite sections of the Syrian Church, which occurred in 1881. Thus taken, the increase is about 19·2 per cent. If the above items be deducted from the grand total, the increase of the remaining denominations, representing the Reformed Churches, amounts to 28·6 per cent. The "Protestant" and other unspecified entries numbered 189,692 persons in 1881, and 142,925 in 1891, a difference which affects a considerable proportion of the detailed entries of denomination. It should also be mentioned that there is a discrepancy between the number of Christians by race, as shown here and as shown in Table XVII. In the case of Europeans, the difference amounts to 1,572 in favour of the return under review, whilst the Eurasians are here shown as fewer by 1,954. The discrepancy is chiefly in Madras and Rangoon, and is apparently attributable to the revision of the tables after the Imperial series had been completed. The entry of Goanese as Portuguese, and the return by Eurasians of non-Christian religions accounts for part of the confusion. As to the Indian converts, who are here returned in excess of the other table by no less than 200,742, the explanation obviously is that in the latter there is no distinction by religion shown, so that much of the Christian community has been compiled under the caste or tribal name which they returned in the portion of the schedule assigned for that detail. We have mentioned above the case of the toddy-drawers of the south of Madras, who return themselves as Christians of the warrior caste of Brahmanic orthodoxy, and many other Christians will be found under the lower castes. These are mentioned in the provincial reports, but in accordance with the general scheme of the Imperial return, the distinction is ignored in the latter. Moreover, as there was no requisition on

Denomination.	A.—Census.	B.—Mission.	C.—B. compared with A.
A.—Church of England	207,546	194,482	−13,064
B.—Presbyterian	33,329	34,979	+ 1,650
C.—Baptist	197,487	133,762	−63,725
D.—Wesleyan, &c.	24,412	33,058	+ 8,646
E.—Congregationalist	46,009	78,132	+32,123
F.—Indefinite Nonconformist	147	23,794	+23,647
G.—Miscellaneous (*chiefly Salvation Army*).	1,229	2,491	+ 1,262
H.—Lutheran	67,925	63,251	− 4,674
J.—Protestant	6,223	—	− 6,223
Total	**584,307**	**563,949**	**−20,358**

Christian converts to return the caste to which they belonged before their conversion, and the general feeling is adverse to the recognition of that caste, except in special instances, chiefly found on the Malabar coast and near Bombay, the return is necessarily only partial, and most of the community appear under the collective title of Christian.

C.—The Distribution of the Population by Race, Tribe, or Caste.

Πατρίους παριδοχὰς ἅς θ' ὁμήλικας χρόνῳ
Κεκτημέθ', οὐδεὶς ἀντι καταβαλεῖ λόγος,
Οὐδ' εἰ δι' ἄκρον τὸ σοφὸν ἥυρηται φρενῶν—*Euripides.*

Nature and origin of caste.

In this section we have to deal with the last and the most important of the ethnographic elements included in the census scheme; and, it is also, unfortunately, that of all others which it is most difficult to treat adequately within the limits of the present review. Philology, as we have seen above, is of little help in the demarcation of the ethnic distinctions amongst the people of India. As to religion, again, what has been said already is enough to show its imperfection as a guide, and of all the erroneous methods of discriminating between the divisions of the community, that which assigns any ethnic value to the terms Hindu and Musalmán is the most misleading. It is true that very high authorities have described caste as the "express badge of Hinduism," and M. Barth, whose testimony has been already cited more than once in the course of this chapter, considers that this institution is not merely the symbol of Hinduism, but its stronghold, and a religious factor of the very highest order. To a very great extent, so it undoubtedly is, but what has been said in the foregoing pages justifies, perhaps, a wider view of caste, by which term, it is as well to explain, is here meant the perpetuation of *status* or function, by inheritance and endogamy. For caste is a development of the special tendency to which the social atmosphere of India is abnormally favourable, and is not, therefore, the peculiar attribute of the Brahmanic form of religion, whatever it may be, so much as of the circumstances of which the Bráhman had the opportunity of moulding in days long gone by. For example, we find that where tribal pride is strong, and the social position good, the change of faith involves no alteration in either nomenclature or social custom. Where, on the other hand, the community in question is in a depressed condition in the Brahmanic system, conversion to another faith is used as an opportunity to slip out of the hereditary yoke. Thus we find the various tribes of Jat and Rájpút, in the north of India, contain nearly an equal number of Bráhmanic and Musalmán members, not to mention the Sikhs that prevail in certain localities. Amongst the Jains, again, of Western India intermarriage is not uncommon between the Brahmanic and Shráwak sections of the same community. In another direction, fiction assigns to the leaders of a forest tribe the position and honours of the warrior caste when they enter the fold of orthodox Brahmanism, whilst the rest of the tribe retains its original designation, and sometimes, as we have seen in the preceding section, remains even professedly Animistic, or, as in Assam takes a special title conventionally allowed to those who join the Brahmanic community. The case of the eastern Bengal Musalmáns has already, too, been quoted as an example of social rise on conversion, since they all assume the honorific designation of Shaikh, implying admission into the Arab fraternity. The Christian converts of Southern India may be cited since a further instance of this tendency. The Shánan, or toddy-drawers, with the corresponding class on the western coast, hold but a very low position in the Brahmanic system, as it is in force in Dravidian lands. When, therefore, they become Christians, most of them abandon their caste name, but as they rise in worldly circumstances, the tendency comes out, as has been mentioned at the end of the last section, to arrogate to themselves the title of the warrior caste, like the wild tribes of the Central Belt. But under the early Portuguese missionaries, higher up on the Malabar coast, the distinctions of Brahmanic caste were always recognised on conversion, as the object was to provide the church with a class of convert who was fit by position, rank, and education, to take up an influential position in the priesthood.* Numbers of similar instances can be cited of the independence of the obligations of caste from the elastic bondage of what, with the masses in India, passes for religion, *a non religando.*

* As this is going through the press, I see that this point has been noticed in a leading Indian journal in the following fitting phrase:—"The multiplicity of Hindu castes is such that some have even assimilated the terminology of the Christian faith."—J.A.B.

But granting that there is something inherent, as it were, in the conditions of life in India that fosters the sentiment of which the caste system is the expression, and granting again that the form, or collection of forms, that this expression has taken is the outgrowth of the Brahmanic creed, it seems within the bounds of reasonable hypothesis to attribute to its present development an origin distinctly racial. We have seen the origin of that creed in the necessity of keeping the gods on the side of the Árya, in the struggle of the latter with the dark races they found in possession of the tracts they coveted. We find the germs of the caste system in the subsequent contact of the foreign race with their late opponents, when actual hostilities had closed. The Bráhman had already developed into a hierarchy, and by their influence over the supernatural, could easily prevail on the Arya laity to exclude the subject races from participation in what seemed to be the peculiar privilege of the superior. There is thus an ethnologic justification for the use of the Vedic term "colour," in the sense in which caste or race is now used, as has been pointed out by modern writers. But here the racial element seems to cease for the moment, for inside the community of the Arya themselves, assuming that the fulminations of the Brahman had any effect, the development of function must have proceeded on caste lines. That is, the right to sacrifice, and to perform the other offices of the priesthood having been established on a hereditary basis, the natural tendency would be to extend the principle to those who supported the priesthood, namely the warrior chiefs. So, too, within the circle of the Vaishya, or colonists of Árya descent, function became hereditary, through trade guilds, in imitation of the higher classes, and with the growth of the settlements of the race, the hierarchy separated from the commonalty, so that practice was less supervised, and the non-Arya undoubtedly entered by the lower gate, even though interbreeding was not prevalent till a later age, which is a doubtful assumption. The literature of the Brahmanical revival, after the downfall of Buddhism, is practically devoted to caste, that is, to the support of the Brahmanic pretensions, and on this is based the system that prevails in the present day. The process of absorption of the Hill tribes, mentioned in the preceding section, necessarily tended to obliterate the line of demarcation between the Árya Kshatria and the black chieftains now admitted to the title. Indeed, according to the orthodox doctrine, the whole of the Kshatria caste, which apparently was found inconvenient in the new order of things, was destroyed to a man, by the Brahmanical creation named Parasu-Ráma, but this is a difficulty that no hierarchy would fail to solve.* Then with regard to the Bráhmans themselves, who may be assumed to have done what they could to defend the sacerdotal body from recruitment from outside, we read of instance upon instance of the creation of the class by royal edict, and of others where the Bráhman, having descended to temple ministration, is degraded from the hierarchy. In one province alone there are over 150 divisions of Bráhmans, none of whom will intermarry with each other or sit down together at a ceremonial banquet. If this be the course of events at the root of the tree, it is hardly necessary to descant upon the chances of genealogical purity amongst the branches. The Arya entered India, no doubt, white in colour, and more hardy and advanced in the arts of war and husbandry than his antagonists, but not so far removed in race as to prevent successful interbreeding. Then, too, being an Asiatic, albeit of the temperate zone, he was able to settle in Upper India, beyond the tropic, with as little inconvenience as regards climate as the Burman in the neighbouring peninsula. There was no question of physical deterioration, as in the case of the European and those crossed with him in India and corresponding climates. As the settlers receded further from the north-west of the country, their touch of the fathers of their race, and the chances of recruitment from across the mountains, grew less, until there is no basis for even a reasonable pretence of Árya blood. The case is often cited of the importation of a few families of Bráhmans into Bengal from the centre of Brahmanic orthodoxy, to restore the decaying practice of the faithful in the Deltaic marshes, and the consequent repeopling of that tract, even unto the present day, with the pure blood of Kanaujia. But from the original tradition, it appears that only the first wives of these prolific teachers were of the Bráhman caste, and that the rest were daughters of Heth. It is the same in Nipál, the most orthodox tract in India, and the only one wherein the Musalmán has never set his conquering foot. The ruling family was found by the refugee Brahmans to be

* The new race of chiefs, according to the Puránic and Epic literature, resembles the Levitic conception, given in the Chronicles, of the Kings of Israel, who war for, and at the command of, the priesthood, with minds filled, says Renan, with nothing but priests, Levites, and poets.—J.A.B.

of Rájput blood, and the Bráhmans themselves laid the foundation of the well-known Khas tribe, of mixed blood, who now constitute the predominant community in the whole of the lower valleys. In this tract, by the way, it is said that there is the only opportunity to be found in the present day of judging of Brahmanism where its development has been absolutely unchecked; and something very like the code of Manu is in force in its unmitigated bigotry. It is only within comparatively recent times that the racial distribution of the population has been investigated on the line of modern science. Previous to that time philology had held the field unchecked by observations from other standpoints. A beginning has been made in Bengal by Mr. Risley, who has published anthropometrical data from about 6,000 persons. Most of them are from Bengal, but some were made in the North-West Provinces and the Panjab. Such an extensive field of survey, comprising over 146 millions of inhabitants, cannot, of course, be appreciated from the results of measuring one person in 24,000, but the results show the value of the method, and it is to be hoped that more material of the same sort may be made available. It is imprudent to base any general conclusions on this small foundation, but so far as the local circumstances of Bengal are concerned, it may be inferred that the population consists of a mixture of two breeds, first, the western, in which the Árya is an element, especially in Bihár, but mixed with the dark races of the Hill tracts. Secondly, the eastern, where the predominant factor is the Mongoloid of the north-east, mixed with the dark races of the plains and marshes, and with a slight tincture of Aryan blood in a portion of the upper class. One valuable feature in the measurements is the apparent identity they establish between the two families of the dark inhabitants of the Central Belt of hills. The distinction, as a purely linguistic one, is still untouched, but physiology has pronounced against any difference between the Kól and the Oráon or Gónd. Taking the measurements of the Panjáb for what they are worth, it appears that the lower castes in that province possess a higher type of feature than the higher castes of the Lower Ganges valley. This conclusion jumps with what is known of the history of the population of the north-west corner of India, where not only has recruitment from the hardy races of Central Asia been going on within a far later period than any that can be assigned to an Árya movement from the same direction, but, moreover, the dark or Dravidian race does not seem to have ever been prominent in the land of the Five Rivers, so that the development of caste in the latter region, wherever it obtains, must have been mainly tribal or functional. The alternative hypothesis, to which the existence of the village helot in the centre and east of the Province gives colour, is that the race that preceded the Skythic tribes who were found in possession by the Arya were of a northern stock; or, again, that the race had been long enough in India to change the type in the different physical conditions of the peninsula. But it seems very doubtful whether such migration would affect more than the skull-shape, and would not leave unaltered the other facial measurements and the colour. All that can be said safely is that whatever the mixture, the race type of the north and west of India differs from that in the south and east, and that of the Arya type, whatever remains, must be sought in the Ganges Doáb. On the west coast there are a few curious distinctions that indicate, apparently, difference in racial origin. The first of these instances is that of the Nair, the military caste of Malabar. Their traditions point to the north as their native land; they are light in colour, in very great contrast to the rest of the castes of the tract, have retained the custom of polyandry, with a good deal of serpent worship. It appears that they advanced upon their present tract by way of the coast higher up, but how they got there does not appear. As with the Árya, they found a dark race in possession and enslaved them on their estates, where they labour to the present day. In the same tract, too, there is a class of Bráhmans, the Nambudiri, of remarkable fairness of complexion, and noted for their rigid ceremonial puritanism. Then, again, in the track of the Nair's alleged progress, we find a peculiar caste of Bráhmans, partly occupied in the cultivation of spices and betel nut, but settled mostly above the Ghâts, and not therefore so well sheltered from foreign influences as the Nair, who sought the coast. These Havig or Haiga Bráhmans show their connection with the Túlu country in their speech, and, like the Nairs, attribute to their caste a serpent origin in Rohilkhand, a statement borne out by their title. Between these we have a class of female temple servants of an equally light complexion amidst a universally dark population. Further north come the well known Konkanasth Bráhman, sometimes called Chitpáwan, who gave to the Maráthas their line of Peshwás. Their traditions point to an origin beyond the sea, and they have certainly preserved a complexion and features in marked contrast to those of their neighbours. It is not proved, however,

Physiology and caste.

that the sea they crossed was wider than that between Sindh or Káthiawár and their present settlements in Ratnagiri, so that they may well be the remnants of one of the really Árya clans of Northern India; either that harried by Alexander on his voyage down the Indus, or that which was the appanage of the Rájpút courts of Saurásh̄tra or south-western Rájputána. At all events, these curious instances of an evidently northern community embedded in a purely Dravidian entourage show that a good many links in the ethnological history of the country are wanting.

So far as race is concerned, then, India has a north-western or Skythic element in the Panjab, fringed by the semi-Arab blood of the Afghán and Balóch along the west. It is impossible to say where the former influence ends towards the south and east, but it probably reached as far as the peninsula of Káthiawár, in one direction, and nearly to the Jamna in another, but all along the border line the demarcation has long been obliterated. There is then the Mongoloidic element in the Himálaya and the eastern valleys, stretching down to the sea at the extreme east, and much mixed up with the population of other races throughout the trans-Gangetic tracts of the Delta. Burma may be said to be entirely Mongoloidic. Along the west coast there are traces here and there of Skythic blood, and even of that of races still further removed from India, who have settled there, however, within historic times. In Kashmér, the lower valleys of the Panjáb and Garhwál Himalaya, the central portion of the Upper Ganges basin, and, probably, the eastern part of Rajputana, the prevailing racial element is as nearly Arya as in any part of India, the tinge getting darker as the hill country is approached. In the latter we have the Dravidian, or whatever the appropriate title may be, and with the exception of the few communities along the west coast already mentioned, this race predominates throughout the peninsula, the hills everywhere standing out with special purity of blackness. It is not possible to give accurate statistics regarding the relative prevalence of these races, owing to the assumption of membership of well-known social orders to which the newly-enrolled have no racial title, nor can any approximation be made that is not likely to turn out fallacious, owing to the great confusion of blood in every part of the country, except Burma and the Hill tracts.

Development of caste.

The evolution of caste from the comparatively simple basis of race and function into its present complicated shape is a subject of which it is impossible to give here more than a bare sketch. The supersession of racial by tribal feeling is not an unusual feature in any country where the two are found, and in India, no doubt, it has been helped by change of religion in the more frequent cases of widespread conversion. Of castes of political origin instances have been already given, and more can be obtained on reference to any of the census reports of the last two enumerations. The most striking example, however, seems to be that of the Hill tracts of the Panjáb, where the Rája is the fountain of honour to an extent unprecedented, probably, in other parts of India, for by his word he creates, enlarges, and restricts the castes of the population of his realm. Elsewhere, the process of creation is, as a rule, confined to the two upper classes, Bráhman and Rájput. We have, then, the incorporation, by fiction, as it has been called, of members of the forest tribes, of which enough has been said above. The gradual acquisition of a higher caste by the lower seems not confined to any particular locality or system, for in Assam Mr. Gait has well described it as becoming almost a rule amongst certain classes. In the Deccan, again, the acquisition of wealth by a landholder often carries with it a rise in caste, of which the first manifestations are the seclusion of the female members of his family and the abjuration of widow marriage. In the next generation the family becomes Marátha, and then proceeds to Rájpút. The Christian aspirations after the latter title have been mentioned already, and in one instance a Madras apothecary of this faith applied for a wall round the yard of the dispensary of which he was in official charge, in order that the women of his family might take exercise in the seclusion due to their caste. But the great majority of the new formations on social considerations seem to be in the direction of degration rather than of usurpation. Some violation of caste ceremonial or etiquette is met with excommunication by those who have not yet tripped, and the peccant community at once forms a subdivision of the old, intermarrying only within itself. In this way, the semi-agricultural grower of fruit, generally a suburban resident, has declined communion with his fellow who devotes himself to the provision of vegetables. The carpenter, again, will have no companionship with him who repairs the carts used in municipal conservancy. Other instances are found scattered throughout the caste history of every province. We then come to territorial divisions, which are often based on difference of language. The functional castes, of

course, furnish the bulk of these, and it is rare that there is *connubium* or *confarreatio* between the two sections. Sectarian differences, too, are fruitful sources of new caste growths. Some instances have been given in the section of this chapter which treats of the development of religion, and the process is pretty generally on the same lines in all. There is a sort of revolt against the Brahmanic authority, which attracts people of different castes. If it involves nothing but dogma or academic principles, caste is not affected. If, however, social orthodoxy is impugned, the adherents have to retire from the fold and form a new community. Thus, the Lingaiat sect of the South Deccan includes a number of different castes, all receiving separate recognition within the sect, and all prohibited from intercourse by marriage at all events, with the castes from which they have respectively seceded. In a number of cases, too, the name of the sect was returned as a caste without further discrimination, and, as in other instances, such as those of the goldsmiths and silk-weavers, the spiritual guides of the community have laid claim to the title of Bráhman. The communities in question are all in good circumstances, and it is noticeable that whereas all the great Nonconformist movements of India, involving, that is, large numbers, have been in a direction extra Brahmanic, and patronised by the lowest sections of the population, the numerically smaller have been taken up by the well-to-do and directed, ultimately, to the advance of the community within the system to which they originally belong. For, to quote Butler again,

> "Gain has wonderful effects,
> To improve the factory of sects."

Thus, in spite of the theoretically immutable barriers of caste, it is plain that the community which acknowledges them is constantly leaping over or creeping under them, or adding to their number, but in all this change steadily adhering to the main and vital principles of the institution. It is of the highest interest to trace the various influences that seem to pervade the caste system of the different parts of the country, but space does not allow of it,* and in addition to the chapters on the subject in the provincial and State reports on the census, both on the present occasion and in 1881, works are available for reference, such as Lyall's "Asiatic Studies," Risley's work on Bengal castes, Crook's and Nesfield's on those of the North-West Provinces, and the "Bombay Gazetteer," with many others, from which the chief features can be learned, with much valuable folk-lore into the bargain.

We have now to consider the results of the enumeration of caste, and it is necessary, accordingly, to show, as in the case of occupation, what was the scope of the inquiry. The following statement, therefore, gives the heading of the schedule and the standard instructions:—

1881.			1891.		
Column Headings	Religion	6. Religion.	*Column Headings.*	Religion	2. Main Religion.
		7. Caste, if Hindu; Sect, if of other Religion.*			3. Sect of Religion.
				Caste or Race.	4. Main Caste, Tribe, &c.
					5. Sub-division of Caste, Tribe, &c.

Instructions.—Col. 6. Here enter the main religious denomination to which each person belongs, as [Hindu, Muhammedan, Christian, Sikh, Jain, Brahmos, or other religious division of Hindus not mentioned above, Buddhist, Jew, Pársi]. If a person belongs to some aboriginal or non-Hindu tribe, enter the name of his tribe, as Gáro, Khásia, &c.

Col. 7. In the case of Hindus, here enter the caste, as Brahman, Rajput, &c. If the name of the sub-division of the caste be entered, you must also enter the general name of the caste, as a whole. In the

* In this column such details of tribes, clans, and sects, as the Local Government may direct, should be introduced.

Instructions.—Col. 2. Here enter the main religion which each person returns:—

As *Hindu, Musalmán, Jain, Pársi, Christian.* Forest tribes who are not Hindu, Musalmán, &c., should have the name of their tribe entered in this column, as *Bhil, Gond, Gáro,* &c.; low castes, such as *Chamár, Dóm, Pária, Mahár,* &c., should be entered by the religion which they themselves return, and no dispute about it is to be raised.

Col. 3. Enter the sect of religion followed by each person as they return it;—

As *Smárth, Vaishnav, Walabhachárya, Lingaiat,* &c., for Hindus; *Sunni, Shiah,* &c., for Musalmán; and for Christian enter whether *Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopalian,* &c. If the sect cannot be stated, enter "Not returned" in this column, but do not leave it blank.

* For example, the curious division in the Tamil country of the castes, other than Bráhmans and Kshatria, into those of the right hand and those of the left, unknown in any other part of India; and the still more curious custom of the males of the leather workers and females of the Polya (menials) being on the left, whilst the other sex of those castes is dignified by a place on the right. During factional warfare conjugal rights are suspended, and resumed when peace again reigns.—J. A. B.

1881. (*Continued.*)	1891. (*Continued.*)
case of Musalmans, state whether they are Shiahs, Sunnis, Farazis, or Wahábis. Christians should be shown as members of the Church of England, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Wesleyans, Armenians, or as belonging to the Greek or Syrian rite, or, if not belonging to any of these denominations, under the general head of "others."	Col. 4.* Enter the caste if Hindus or Jains, and the tribes of those who have not castes, and the races of Christians, Buddhists, &c. :— As *Brahmán, Rájput, Baniá, Kúnbi,* for Hindus; *Pathán, Moghal,* &c., for Musalmán; Eurasian or Native Christian for Christians; do not enter vague terms, such as *Hindustáni, Márwádi, Panjábi,* &c. Col. 5.* If the caste has been entered in col. 4, enter here the sub-division, as *Kanaujiá, Nágar,* &c., for *Bráhmans, Osvál* for *Banias,* &c. If *tribe,* enter the *clan,* if race, enter the tribe or nationality. Some races or castes may not return sub-divisions, and in their case the entry in col. 4 should be repeated, but this column must not be left blank. *Native Christians,* for instance, may be returned as *Portuguese, East Indians, Madrási,* or by their caste, if recognised. *Karéns,* as *Sgau,* &c.; *Bhils* as *Tadwi, Páwada,* &c.; *Gónds* as *Ráj,* &c.

* The drafting of illustrations in the instructions for cols. 4 and 5 was left to the local census Superintendent.

As to the main points of difference between the two sets of rules, it will be seen that in the later code the caste was separated entirely from the religion, and the sect, accordingly, kept equally distinct. In other respects, the difference is merely in the greater detail of the illustrations, a matter that was left largely to the discretion of the local census Superintendent. The first mentioned change was made in order to get rid of the notion that the caste, or social distinction, was not required for Musalmáns, Sikhs, Jains, and so on, or was held to be subordinate in any way to sect of religion. With respect to the greater detail, it was thought that with plenty of discretion allowed to those who knew the special ways in which the enumerators were most likely to err, delegation was, on the whole, better than reservation, as in some cases on the last occasion prohibition of certain entries had been found to be taken as prescription. On the whole, too, the separation of the four items of religion, sect, caste, and sub-caste, &c., was found to make the notion of what was required more easily intelligible to the enumerator. Mistakes in abundance there were, of course, and the chronicle of these can be read in the provincial reports, where they are duly noted; but, speaking generally, the detail was more correct than on the former occasion, and justified the greater elaboration of the instructions.

Then came the process of abstraction, in which the main chance of error arose from the misreading of badly-written titles, more especially in the case of names of cases foreign to the district, of which alone the clerk had experience. When the heavy task of checking and tabulating the district totals was completed, there remained that of classification. It will be as well to explain this process by reproducing the Census Commissioner's Circular Order on the subject, as was done with reference to the corresponding process in the case of occupation.

On the Abstraction and Tabulation of Castes, Tribes, &c.

The Abstraction should include every caste, &c., and every subdivision, found in the schedule. From the Abstraction sheets an Index is to be prepared in which each caste, &c., with its subdivisions, should appear in alphabetical order. In a province such as the Panjáb, where the question of caste distribution was fully dealt with in connection with the last census, it has been found unnecessary to tabulate more than certain locally important subdivisions, after abstracting and indexing the whole. Elsewhere, it will be advisable for a complete table, showing the strength of each item, to be recorded for further inquiry.

2. The form of the Index has been already given in Appendix B. of Circular M., and the present Note supplements the above instructions with the scheme of classification therein mentioned. Generally speaking, the method of grouping is a rather more comprehensive form of that adopted by Mr. Kitts in his Compendium of Castes, but, instead of following closely the order and detail of the Occupation table, an attempt has been made to arrange the groups more or less in accordance with the position generally assigned to each in the social scale, as suggested by Mr. Ibbetson in his Panjáb work. A class has been added, too, for those who do not belong to the Hindu, Jain, or Musalmán communities or to Forest tribes, which addition will include, also, converts to Christianity who do not retain their original caste or tribe. No sample list has been prepared, as there is danger of confusion between the nomenclature of different provinces; but Mr. Kitts' list affords a general indication of the application of the scheme, though, no doubt, the detailed knowledge of provincial Superintendents will enable them to make corrections in certain points of detail. The main object is to ensure uniformity of classification, so that the circumstances of the provinces in respect to sex-distri-

bution, education, and marriage customs, where abstracted, and the prevalence of the selected infirmities, &c., may be accurately compared, in spite of the local name borne by the same caste in different parts of the continent.

3. For Imperial purposes, therefore, the numerical table required should include every distinct caste or tribe under its appropriate class and group. In several provinces the main castes are divided by religion, so that the latter fact should be recognised, as well as the social distinction.* Rájpúts and Jats, for instance, in the north, are found to be Hindus, Musalmáns, and Sikhs. Baniyas are both Hindu and Jain. Forest tribes return themselves as Hindus, and of the tribal religion, and in several important cases as Musalmán and Christian also. The provincial form of this table should, moreover, mention such sub-castes, &c., as may be recorded in tabulation; and on the subject of arranging and defining these subdivisions useful hints will be found in a paper by Mr. H. H. Risley, printed at pages 343–352 of Volume I., No. 6, of the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. In the Imperial Return for India the number alone of such subdivisions is sufficient, and a further selection will be made in the Central Office of the castes in each class or group which will have to be separately named.

* This refers to the provincial series of tables, as it may be worth while in special cases to see if conversion works any change as regards education or marriage.—J. A. B.

The scheme of classification mentioned in the above circular is as follows; the serial numbering, however, is that finally adopted for the Imperial Return for India, which differs a little from that originally prescribed, and which will be found in use in the provincial volumes:—

A. Agriculture and Pastoral.	I. Military and Dominant.	D. Artizans and Village Menials—*cont.*	XXXI. Potters.
	II. Other Agriculturists.		XXXII. Glass and Lac Workers.
	III. Cattle Graziers.		XXXIII. Salt and Lime Workers.
	IV. Field Labourers.		XXXIV. Goldsmiths' Refuse Cleaners.
	V. Forest Tribes.		XXXV. Gold Washers and Iron Smelters.
B. Professional.	VI. Priests, &c.		XXXVI. Fishermen, &c.
	VII. Devotees and Ascetics.		XXXVII. Domestic Service, &c.
	VIII. Temple Servants.		XXXVIII. Distillers and Toddy Drawers.
	IX. Genealogists.		XXXIX. Butchers.
	X. Writers.		XL. Leather Workers.
	XI. Astrologers and Herbalists.		XLI. Village Watchmen, &c.
	XII. Musicians and Ballad Reciters.		XLII. Scavengers.
	XIII. Singers and Dancers.	E. Vagrants.	XLIII. Grindstone Makers.
	XIV. Actors and Mimes.		XLIV. Earth Workers, Stone Quarriers.
C. Commercial.	XV. Traders.		XLV. Knife Grinders.
	XVI. Pedlars.		XLVI. Mat and Cane Workers.
	XVII. Carriers by Pack Animals.		XLVII. Hunters and Fowlers.
D. Artizans and Village Menials.	XVIII. Goldsmiths.		XLVIII. Miscellaneous Vagrants.
	XIX. Barbers.		XLIX. Jugglers, Acrobats, &c.
	XX. Blacksmiths.	F. Races and Indefinite Titles.	L. Musalmán Foreign Races.
	XXI. Carpenters, Masons, &c.		LI. Himalayan Mongoloids.
	XXII. Brass and Copper Smiths.		LII. Burmese and Chinese Mongoloids.
	XXIII. Tailors.		LIII. Western Asiatics.
	XXIV. Grain parchers and Confectioners.		LIV. Burmese, &c. Mixed Races.
	XXV. Perfumers, Betel-leaf, &c. Sellers.		LV. Indefinite Indian Castes.
	XXVI. Weavers and Dyers.		LVI. Europeans, &c.
	XXVII. Washermen.		LVII. Eurasians.
	XXVIII. Cotton Cleaners.		LVIII. Native Christians.
	XXIX. Shepherds and Wool Weavers.		LIX. Goanese and Portuguese.
	XXX. Oil Pressers.		LX. Africans.

This grouping, it will be seen, is based mainly upon function, but it was further explained to the classifying officers that the occupation to which the caste in question was to be credited was not necessarily that actually exercised by the caste in the

present day but that which was assigned to it by tradition, and generally implied in its current appellation. There is thus no connection between this return and that of occupation. Again, towards the end of the classification, a set of groups will be found in which race is the predominant feature. It has been explained above that the Músalmán titles that appear in Group L. do not, except in the Panjáb, necessarily imply foreign origin. In Group LVIII., too, the term Native Christian only covers those of this community who returned themselves under no other title. As pointed out in the circular, what was aimed at in prescribing the classification, was as much uniformity as the nature of the statistics will allow, so that the returns of each province might be dealt with on the same basis. This was especially necessitated by the tabulation of caste or race, as the case may be, in combination with such details as literacy, infirmities, and, where undertaken by the local authorities, with marriage and widowhood also. The index sent up from most of the provincial census offices enabled this object to be fairly fulfilled, but owing to the absence of such a guide in the case of the two largest provinces, comprising more than half the population of British territory, the returns for which did not reach the Imperial office until six months after all the rest had been compiled and worked up, inconsistency could not everywhere be avoided. In the summary statement, called Table XVII.—A., with which Volume II. begins, the more important adjustments that seemed advisable have been made, at the cost of discrepancy with the succeeding tables. The general scheme of arrangement is admittedly devoid of pretension to ethnological order, since in the chaotic condition of the population at the present time an attempt to achieve such would inevitably be a failure. On the other hand, an arrangement purely according to the position occupied by the caste in social estimation would only be possible for each Province or State taken separately, as there is but little uniformity in this respect if we regard the circumstances of the country as a whole. The general rule, therefore, has been to place the caste concerned in the group to which it is assigned in the part of the country in which it most prevails, so as to get at least approximate accuracy. There are, however, obvious flaws in the grouping itself, due in great measure to the adoption of functional classification to an excessive extent. For instance, amongst professions we have the arts of singing, dancing, and acting, which in India are anything but reputable in public estimation. Again, in the large class of agriculturists are included the field labourers, who are, in many places but little more than agrestic serfs, and the forest tribes, who, though chiefly agricultural, no doubt, are lower in the scale than the village artisan. Thus, every one of the chief Classes must be taken by itself, and the relative positions of the groups in it considered as subject to this limitation. But for the purposes of the present review, a little more detail seems advisable in the combinations, and as the recognition of function in connection with caste has been already carried so far, there is no sufficient reason for seceding from it, on Luther's principle of *pecca fortiter*, if the principle be a wrong one. In the table on the next page, accordingly, the 60 groups of the original distribution have been collected into 21 classes, and against each is shown the ratio borne by it to the total population dealt with in the return, which amounts to 286,900,000. Taking the return as a whole, the two points that are most prominent are, first, the indication given by the small proportion of the purely agricultural castes of the extent to which other classes join in cultivation, and then, the fact that nearly 16½ per cent. of the population is returned on other than functional considerations, thus showing the inutility of comparing this return with that of occupation. In fact, in all cases above those of the lowest, the members of the caste have diverged widely from the means of subsistence from which they respectively take their name, and the divergence is very often indicated by the establishment of a fresh subdivision, higher or lower, according to the occupation in question. In some of the provincial returns the several subdivisions have been compiled into an index, and in others the more important have been shown in the return subordinate to the main caste. This detail, however, was beyond the scheme adopted for the Imperial tables, which deal accordingly with the latter only.

It is now proposed to consider Table XVII.—A., re-grouped as described above.

Agricultural groups.

The agricultural class then contains nearly 30 per cent. of the population under three groups. The first, that of the military section, includes those castes and tribes which have risen to power at different stages in the history of their province. Amongst them the largest, that of the *Rájpút*, is spread all over India, but to a far less extent to the south than in the continental portion. The title is an extremely comprehensive one, as must have been seen from what has been said regarding the

TABLE .

Class and Group.	Proportion to 10,000 of Population.
I.—Agricultural	**2,988**
1. Military and Dominant	1,025
2. Other Cultivators	1,670
4. Field Labourers	293
II.—Pastoral	**583**
3. Cattle Graziers'	403
29. Shepherds and Wool Weavers	180
III.—5. Forest Tribes	**551**
IV.—36. Fishers, &c.	**288**
V.—Artisans	**1,007**
18. Goldsmiths	58
20. Blacksmiths	91
21. Carpenters and Masons	120
22. Brass and Copper Smiths	11
23. Tailors	26
26. Weavers and Dyers	327
28. Cotton Cleaners	30
30. Oil Pressers	163
31. Potters	122
32. Glass and Lac Workers	5
33. Salt and Lime Workers	53
34. Goldsmiths' Refuse Cleaners	—
35. Gold Washers and Iron Smelters	1
VI.—Personal Services and Food, &c.	**488**
19. Barbers	130
24. Grain Parchers, &c.	49
25. Betel-leaf, &c. Sellers	8
27. Washermen	98
37. Domestic Service, &c.	15
38. Distillers and Toddy Drawers	167
39. Butchers	21
VII.—Leather Workers and Lower Village Menials.	**1,073**
40. Leather Workers	488
41. Watchmen and Village Menials	446
42. Scavengers	139
VIII.—Traders	**428**
15. Traders and Shopkeepers	424
16. Pedlars	4
IX.—Professionals	**755**
6. Priests	539
7. Devotees, &c.	95
8. Temple Servants	11
9. Genealogists	21
10. Writers	89
X.—Arts, &c.	**40**
11. Astrologers and Herbalists	11
12. Musicians and Ballad Reciters	22
13. Singers and Dancers, &c.	5
14. Actors and Mimes	2
XI.—Carriers and Pack Animals	**34**
XII.—Vagrants	**121**
43. Grindstone Makers	1
44. Earth Workers, &c.	39
45. Knife Grinders	1
46. Mat and Cane Workers	22
47. Hunters and Fowlers	33
48. Miscellaneous Vagrants	14
49. Jugglers and Acrobats	11
XIII.—Indefinite Indian Castes	**107**
XIV.—Indian Christians	**64**
58. Native	63
59. Goanese, &c.	1
XV.—Musalmáns bearing Foreign Titles.	**1,197**
XVI.—Himálayan Mongoloid	**8**
XVII.—Burmese and Chinese Mongoloids	**254**
52. Burmese, &c.	253
53. Mixed Races	1
XVIII.—Western Asiatics	**4**
XIX.—Eurasians	**3**
XX.—Europeans	**6**
XXI.—Africans	**1**
Total	**10,000**

extension of Brahmanism by fiction of common origin, in which the warrior caste plays a leading part. Practically it is not the caste, but the tribe of Rájpút that is regarded in the present day, so the general term has fallen into the hands, more or less, of the lower grades of social aspirants, whose acquaintance with the intricacies of Kshatria genealogy is of the slightest. In the *Jat*, again, we find a caste which is so divided internally that the tribe has taken its place in social estimation. It is still more of a northern denizen than its predecessor, and is mainly found in the Panjab and the adjacent tracts of Rajputana and the upper Jamna. In fact, it has strayed but little from the tract it occupied on its entrance into India from the north. The ethnology of the tribes that compose it is most interesting, as they contain better trace of their origin in the Caucasian region of

Class I.	**85,729,227**
Military	29,393,870
1. Rájput	10,424,346
2. Jat	6,688,733
3. Gújar	2,171,627
4. Maratha	3,324,095
5. Bábhan	1,222,674
6. Nair	980,860
7. Kalla	410,983
8. Marawa	313,881
9. Velláma	479,783
10. Khandait	671,272
11. Awán	616,328
12. Káthi	41,996
13. Méo	365,726
14. Kodagn	32,641

ancient history than any other, but this is not the place to enter upon the subject. The *Gújar* is another northern tribe, but more like the Rájpút than the Jat; it is composed of varied elements. In the Panjáb it is mainly agricultural, though it tends towards cattle grazing in the southern plains. Elsewhere in India the title generally implies the latter occupation. Going further south, we meet the division of the Bombay Presidency to which it gives its name, and from this point southwards the latter almost invariably implies a trader from Gujaráth, without any reference to the northern origin of the caste. It is undoubtedly the relic of one of the later Skythian waves that flooded upper and western India, and many of the old forts and caves of the Sátpura and north Deccan are attributed to rulers of this race. We then pass to the *Marátha*, the ruling caste in the Deccan proper, who exceed the Gújar in numbers, but not in expansion. The number is swelled, no doubt, by the use of the term in contradistinction to a linguistic or sectarian community with which the Maratha speaker is brought into contract. Thus, wherever there are many Lingaiats, the north Deccani will call himself a Marátha, though amongst his own people he would be a Téli, Kúnbi, or some inferior caste. The *Bábban* is a caste confined, according to the returns, to Bihár, but the *Bhuinhár* of the adjacent territory of the North-West Provinces should, no doubt, be added. It is an offshoot of a community of fairly pure Arya blood, descended from some of the earlier settlers of Hindustan. The *Awán* is a Panjáb caste, said to be one of the branches of the earliest Arya dispossessors of the Skythic races, and, like the rest of its compeers in that corner of India, its tribes are more cohesive than the caste as a whole. The *Káthi* seems to be descended from the Kathaei who defended their country against Alexander, and who afterwards migrated, whether voluntarily or not is uncertain, to the south-west, where they give their name to the province of Saurâshtra. The *Méo* is an interesting caste of the northern tracts of Rájputána and the south of the Panjáb. It is mostly converted to Islám, but seems to have been originally a wild tribe of the Central Plateau. The *Khandáit* is the military caste of Orissa, and is said to be of the same stock as the Bhuiya, a Hill tribe of the central belt. From constant employment in military service, and intercourse with the warrior caste from Hindustán, who conquered this tract, they have made a decided advance in appearance and general civilisation since they took service with the foreigner in a strange land. We have now left the military classes of the Dravidian country, of which the *Nair*, who has been mentioned in a preceding part of this section, is the most numerous. The *Kalla*, or thieves, are, with the *Marava*, the ruling class of the extreme south-east. The former are the Colleries so often mentioned by Orme in his account of the British operations in these parts. The *Vellama*, or Yellama, for the initial is interchangeable all over the Deccan, consider themselves, from their title, autochthonous in Telingána and the Kanarese Deccan. It is a question, and an interesting one, whether these frequent instances in India of caste names meaning "those of the soil" signify title to the possession of the land or those bound down to it. Examples of both usages can be found. Presumption seems rather in favour of the interpretation that these classes represent the pre-Aryan inhabitants who were not driven off the land in the Gangetic basin and western India, but were ascribed to it as serfs in the plains, and left as occupants in tracts which did not tempt the foreigner. In the case of the Yellama, probably they were fixed in possession long before the stray Bráhman began to thread his way through the Kaimúr or Vindhia. The last name that requires comment is that of the inhabitants of Coorg, the *Kodagu*, a peculiar and warlike race, secluded from much of the influences that have caused the general fissiparity of the Dravidian population of the plains.

Group 2 of this class is, necessarily, the largest and perhaps the most miscellaneous of all, though in the latter respect the group of Musalman who own to foreign titles approaches it. First of the castes that are here included comes that of the *Kúnbi* or *Kúrmi*. The former designation is that of the Deccan and west of India; the latter is used in the Gangetic valley. Both mean no more than tiller of the soil, and are therefore minutely subdivided. The Kurmi is returned from the North-West Provinces and Bihár chiefly, but he is found, too, in the north of the Central Provinces. Closely allied to this caste, in fact, in some

2. Cultivators	**47,927,361**
1. Kunbi, &c.	10,531,300
2. Máli	1,876,211
3. Lódhá	1,674,098
4. Káchhia	1,384,222
5. Koeri	1,735,431
6. Vellála	2,254,073
7. Vakkiliga	1,360,558
8. Lingaiat	655,491
9. Panchamsáli	482,763
10. Kaibartta	2,298,824
11. Náma Shadra	1,948,658
12. Kóchh	2,364,365
13. Kóli	3,058,166
14. Reddi	2,665,399

parts of the country, almost subdivisions of it, are the *Káchhia*, and *Kúnjra*, market gardeners, and the *Kóeri*, the *Lódha*, and the *Máli*, cultivators. All but the Máli are chiefly found in Hindustán and its neighbourhood. The Máli is so bound up with the Kúnbi in the Deccan that the ordinary term for an agriculturist is the combination of the two, Kúnbimáli. We find names of the same comprehensive character amongst the cultivators of the south, as, for instance, *Vellála*, the Tamil equivalent for the Kunbi class, and the *Wakkaliga*, which corresponds to it in Mysore. The *Lingaiat*, too, of which something was said above in connection with sect, is shown without distinction, and the *Panchamsáli*, which is one of the terms included in the former, appears independently to nearly the same extent as the parent. Here we begin to find discrepancy of function, for the Panchamsáli must, from his name, have once been a weaver, or sprung from the village menial class, whereas he appears here as a cultivator and generally is one. Again, to cross India, the *Kaibartta*, the great agricultural caste of Bengal is, or was, entirely devoted to fishing, and it is even stated that his name is derived from his acquatic tendencies, but he is now rooted to dry land for his main livelihood, whilst the Bihár caste, that is said to have once been a branch of the Kaibartta, has changed its name to Kéwat, and will be found amongst the fishers. Take the *Námashúdra*, again, the lowest caste, or very nearly so, in eastern Bengal. Here they are cultivators, probably because there has been no ruling class from the west to oust them from the soil, and the proprietary right belongs in great measure to non-agriculturists, who require their property to be worked by other classes. But in Assam they are fishers. Amongst the more interesting castes in this group are the *Kóchh*, originally a Mongoloid tribe that came down the Bráhmapútra valley. They are now completely Brahmanised in title and certain portions of their domestic ceremonial, and have abandoned Assam for the submontane tracts of Bengal. The *Kóli*, who is returned in the largest numbers from the Western Presidency and the States of Haidrabád and Central India is not a homogeneous caste by any means. The philological connection between this appellation and that of Kól, and similar terms in more eastern parts of the continent, has not been established, but there is evidence, nevertheless, of the pre-Aryan existence of a race corresponding to it. In Gujaráth, where it forms the bulk of the lower cultivating community, it is called "the local," though there are several endogamous subdivisions, chiefly territorial. Along the Ghâts there are other Kóli of an entirely different community in the present day but of the same stock. On the coast, again, the Kóli represents the early fishing interest, like the Kaibartta on the other side of India. Everywhere he is dark, and of the same physique as the Hill tribes of the Central Belt, except on the plains of Gujaráth, where the mixture with the higher races from the north seem to have improved his appearance as well as his intelligence. It is a question how far the Kóri, or low class weaver of the north, is allied to the Kóli of Central and Western India. Etymologically the titles are the same, but socially the former is an offshoot of the village menial of impure habits in connection with leather, whereas the Koli does not by his touch pollute the twice-born. But so far as the census is in question, the Kóri is classed with the weavers, whilst all the others appear under the present head. The only other large caste that is not purely provincial in its dispersion is the *Reddi*, or Kápu, the great cultivating caste of Telingána.

The third group of agriculturists is anything but well-defined, as the boundaries between it and the lower grades of landholders and Hill tribes on the one side, and of village menials on the other, depend simply on local conditions. In the open country the position seems to be, generally speaking, the lower, and rises as the tract falls in futility or ease of access. The bulk of the group is found in the Madras Presidency, where the agrestic serf is an actual though unrecognised institution along the Malabar coast.* It is probable that the tradition of the Nairs is fairly trustworthy, and that they displaced and enslaved the

3. Field Labourers	**8,407,996**
Músáhar	622,034
Bágdi	804,960
Báwari	612,430
Dúbla	172,052
Pálé	2,242,499
Palla	814,989
Mála	1,365,520
Chéruma	523,744

* Camoens mentions the distinction—

"A nobre
Naires chamados são; e a menos dina
Poleás tem por nome; a quem obriga
A lei não misturar a casta antiqua."

Chéruma and others, such as the Pulya, who are of an inferior race, and still practically bound to the estates on which they labour. In other parts of Southern India it is doubtful whether the corresponding castes do not belong to the group of village menials, in which they have been included in the neighbouring provinces and States. At all events the difference between the *Pálé*, the *Mála* and the Paraiyan, which may be linguistic only, does not seem to quite justify the separation of the two in classification, as was done on the above analogy, in default of local knowledge.* In the west of the Bombay Presidency there are two distinctly agrestic classes of labourers confined to one or two districts. These are the *Dúbla* and the *Dhódia*, who were ascribed to the soil by a class of agricultural Bráhmans who colonised the southern portion of Gujaráth. It is curious, by the way, to note that where Bráhmans take to colonisation there are always predial serfs attached to the estates, as in the tract now in question, on the Malabar coast and in Kanara and in Orissa. In the North-West Provinces and Bihár we find the agricultural labourer but little reclaimed from the tribes of the lower hills of the central belt. The *Bágdi* and *Báwari* and *Músáhar* are all instances of this, and with the Rajwár, a smaller caste of the same sort, are all related to the Bhuiya, Saharia, Chéro, and Khéro of Class III. below. The village watchman, such as Dhákar in the west and Dhánuk in the centre of Hindostán, is confounded partly with these functionaries, as he is in Madras.

The next class in the list is that of the castes accredited to pastoral occupations, of which the group engaged with horned cattle is the most numerously represented. The Ahír, under this title, is chiefly found in North-Western India, where he has, in his time, given more than one dynasty to local thrones. To him is attributed a Skythian origin, and there is no doubt that the Ahír once prevailed a little way south of the Vindhia range, and was in the Indus Valley at a very early period in the history of India. The largest subdivision of the caste, known as the Goálwansh, extends from Oudh far into Bihár. The next caste mentioned in the margin is probably only functionally connected with it, though the etymology of the title is the same. The *Goála*, *Gauli*, or *Gôlla*, is the Ahír of the south and east, and spreads all over Bengal and the peninsula.

Class II.—Pastoral - -	**16,721,494**
Group 1. *Cattle graziers, &c.* -	11,569,319
1. Ahir - - -	8,155,219
2. Gauli, Goála, &c. - -	2,237,323

The second group in this class comprises those castes who specially attend to sheep and goats, and who also are engaged in the preparation of wool and the coarse blankets universally worn in wet or cold weather. In the north of India the *Gadaria* represent this class and the *Dhangar* of the Deccan is nearly akin to them. The Hatgar is a subdivision of the Dhangar, but more specially devoted to weaving and the spinning of black yarn from the fleeces of their charge. The *Kurubar* are the shepherds of the South Deccan and Telingána generally, whilst the *Idaiya* and Kurúmba are the Tamil, or South Dravidian, representatives of the group. Of the larger provinces, Bengal and Burma have the smallest proportion of this class, owing to the comparative scarcity of grazing land in the former and the damp in both. The latter reason, with the great amount of forest, probably accounts for the absence of the shepherd from Assam. In Western India, Rajputána and Gujaráth, the Rabári and Bharwád are the chief shepherd classes. Nearly all are, from the nature of their calling, nomad for most of the year, though some of the larger clans keep up connection with some headquarter village or district.

Group 2. **Shepherds, &c.** - -	**5,152,175**
1. Gadaria - - -	1,294,830
2. Dhangar - - -	1,305,583
3. Kúrnbar - -	1,059,185
4. Idaiga - - -	665,232
5. Rabári - - -	434,788
6. Bharwad - -	128,271

It is impossible to enter into the detail of the heterogeneous class of Forest Tribes; so, for convenience of review, the chief items have been collected into territorial groups, several of which denote, also, racial distinctions. The marginal table over page shows the main results of this arrangement. The largest group is that of the tribes of the north-eastern hills of the Central Belt, amongst whom, however, we must include the detached

* The caste chapters of the Superintendent's Report have not yet been received.—J. A. B.

colony of the Santháls, further north.

Class III. Forest Tribes	**15,806,914**
1. Santhál	1,494,045
2. Kól	474,969
3. Korwá	158,700
4. Hó	150,262
5. Munda	410,624
6. Bhuiya, &c.	909,822
7. Pán	341,740
8. *Kharwár*	112,298
9. *Oraon*	523,258
10. Baiga	136,478
11. Kúr	155,831
12. *Gónd*	3,061,680
13. Bhíl	1,665,474
14. Bhilála	175,329
15. *Kirar*	175,508
16. *Ména*	669,785
17. *Káthodi*	77,705
18. *Wárli*	168,631
19. *Ghát-Thákúr*	130,481
20. *Naikada*	74,479
21. *Dhánka*	67,451
22. Kandh (Khónd)	627,388
23. Sáwara	438,317
24. Halaba	102,643
25. Gadaba	34,127
26. Yanádi	84,988
27. Játápu	81,152
28. Tóda	739
29. Kóta	1,201
30. Irula	58,503
31. Khási	172,150
32. Kachári	243,378
33. Gáro	150,227
34. Méch	96,873
35. Tippera	99,395
36. Mikir	94,829
37. Nága	101,568
38. Ching-pau, &c.	3,483
39. Kúki	25,940
40. Lúshai	43,840
41. Kathé (*Manipúri*)	84,540
42. Khyín (*Unspecified*)	82,710
43. Khyín Khwé-mí	14,200
44. Khyín Mró	15,666

The whole group may be conventionally termed Kolarian, as the language of all but the two last belongs to that family. But they are, nevertheless, of the same ethnic stock as the bulk of the next three groups. They furnish the bulk of the labourers who migrate into Assam for a term of service on the tea estates, &c., and in Eastern and Central Bengal, too, are found in considerable numbers as general labourers, wherever strength and endurance are required. The discrimination noted in the margin between the *Hó*, *Múnda*, *Kól*, and *Korwá*, is by no means accurate. The term Kól, for example, seems to have been applied to certain tribes by outsiders, as the people concerned recognise no name but that of Hó, or Múndá. The *Bhuiya*, again, is not a homogeneous body, but includes Bhúmij, Bhinjwa, Bhúnjia, &c., and the term Baiga, which is that of a tribe in the Central Provinces, is applied by some people in Chutia Nágpur simply to the magician of the community, possibly because he belonged to a tribe preceding, in occupation of the place, that which now employs him in the above capacity. The second group appertains more especially to the central ranges of the Hill Belt, the *Bhil*, *Bhilála*, and *Kúrku* being found to the westwards, and the *Baiga* in the middle. The *Gónd*, who, as shown in the language section of this chapter, gave their name to the whole tract, are still spread all over it, north and south. They do not come much within the Chútia Nágpúr districts, Berár, Haidrabad, or North Madras, though all these tracts contain certain of their tribes, but are chiefly found in the Central Provinces and the Orissa hills. The subdivisions are very numerous, and in some cases amount to a completely separated community. The *Kúr* spread from Chutia Nágpúr, across the south of Central India into the hills which bound Berár on the north. The *Bhils* there meet them, and carry the race on to the western extremity of the Sátpura and Vindhia. Here they seem to have founded the now separate tribes of Bhilála, Páwada, Dhánka, Naikada, and Tadwi, of whom the third and fourth are the Gujaráth representatives of the great tribe, and the last has become Musalmán. The *Kirár* is almost confined to the hills where the Central Provinces, Central India, and the North-West Provinces meet. It is doubtful whether it is an independent tribe or an offshoot from one of the larger ones. The *Mena*, or Mina, are the originals of the Méo, who have moved into the northern plains adjoining the Jamna and have embraced Islám. From their title it might be thought that, like the Kaibartta, they were connected with fishing, either by profession or by tribal symbol, but their gods are those of the landholding classes, and there is no tradition of other occupation than those of cultivation and robbery, for they formerly kept the whole country round their settlements in terror of marauding expeditions. It is doubtful whether they are properly classed as forest tribes, and whether they should not rather be placed amongst the Skythian wanderers, like the Ahír or Káthi. In the next group, Nos. 17 to 21, the two last have been mentioned above as offshoots of the Bhil and the three others are confined to the country immediately above and below the Ghát range. The *Káthodi*, or Kátkari, get their name from the occupation of preparing catechu from the tree, to which they were originally addicted. The *Wárli*

are hill cultivators of a low type, and the *Thakúrs*, a branch of the same race, specially distinguished by this honorific designation, and in position and habits somewhat above the others. We then cross to the Orissa hills and their western extension. Here we have the *Kandh*, or Khónd, of whom much has been written, and the *Sáwara*, mentioned, it is said, by the Greek geographers, both being confined to the eastern ranges. The *Halaba*, probably allied to the Gónds, succeed them towards the west, and the *Gadaba* are also adjacent to the south-west. The *Yanádi* are the tribes of almost detached masses of hills in Telingána, like the still smaller tribe of the Chentsú. The Nilgiri group of hills is represented by the *Tóda* and *Kóta*, who have been already mentioned as small or local tribes, curiously isolated from the rest of the Dravidians, and by the *Irulas*, who spread down the slopes on the Mysore side. There are other tribes of much the same class occupying the Ghát forests, Malabar, and the Annamallai and other groups of hills in the extreme south, but they are of small numerical extent, and have not had the advantages in the way of advertisement enjoyed by the Tóda. The three remaining groups are Mongoloid in race, and chiefly Assamese in habitation. The *Khási*, though linguistically distinct, are racially allied, in all probability, to their neighbours in the hills east and west of them. The rest belong to the great Bódo group of the Assam valley and the hills to the south thereof. The *Tippera*, it is true, is now separated from the parent stock by sundry tribes of *Zhó* and *Kúki*, but its language shows that the separation is of comparatively recent date. The small tribes of the Abor and Mishmi have not been specially mentioned, because, like their western neighbours, the Akka and Dafla, the majority of the community dwells outside the British frontier, and the population found within the red line consisted partly of offshoots settled there within the few last generations, or casual families or gangs come down to market. The Nága, Mikir, and Singphó, or Kakhyîn, have been mentioned in connection with their respective languages. The first is the subject of an interesting memorandum by Mr. Davies, appended to the Assam Census Report. The Burmese tribes belonging to the last-named family have likewise yielded a corresponding contribution to the Report on the Census of Burma. As regards the last group, very little, as has been stated above, is at present known. The Manipuri, however, has his tradition of ancestry from the demi-god Arjún, and Bindraban, the scene of the youthful frolics of Krishna, is the goal of his aspirations, as Benares is to the devout Khas and Gúrkha of Nipál, who are more Kshatria than the Kshatrias of the plains. But the mass of the population of Manipur is Mongoloid, even in title, and Brahmanic proclivities are confined to the court and its *entourage*. The forest tribes of Burma, when not returned as Khyîn or Kakhyîn, have been absorbed into the general titles of Burmese or Karén.

The class of fishers is broken up into a large number of small castes. Those given in the margin are the best representatives, either of the group as a whole or of a special province, but they are probably mixed up together in the returns. For instance, the Dhimar and Jhinwar are probably the Panjáb and Central Indian equivalents of the Kahár, from whose ranks they sprang. Looking at the peculiar position occupied everywhere by the class of fishers, especially those who are very largely engaged in non-piscatorial work, it is clear that there is some racial basis for the anomalous rules and privileges attached to this caste. The fisher will carry any burden that is supported on a pole across his shoulder, but may refuse a head load or knapsack. He can give water to men of far higher caste, and become a servant in the recesses of their establishment; he can even knead dough, &c. for their bread, but must not lay a finger on it once it has been put into an oven or on the baking-plate. Yet he is allowed to indulge in ardent spirits and to eat strange food on which the orthodox may not even look, and is admitted to functions from which far more wealthy and reputable castes are rigorously excluded. As regards the nomenclature of the castes selected for mention, the *Kahár* is the form adopted throughout the North-West Provinces and Bihár; the *Jhinwar* is the Panjáb equivalent, and the *Dhimar* that adopted in the Central Provinces and its neighbourhood. In Assam we have seen that the two castes, which are classed in Bengal as agricultural, constitute, with the Kéwat, the bulk of the fishing class, whilst the *Kéwat* of Hindustán is

Class IV. Fishers	**8,261,878**
1. Kahár	1,943,155
2. Mallah	1,147,544
3. Kéwat	989,352
4. Bhoi	606,190
5. Jhinwar	489,819
6. Dhimár	287,436
7. Gaurhi	317,111
8. Máchhi	260,496

probably the Kaibartta of the Lower Ganges. The *Mallah* is prevalent in both these provinces. In the table, some of this caste are attributed to Haidrabád, but it seems very likely that they belong to the agricultural labourers, called Mála in the Madras Presidency. Amongst other widespread castes of this group comes the Bhói, which is apparently the Telingána version of Kahár, and is spread also over the Western Presidency and Rajputana, and the Béstá, which prevails still further south. The rest are almost entirely local. Muháno is the Sindh fisher caste, Máchhi is only found on the Indus and in Gujaráth, and Sembadáwan, Mogér, Pallé, &c. appertain to the south of the peninsula, east and west respectively.

The functional classes contain little but linguistic or territorial groups, which only need comment in special cases, or where there may have been confusion in nomenclature or tabulation. The first four groups are taken together, because, in popular estimation, they are the special care of Viswakarma, the Hephæstus of the later Vedic theogony, and in the south of India are almost invariably taken as constituting a single caste, though with five non-endogamous subdivisions. Elsewhere, however, the latter only are recognised, and the five vary respectively in rank according to locality. The function of the gold and silversmith has been described in an earlier chapter. His aid in making and remaking ornaments is constantly in request where capital invariably takes this form of investment. Owing to the majority of the members of all five groups being returned in Madras under the general title of "the five arts," the number there has been distributed according to that of the portion of each class which was separately returned, so that the division is partly arbitrary. The three castes shown in the first group are simply the general title, with its Kanarese and Tamil equivalents, and a good deal of the second has doubtless passed into the first. The second group, again, consists of two linguistic groups. The first, Luhár, is a general term, though, as explained above, the Luhár of the Panjáb will decline *connubium* with him of the Deccan, as will the Kammar of Madras with his namesake of Bengal. The carpenters, again, comprise six groups, none of which, save for differences in language and locality, are mutually exclusive. The original carpenter caste was the Sutár, or Sutradhár, but the Barhai, from *vardh*, to cut, is equally Sanskritic, as is Káthi, Kháti, from either *Káth*, timber, or *Kháti*, a wooden bedstead, &c. Badagi and Asári are the Dravidian versions. The mason is poorly represented. In the Deccan he forms a separate caste, but the Ráj of Upper India is probably more comprehensive, and includes all who work at masonry. In some provinces or tracts, of course, his services are scarcely required by the great bulk of the population, and in all, the carpenter undertakes most of the building, aided by unskilled labour. The brass-smith is growing annually in wealth and importance, but his functions are not yet so specialised as those of the carpenter or blacksmith. Of the two main castes mentioned, the first carries on the whole business in most parts of the peninsula, and sells what he makes. In the Panjáb, however, the Thathéra sells and the Kaséra makes, and in the North-West Provinces the latter moulds and the former polishes the vessels and platters, &c. There is a curious affinity between brass-ware and Brahmanism. The great centres of brasswork in India are also the Brahmanic centres of pilgrimage, such as Benares, Násik, and Madúra, or political centres where Brahmanic influence is supreme, as Poona and Tanjore. Then, again, in all the temporary bazárs that are set up during the time of pilgrimage at shrines and bathing-places, the booths of the seller of brass vessels, images, lamps, and so on, are perhaps the most conspicuous of all in number and variety, for the commercial element is as prominent at these gatherings as the sacerdotal. It is, therefore, plain that the production of these wares must be carried on by a great many more than the relatively insignificant number set forth in the return.

Class V. Artisans	**28,882,551**
Group 1. *Goldsmiths, &c.*	1,661,088
1. Sonár	1,178,795
2. Aksále	307,670
3. Tattan	56,044
Group 2. *Blacksmiths*	2,625,103
1. Luhár	1,869,273
2. Kammar	666,887
Group 3. *Carpenters and Masons*	3,442,201
1. Sutár	681,790
2. Barhai	932,718
3. Tarkhán	696,781
4. Badagi	452,339
5. Asári	100,409
6. Kháti	301,476
7. Gaundia, &c.	76,995
8. Raj, &c.	19,770
Group 4. *Brass and Coppersmiths*	301,519
1. Kaséra, &c.	161,596
2. Tathéra	60,837
3. Bogár	37,002

The next section of the class under review is that of the workers in textile fabrics. This, as has been said in a former chapter, is an occupation evolved out of the dregs of the village population into comparative respectability, and in the case of certain articles, such as silk, gold braid, and coloured goods, into a decidedly good position. But the mass of the castes are still not far above the village menial. The Kori, for example, is often returned as a Chamár or leather worker, to which tribe he once belonged. The workers in hemp and in coarse, undyed cotton cloth are elsewhere set far below the ordinary toiler at the loom. The latter is said to be occasionally ambitious of rising in the social scale, but circumstances are against all but perhaps the silk-weavers, whose wares are less affected by foreign competition. The castes mentioned in the margin are mostly provincial and linguistic, except the three last, of which the first represents the high-class weaver of silk, &c., the second the Gujaráthi weaver of the finer class of wearing apparel, from which the former sprang, and the last is the dyer, who, like the Joláha, is both Brahmanic and Musalmán, sometimes even according to the material he works in. The *Darzi*, according to his modern and Persianised appellation, or the Shimpi, in the older version, is somewhat of the rank of the middle-class weaver, and is developed from the calenderer, Chhipgár or Bhausár caste, which, again, is allied to the weaver. It is more or less of an urban growth, however, and is not much found in villages. The cotton-cleaner is usually a Musalmán, and is found all over the country, wherever cotton is grown and weavers work in it. The general name for the caste is *Pinjári*, or Penjá, but the Musalmán improves it into the Persian title Nadáf, or Dhúnia, and the Brahmanic cleaner in Hindustán and the Central Provinces calls himself *Kadhéra*. In Bengal there are several local titles in both religions.

Group 5. *Tailors*	735,548
1. Darzi and Shimpi	710,092
Group 6. *Weavers and Dyers*	9,369,902
1. Juláha	2,660,159
2. Kóri	1,187,613
3. Tanta	483,942
4. Júgi	424,219
5. Balai	305,635
6. Sáli	394,064
7. Kaikola	316,620
8. Tatwa	328,778
9. Koshti	225,019
10. Gánda	291,768
11. Patnúli	96,443
12. Khatri	116,880
13. Rangréz	187,698
Group 7. *Cotton Cleaners*	859,288
1. Pinjári	753,675
2. Kadhera, &c.	105,613

The two next groups, those of the oil pressers and the potters, are very simple, the different items representing simply linguistic variations of the same functional group. The Téli is the general title. Ghánchi corresponds to it in Gujaráth, and Ghániga in the South Deccan. Vaniya is the Tamil equivalent, and Kalu is a Bengal subdivision, based on some inferiority of process in extracting the oil. As to the potters, the only variation from the general caste is in the shape of a few who have returned their function as brick-making, which in some parts of the country has been differentiated from the rest. The second item is merely the southern title of the potter.

Group 8. *Oil pressers*	4,672,907
1. Téli and Ghánchi	4,147,803
2. Ghániga	142,374
3. Vaniya	186,297
4. Kalu	191,395
Group 9. *Potters*	3,497,306
1. Kumbhár	3,346,488
2. Kúsuvan	138,097

The glass workers are mainly makers of beads and bangles. The class that work in lac is very closely allied to them in rank, but are not so largely recruited from Islám. There are numbers of small castes returned under special or local titles which come under the general head of Káchári. Those mentioned in the margin are chiefly in Bengal and Hindustán. The salt and lime workers belong to castes nearly allied to each other. The *Lúnia* are the prevailing caste of this group in Northern India. The *Ágri* are found along the west coast.

Group 10. *Glass and Lac Workers.*	155,003
1. Chúrihár	55,618
2. Lahéra	32,139
Group 11. *Salt and Lime Workers.*	1,531,130
1. Lúnia	796,080
2. Uppár	267,715
3. Ágri	241,336
4. Rehgár	77,856

Group 12. *Goldsmiths' Refuse Cleaners.*	6,363
1. Niária	5,808
2. Jhálgár	555
Group 13. *Iron Smelters and Gold Washers.*	24,893
1. Jhora	7,337
2. Dhangari	3,672
3. Asuri	3,552
4. Deoli	2,289

The *Uppár* are the Dravidian equivalent to the Lúnia. The *Rehgár* are confined to Rajputána, where the Sámbhar Lake gives employment to a considerable number of this class. The next group, that represented by the Niária and Jhálgár, two names for the same small community, busies itself with recovering the chips and filings of precious metal from the refuse of goldsmiths' workshops. The iron smelters are found in some of the Hill tracts of the Panjáb, the Central Belt, and the Ghát of Bombay. They are a small and scattered community. The gold washers, too, are very low in both numbers and rank. Most provinces have a stream or two, in the bed of which minute portions of gold are found mingled with the sand, and by careful panning the outturn is just enough to support the family of the operator. The heavy mining work in Mysore is largely in the hands of European labourers.

Class VI. Personal and Domestic Service, preparation of Food, &c.	**14,019,626**
Group 1. *Barbers*	3,729,934
1. Nái, &c.	2,532,067
2. Hajám	605,721
3. Ambattan	186,187
4. Mangala	154,438
5. Bhandári	103,026
Group 2. *Washermen*	2,824,451
1. Dhobi	2,039,743
2. Agasé	126,710
3. Vannan	258,508
4. Sákala	327,720
5. Parit	60,129
Group 3. *Service, &c.*	430,065
1. Golá	33,804
2. Bihisti, &c.	98,824
3. Khás	215,200
4. Chákar	25,706

The position of the two first groups of the class of personal servants have been described in a previous chapter. The Nái, Nápit, Nhávi, &c., besides shaving, which is a ceremonial of considerable importance, acts as formal messenger and go-between in cases of betrothals, &c., and is also a leech of empirical skill. The *Hajám* is the same caste under its Musalmán title. *Ambattan* and *Mangala* are found in the south and south-east of the peninsula, and Bhandári in the Central Provinces. The *Dhobi* shares the low rank of the potter, partly owing to his use of the donkey in his profession. The second name in the group is that used in the Kanarese and Telugu country. The two next appertain to further south, and the last is purely Marátha. The group of other servants is a miscellaneous one, many of the items in which are scarcely entitled to the name of caste, as they are not all endogamous or otherwise distinct from each other socially. The first on the list, *Gólá*, is the rice pounder of Western India. The second, the water bearer, is returned as a separate caste chiefly in Hindustán, and enjoys the name of "Paradisaic" from the boon he carries. The other two are simply hereditary domestic servants of the courts of the chieftains of Rajputána and Central India, some of them, no doubt, blood relations of their master.

Group 4. *Grain Parchers and Confectioners.*	1,407,169
1. Bhadbhúnja	343,308
2. Kándoi	524,155
3. Halvai	260,801
4. Gúria, &c.	141,628
Group 5. *Betel Leaf Sellers and Perfumers.*	236,507
1. Tamból	222,048

Most of the fourth group are connected with the great fisher caste of the Kahár, or some corresponding division. They are most strongly represented under the titles selected in Hindustán and Bengal. The first-named, Bhadbhúnja, is found, also, far to the south and west of those provinces, but usually asserts an origin in the north or along the great rivers. The next group is very undermanned, considering the extensive and, in fact, universal consumption of the articles in which they deal. But in many parts of the country the sellers are also growers of the leaf, and thus appear under the head of agriculturists. The *Tambóli* is a distinct caste in Central India and the North Deccan, but in Hindustán and Bihár it is probably a sub-caste of the Barai, a large cultivating class, affiliated in some parts of the country to the Káchhia, and thus finally thrown back on the great Kúrmi stock.

The class that traditionally lives by toddy drawing and cultivating the palm tree is a very large and varied one. The items selected, too, are somewhat peculiar in not

being, in most cases, linguistic variations of the same caste. By far the largest number of the communities belong to the coasts of Madras. The *Bhandári* prevails on the Bombay coast, and the *Sháha*, or Sunri, in Assam and Orissa, whilst the *Gaundla* is returned only from Haidrabád. The *Kalál*, or *Kalwár*, is the general distiller of spirits, as distinguished from those who deal with or in toddy. He is found in most provinces, and in Upper India has furnished one throne with a dynasty. On the Western Presidency his place is taken by the Pársi, but above the Ghâts he begins soon to settle down to his traditional calling and to thrive on it. The butchers are of two classes, Brahmanic, *Khatik*, and Musulman, *Kasái*. They are most numerous, of course, amongst the martial tribes of the north and elsewhere in places where Musalmáns congregate. Some, however, the Hindus, for instance, do not in the present day kill cattle, but deal in the flesh of sheep and goats only.

GROUP 6. *Distillers and Toddy Drawers.*	4,785,210
1. Kalál	1,195,097
2. Sháha (*Súnri*)	525,698
3. Shána	690,434
4. Tiya	538,075
5. Bhandári	170,014
6. Idga	196,901
7. Iluva	703,215
8. Gamalla	122,322
9. Gaundla	235,902
GROUP 7. *Butchers*	605,890
1. Kasai	302,612
2. Khatík	293,771

The class of leather workers and lower village menials is, next to the agriculturists, to whom they are subordinate, the most numerous body in India, and includes all the tribes of the darker race, who preferred a foreign yoke to exile from the tract they formerly possessed. The first group comprises all who avowedly work in leather and other *exuviæ* of defunct cattle, but the first and third castes, at all events, combine agricultural and village labour with their traditional function to such an extent that they mingle greatly with the group which follows them on the list. The *Móchi* is distinctly an artisan, mostly found in towns, where his occupation is specialised. In villages there are distinctions recognised. Some will mend shoes, but not make them; others devote themselves to making the leather bags in which water for irrigation is drawn from the well. A third only manufactures leather pots in which to store clarified butter, and so on. The fourth item, *Sakilia*, is the caste known as Chucklers to Anglo-Indians in Madras. The Mádiga is a Kanarese and Telugu caste of the same nature, combining tanning with shoe-making, and the Bámbhi is the specially Rajputána community of the same description. From very early Brahmanic times the leather worker has been a member of the village community, and always in his present degraded rank. It would appear from Aristophanes that it was much the same in Athens, where the hemp weaver, the Máng, as it were, had to give place to the Chamár, who, in turn, was to be dispossessed by a still lower caste, the Chúhra, or pig-breeding scavenger, before the degradation of the State was complete. The next group, that of watchmen, &c., is a trifle higher, and several of the castes named, such as the *Pási*, *Dhánúk*, *Bérád*, *Mutrása*, and *Rámosi*, occupy a more reputable place in public estimation than the rest. The *Mahár*, however, of whom the *Dhed* is the northern and the *Holár* the Kanarese variety, and the *Máng*, are practically in the same rank as *Chamárs* and other leather workers, as they mostly serve as tanners, though they do not work up the hides they prepare. Their enterprise in going far a-field from their native village for work,

Class VII. Leather Workers and the Lower Village Menials.	**30,795,703**
GROUP 1. *Leather Workers*	14,003,100
1. Chamár	11,258,105
2. Móchi	961,133
3. Mádiga	927,339
4. Sakilia	445,366
5. Bámbhi	220,596
GROUP 2. *Watchmen and other Menials.*	12,808,300
1. Dosadh	1,284,126
2. Ghátwál	167,089
3. Pási	1,378,344
4. Arakh	85,522
5. Dhánúk	883,278
6. Méhra	226,216
7. Mahár	2,960,568
8. Dhéd	508,310
9. Holár	880,441
10. Máng	690,458
11. Berad	659,863
12. Rámosi	63,991
13. Mutrása	296,743
14. Paraiya (*Pariah*)	2,210,988
GROUP 3. *Scavengers and Miscellaneous.*	3,984,303
1. Mehtar	727,985
2. Chúhra	1,243,370
3. Mégh	148,210
4. Bhuinmáli	231,429
5. Bhuinhári	316,787
6. Dóm (*Dúmna*)	1,257,826

and the demand for hides and skins for export to Europe, together with a strong local demand for tanners, &c. in some parts of India, where, as has been already remarked, European capital has been invested in this industry, tends to raise the position of this class above that of the ordinary village menial, and as money is acquired, the demands for recognition as of a higher caste become more worthy of consideration, elementary schools are started, and the marriage field is restricted, and in a few generations a totally new social stratum is firmly established, based, of course, on one of the heroes of the Brahmanic epics. As regards the territorial designations quoted in the marginal table, the *Dúsadh* is found chiefly in Bihár and parts of Hindustán. The *Dhánuk* extends into Rájputána and the Panjáb, but it is chiefly in Bihár. The *Pási* is a watchman, &c. in the North-West Provinces, as a rule, and more of a toddy drawer across the frontier, and the *Arakh* is his kinsman. Like the *Bérads*, or Bédar of the South Deccan, they were originally hunters and fowlers. The latter are well known for their prowess under the Mysore Sultáns, with whom they enlisted in considerable numbers. Their head-quarters were at Shorápúr in Haidrabád territory, the downfall of the Chief of which State is told by Colonel Meadows Taylor, in his autobiography. The *Rámosi* is a small caste of the Deccan proper, not far removed from the Kóli, but of more southern origin. The *Mutrása* is the village watchman proper of Telingána. As regards the Paraiya, or Pariah, the well-known Tamil caste of labourers, it has before been remarked that his position is generally that of an agricultural labourer, but under special restrictions as to function and residence, like the Mahár of the Deccan. He has, however, no prejudices to overcome, and makes himself at home in any miscellaneous employment; so, like the Chamár of the north, his sphere is extending, though not proportionately to his numbers. As Bráhmanic rules are more widely diffused amongst the peaceful Dravidians, who received them later, than amongst the more varied and frequently disturbed commonalty of Hindustán, where they originated, the opposition to Paraiyan exaltation is more marked. The third group, again, is composed of the lowest grades of the pre-Áryan classes, though the last, the Dóm, is of a very varied constitution, and rises to occupations not attained by the rest. The *Mehtar*, or Bhangi, is found under that title in Hindustán and Western India. In the Panjáb the *Chúhra* takes his place. Both these castes are of fine physique, and very different in appearance and stamina from the Dravidian type of the south. The *Mégh*, or *Meghwál*, is also found in the Panjáb and Sindh, and is said to be of a still more northern origin, as he is accredited by Sir A. Cunningham to a Skythian parentage. The *Bhuinhári*, or *Bhuinmáli*, represent the Bengal and Assam scavenger. Their name clearly denotes the same connection with the land as that of Bhúmio, which is given to the corresponding class in Gujaráth. In the *Dóm*, with its varieties, we have a far more interesting community than that of mere scavengers. In the first place, it is a generic title, the derivation of which is uncertain; but the term must be one of considerable antiquity, as it is used in the "Rája Tarangini," or "Annals of Kashmér," one of the early neo-Bráhmanic productions. There are one or two sections of the caste who are, no doubt, not far above the village scavenger, but most of the tribes have adopted subdivisional names which obscure their affinity to the parent stock, because the latter has but a poor reputation amongst the settled population of the plains of Hindustán. Here the Dóm is a vagrant, and nominally does cane work for a living. He also makes leaf platters and blows horns at marriages, which is a performance never attempted by any but the lowest castes. In Assam he is a fisherman. In the Sewálik and Lower Himálayan valleys, as far west as Kashmér, the Dóm, or Dúmna, is also an artisan or exorciser, and in the latter capacity again associated with musical instruments. But the highest type of Dóm is the *Mirási*, or genealogist, of the lower Brahmanic castes, and, as such, their bard or minstrel, so that his musical gifts, especially with reference to the drum and timbrel, again come to his service. In the South Deccan and northern portions of Madras, the Dómba is, generally speaking, an acrobat, but some few of them seem to be weavers of coarse fabrics. There are many links showing the connection in race of the Dóm with the Máng, Mahár, or Dhéd of further south on the one hand, and on the other, with the various tribes of semi-criminal vagrants of Upper India, such as Sánsi, Bédia, Báwari, Kanjár, Changar, &c., and to the foreign investigator the chief interest in their ramifications lies in the probability of tracing to some of them the parentage of the gipsies of Europe. With the exception of certain classes of the Báwari, the above-mentioned tribes are all vagrant, whereas the Mahár and Dhéd are all settled, and of the Mángs only the small section addicted to snake charming and conjuring still take to the road. But the question of the origin of the gipsies of the west appertains rather to this part of the subject than to

that of the vagrant group of castes, because attempts have been made to derive from the title Dóm the universal appellation of Róm given to their community by the gipsies, and meaning, of course, according to their interpretation, "the man." There is every reason to believe that the gipsies are really the descendants of the 12,000 or so of musicians and earthworkers, &c., transported to Persia, probably from Sindh, in the time of Behrám Gaur, about 400 A.D., and in the section of this chapter dealing with languages, it was stated that the title Egyptian was probably derived from Jat, the prevailing caste of Sindh and the Lower Panjáb at that time. The reason for adopting this root is mainly the insufficiency of evidence for the alternative derivation. In all the varieties of the gipsy language in Europe we find lots of low Prakritic words, a good deal synonymous with those in use in Upper India in the present day, but scarcely any Arabic. Again, there is no tradition regarding the passage of the gipsies to Europe by Egypt, whilst there is a very definite one as to their migration from Mesopotamia and Persia to North Syria, and from thence to the shores of the Bosphorus. Now, in Syria the gipsies are called Zatti, or, in the plural, zatt, to this day, and Arabic authors derive this term from "Jat, an Indian tribe," and give the same title to a particular kind of cotton cloth woven by the gipsies. There is, again, the statement, though the foundation for it is not given, that in olden times, Bithynia, where the gipsies undoubtedly settled, was called Little Egypt, but it does not seem that this derivation of the word is required, in the light of the evidence available as to the connection between the gipsies and India. Language, customs, caste-exclusiveness and all, point to their origin in the Indus Valley, though, as Browning says of them:

> "North they go, south they go, trooping on lonely;
> And still as they travel far and wide,
> Catch they and keep hold a trace here, a trace there,
> That puts you in mind of a place here, a place there."

But though we admit this much regarding the Indian origin of the gipsies, the alleged connection between Dóm and Róm seems to be doubtful. It is open to question, in the first place, whether the interchange of R and a palatal D can take place at the beginning of a word, though it obviously can in any other position. Then, again, there is no reason to affiliate the gipsies to the Dóm rather than to the vagrants more specially given to the performances for which the gipsies are celebrated, who are found in the tracts from which the latter were historically recruited.* From another point of view, that of language irrespective of ethnology, we find that Róm means, not only man, in the general, but, as in German, married man or husband, in the particular, so we may connect it with the Prakritic Raman, a husband or lover; or the same word, in its earlier signification, of restless wandering; or, once more, in its sense of sport, amusement, as the change of a vowel costs less than that of a consonant. Mr. Leland's authority,† John Náno, maker of curry powder in London, but by origin a "Mahometan Hindu" of Calcutta, seems to have been akin to the "certain persons of Kyréné," who favoured Herodotus in a somewhat similar manner.

A great portion of the trading community returns itself by the title of *Bania*, *Vaïshia*, or *Mahájan*, which are simply functional designations, and ignore the real subdivisions of caste which underlie the above. Thus, the full strength of many of the items shown in Table XVII. (A.) under this group is not that given in the return, but something considerably above it, the balance being included under the general title. We have, however, a few definite entries. *Aróra*, for instance, is the great trading and shopkeeping caste of the Western Panjáb. The *Khatri*, its neighbour to the east, is not so exclusively given up to trade, and, like the corresponding class in Gujaráth, furnishes a considerable portion of the staff of employés in the offices of the local government. The commercial element of Telingána is supplied by the *Kómti* and *Balija*, and possibly some of the former have

Class VIII. Traders, &c.	12,270,973
Group 1. *Traders*	12,148,597
1. Mahájan and Bania (*unspecified*).	3,186,666
2. Agarwál	354,177
3. Khatri	686,511
4. Aróra	673,695
5. Komti	545,206
6. Balija	804,307
7. Chetti	702,141
8. Mappila	916,436
9. Labbé	364,293
10. Lohána	530,468

* A brave attempt has been made to derive conjure from Kanjar.—J. A. B.
† Gipsies, p. 337.

been included in the latter, which has a wider application. In the south, the inland tracts are served by the *Chetti*, as the Kanarese are by the Banjiga, again a general term, covering numerous subdivisions. On the south-east coast of the peninsula we find trade much in the hands of the *Labbé*, a Musalmán tribe, of mixed origin, and, on the Malabar tract, the *Mappila* occupy a like position. The latter, however, are, in great measure, agriculturists, and having acquired estates have abandoned commerce, but, as a class, they may still be considered to follow the latter. Their disputes with the Nair and other agricultural classes, due probably, as in Eastern Bengal, to their origin amongst the lowest Brahmanic castes, and their religious zeal, have brought them into serious trouble on several occasions during the last few generations; so much so that special legislation had to be applied to their case, and the "Moplah" outbreaks were the main political feature of the coast. For the last 10 years, however, matters have been quiet, though the devotion of the community to their faith is no less marked than before.

The *Lohána* of Sindh are by no means a well-defined body, and probably many of those shown under this title are not of the commercial subdivisions. Like the Khatri, they fill the Government offices, as they are almost the only literate community in the whole province. Amongst the smaller trading castes of the west coast, we find the Bhátia, located chiefly in Kachh and Sindh, with some brethren of the same name in the Panjáb. They are celebrated for their enterprise in foreign trade, especially that with East Africa, and for their sectarian orthodoxy with regard to the Wallabhachárya denomination, of which they are amongst the chief supporters. Then, again, the Méman, a Musalmán body, converted from Brahmanism, is found side by side with the Bhátia, whilst the Khója, who are of the same origin, but different in their Musalmán form of faith, extend well into the Panjáb. It is doubtful, however, whether the Khója of the Pesháwar valley and its neighbourhood are of the same race as the merchants of this name on the Bombay coast, though they may have the same reverence for the deified descendant of the "Old Man of the Mountain" of the time of the Crusades, who has been for a couple of generation or so domiciled in Bombay. In Gujaráth and the North-West Provinces, the subdivisions of what is returned as Bania are exceedingly numerous. The best known are the *Agarwál*, from the north, and the Oswál and Porwál, from Rajputána, with local varieties, such as the Kasárwáni, Shrimáli, and so on. The Deccan, again, has its own variety of trader, in the Lingaiat and its subdivisions, and the Konkan coast sends out three or four subdivisions returned under the question-begging epithet of Vaishya. As a rule, however, the more extensive operations in the Maratha country are in the hands of Bania from Gujaráth or Márwár. In Bengal there seems a great reluctance to retain local variety, so most appear as Bania or Vaish. The pedlars are a small and scattered group. The only large caste is that of the bead and bangle sellers, *Manihár*, and these, too, contain both Brahmanic and Musalmán families. Peddling, however, is now carried on by many of the trading class and by Musalmáns who do not return the caste.

Group 2. *Pedlars*	122,376
1. Manihár	90,131
2. Thoria	9,097

The hieratic castes, to which our attention is now directed, constitute anything but a homogeneous group. In the first place, the vast majority of the population herein included belongs to conventional, not functional, bodies. The other four, it is true, are recruited with reference to the duties they perform for their respective communities. The Jangam, for example, is the sacerdotal class of the Lingaiat sect, and owes his name, it is said, to the practice of the votaries of that sect of wearing the emblem of Shiva, their eponymic deity, in a locket, on their persons, instead of being satisfied with locating it in a temple or shrine. They thus make it "jangam," moveable, instead of "stháwar," fixed. But their religious guides are not in the present day entirely dependent on their congregation

Class IX. Professional	**21,652,422**
Group 1. *Priests*	15,467,752
1. Bráhman	14,821,732
2. Jangam	396,598
3. Ulama	50,165
4. Gárúdi	41,412
Group 2. *Devotees and Ascetics*	2,717,861
1. Gosáin	231,612
2. Bairágí	275,604
3. Sádhu (*unspecified*)	376,130
4. Báwa „	66,115
5. Vaishnav	469,052
6. Fakir	830,131
Group 3. *Temple Service*	320,530
1. Gurao	110,529
2. Satáni	88,354
3. Séwak, &c.	121,647

for their support, and are well known as industrious traders in grain and other village produce throughout the South Deccan. The Ulama are the religious teachers of the Panjáb Musalmán, and are not found returned under this title in other provinces. The Gáruda is a small body, but has been mentioned as representing the priesthood of the village menial, who is prohibited from participation in the ceremonial of the classes above him. The caste seems to be confined to Rajputána and the tract immediately to the south-west thereof. In Madras there are over 50,000 persons returned as Pandáram by caste, which title probably represents those who are the hereditary or elected administrators of large temples, or who perform religious services in connection with the deities in honour of whom the temple was erected. It has been already mentioned that very early in the Indian portion of the history of the Árya, the Bráhman ceased to perform these functions, and the few that continued to participate in them were held to be thereby degraded. Some of these sub-castes of Bráhmans are still in existence, but, as a rule, the working staff of the temple is not Bráhman, though, somehow, the latter caste is always at hand when largess is in question. In the Bráhman caste, returned as such, we have every sort and grade of subdivision. In the Panjáb there is the Muhiál, whose aim is military service, like the Pándé of the Gangetic basin in Hindustan. The cultivating classes of the Desai of South Gujaráth and the corresponding class in Orissa are both termed Mástán, and this title is shared by other castes of cultivating Bráhmans in Upper India. Some of these last perform the whole cycle of operations connected with tillage, whilst others draw the line at holding the plough, and employ their serfs on that task. There is a considerable number of Bráhmans engaged as family and village priests, but the majority has taken to secular pursuits and been subdivided accordingly. In Hindustán the number of Bráhman cultivators is very large, and on the west coast, both in Malabar and along the Konkan, this caste, in various distinct communities, is prominent amongst the landholders. In the Deccan, again, the Bráhman almost monopolises the occupations, barring trade, that require reading and writing. In law and education they are everywhere to the fore. Some have taken to the surveying and outdoor work of civil engineering, but medicine, for ceremonial reasons, has not yet made much way amongst them, and the few that have advanced any way in that profession are scarcely regarded as orthodox. But whatever may be the means that a Bráhman adopts for gaining his livelihood, and however it may be regarded by his fellow-Brahmans, his attitude towards the rest of the community remains unchanged, and the distance between them is never allowed to be diminished. The caste is seen to differentiate in all directions within itself, but towards outsiders it presents a homogeneous and unbroken front, and claims the privileges of birth, *semper*, *ubique*, and *ab omnibus*. In its capacity of the literary caste of the people, it will be discussed in the next chapter.

We have, then, the devotees and ascetics, of whom there are many groups, none, probably, represented in the returns at its full strength, by reason of the attraction of the general title of "holy man," "brother," and so on. Out of the whole group, nearly a third are Musalmán, chiefly found in the Panjáb and Hindustán. The bond between the fraternity, of whatever subdivision, is the rule not to live except on charity. In the case of the Gosai, however, it is not always the case that *cucullus facit monachum*, and we find that the horsehair plait, and the portentously large rosary belong to a shrewd trader, an industrious cultivator, and, in the pre-British time, to a fanatic and indomptable fighter. But, as a rule, the caste goes from shrine to shrine, living on alms, and giving in return the blessing to which this course of life seems to impart such efficacy.

The temple servant is returned as a caste almost entirely from the Deccan and Madras. In the former, the Gurao has also the monopoly of making the leaf platters used at caste feasts, and so on. The Satáni of the south is apparently a cultivator also, and is found in considerable numbers in the returns from Burma, whither he immigrates as one of the numerous seasonal labourers. In Upper India and Bengal the services performed by these castes are relegated, apparently, to others, who were not specially given up to these occupations at the time the caste was first evolved.

The next group comprises the numerically small but interesting and widely-spread castes who are engaged in retailing by tradition the ballads recounting the annals of the line of chiefs at whose courts they are entertained. In this way they are the genealogists of such families, and such is the veneration of their profession, or,

Group 4. *Genealogists*	590,412
1. Bhát	481,119
2. Chárun	99,090

perhaps, the dread of the loss of the tradition in question, that their persons are as inviolable as the laws of Manu would make that of the Bráhman. There are two castes of note in this category. First, the Bhát, or Bhárót, who is sometimes further distinguished by the addition of Ráj, or Royal, bard. It is curious to see that he is not found in such profusion in the heart of Rajasthán, where reside the descendants of the heroes of many of the most renowned of his ballads, as in the North-West Provinces, where the Rájpút is twice as numerous, and in Bihár, in both of which the blue blood of the Kshatria has suffered grievous dilution. The Chárán is in all probability an off-shoot of the Bhát, differentiated when the latter took to genealogy alone, and got above ballad singing, for, in Northern India, at least, the last-named function is appropriated by the Chárán. In many parts of the country, too, the Bhát has taken to agriculture and trade, but he is not found far from the castes that most call his traditional functions into exercise. In a former paragraph of this section it was pointed out how the genealogies of the middle classes of Northern India were kept, and their ballads sung, by the superior divisions of the Dóm caste, but neither they or the Chárán seem to enjoy the personally sacred character of the Bhat.

The writing castes are mainly functional, and have come into prominence with the British system of administration. In old days they were in existence, no doubt, but were kept well in subordination by the Bráhmans. For instance, Manu, whose code embodies the aspirations of the Bráhman of the revival of that religion, ordains that a Shudra, when other occupations fail, should take to writing for a living, and there are other quotations to the same effect, whilst popular proverbs, too, attest the general distrust of the man who lives by his pen. But a naturally intelligent community have lost no time in taking advantage of their opportunities, and the castes that are not merely the village scribes, as are some of those in the south of India, have not only risen in wealth, but have devoted a good deal of research and ingenuity to proving their right to Kshatria origin. In fact, there seems to be a good deal of truth in the presumption that in Northern and Western India, at all events, the position of the writer at the courts of native chiefs in old times was due to their left-handed connection with their patron's family. But such a connection has not been acknowledged by the rest, and one of the complaints most loudly and frequently heard from the well born of the community is that under the present system of administration,—

Group 5. *Writers* - -	2,555,867
1. Káyasth - - -	2,239,810
2. Karan - - -	146,053
3. Karnam - - -	54,177
4. Kannakan - - -	41,013
5. Prabhu - - -	29,559
6. Vidhúr - - -	33,437

"The beggar's book
"Outworths the noble's blood,"

so that the affairs of State are falling into the hands of castes, who, in private life, are not even admitted within the portals of the social leaders of the people. Of the writing castes of this class the most important is that of the Káyasth, which is found chiefly in Bengal and the North-West Provinces. From the former it has migrated into Assam, and in both it is used as synonymous with writer, and is thus recruited from the lower castes, who, as education spreads, take advantage of the term to escape from their origin. In the north-west the caste seems to be more exclusive, but is not altogether devoted to the pen, and furnishes some proportion of the grain parchers and tailors. In the struggle for recognition in the social rank to which it aspires, the Káyasth caste does not return its full strength at the census, but the Kshatria, under various general titles, such as Surajbansi, and so on, gives shelter to a good many. The Karan, or Mohant, of Orissa, is a caste of the same nature as the above. In the west of India we find not only the Káyasth as a strictly maintained caste, but the Prabhu, an entirely local development, though assigning to itself a Kshatria descent. A still smaller caste goes still further in this direction, and calls itself Brahmakshatria. None of these castes are functional, and as they are well-to-do, they have been able to maintain their position without admixture with writers of other origin. The Vidhúr of the North Deccan and Central Plain is, no doubt, a comparatively recent offshoot from the village Brahman. The Kannakan, sometimes adding to his caste the quasi-surname of Pillé, is the descendant of the Conicopillay of Orme. The Karnam is the caste of village accountants in the South and East Deccan, which succeeds, in those tracts, the Deshasth Bráhman of the Maratha Deccan.

The class we have now to deal with is the minor professional, such as the musician, as he is found in India, and singers and dancers, the two being combined, as stated in the chapter on occupations. The first group, however, in the class is of a different type, and comprises the village astrologer or horoscope caster, with the hail averter, and, in Bengal, the medical caste, which does not seem to be found, as a separate entity, elsewhere. There is little to be said of this group, as the main castes are probably functional, and recruited from subdivisions of others. For instance, the Joshi is sometimes a sort of Bráhman, and so, in Upper India, is the Dakaut. The hail averter, Gurpagári, is chiefly found in Berar and the Nágpur or Maratha districts of the Central Provinces. The next group is a large, and, as mentioned in connection with the Dóm, a disreputable one, without being criminal. The Mirási is found almost entirely in the Panjáb, Rajputána, and the North-West Provinces. The Daflé and Dholi, called so from their instruments of predilection, are the village drummers in most provinces of the north and centre. In the south, others, from the Paraiya and allied castes perform on this instrument. The Gondhali are the ballad singers of the Marathas, and do not go beyond the tracts occupied by the latter caste. In the next group, that of singers and dancers, no items are shown, because the body is recruited from many castes, properly so called, and the general title used largely in the census schedule is simply that of the function, as Tawáif, Kaláwant, or Kanchan. In like manner, the small class of the mimes and puppet-show keepers is made up of a number of names which are purely local, with the exception of the two mentioned first in the marginal table, which are found in minute communities in most of the northern provinces.

Class X. Arts and Minor Professions.	**4,153,275**
Group 1. *Astrologers, &c.*	299,776
1. Jóshi	85,306
2. Vaidya	87,193
3. Dakaut	16,062
4. Kanisan	27,198
Group 2. *Drummers and Ballad Singers.*	645,214
1. Mirási	316,422
2. Daflé, &c.	147,364
3. Gondhali	18,034
Group 3. *Singers and Dancers.*	145,778
Group 4. *Mimes, &c.*	62,507
1. Bahurupia	4,940
2. Bhánd	9,783
3. Bhária	24,539

The next class consists, practically, of two castes, and probably the second of these is but an offshoot of the first. The Banjára, otherwise known as Brinjari and Wanjára, seems to be traceable to the forest grazing lands at the foot of the Sewálik range, and along the base of the Himálaya, in the north of Rohilkhand. Their origin is unknown, but they appear in literature in about the 10th century of the Christian era. Their name is said to be the same as that of the Kanarese castes of traders, Banjiga, from the Sanskrit Banijia-kára, merchant. All over Hindustán and Rajputána they carry loads on their bullocks to and from the coast. In the North Deccan they have settled down as agriculturists, though here this caste denies its connection with the wanderers. In the Panjáb the caste most prevalent is that of the Labáni, which is probably only a subdivision of the Banjára. The same term is used throughout the South Deccan and the central portions of Madras. It is curious that the name should be the same as that of the writing and merchant class in Sindh, and of a caste of shopkeepers in Gujaráth, and that the Labána of Central India should assert their Gujaráthi origin. The coincidence seems to indicate a connection with the Gujar Skythians before the latter had been dispersed across the desert. There is a further distinction between the Labáni and Banjára of the north and the same caste in the south, namely, that the former are either settled residents or well-behaved characters, whilst the latter are of very evil repute, and constantly on the move to avoid intimacy with the local police. The few Pendhári that appear in the return are all that are found to return themselves by this once celebrated title. They seem to be carriers by origin, and to have affected the Deccan and Central India. Near the latter tract, and partly in it, the marauders of the beginning of the present century founded a small State, which is still in the occupation of their leader. They are Musalmáns by religion, and have no doubt returned themselves chiefly under one of the foreign titles.

Class XI. Carriers	**973,626**
1. Banjára	561,644
2. Labána	327,748
3. Pendhári	6,751

In this next class we have a very varied collection of castes, some of them reputable and useful members of society, and others just the reverse. As a rule, the latter predominate. Most of the items are small, and on comparing the various titles it appears that many are but linguistic varieties of the same tribe, or that in changing his sky the vagrant has also shifted his occupation. The first group is respectable, in spite of his use of the donkey in carrying his wares. In a country where grain and pulse form the staple diet, the grindstone and the curry tablet and roller are too important implements not to be well looked after, and the two castes named in the margin do not represent the full strength of those who keep these articles in order. The second group includes the stone quarriers and earth-workers. The Od, or Waddar, is probably the parent caste of both, and where it is prevalent, as in the South Deccan, it is subdivided into those who dig and those who quarry, or split rock *à la* Hannibal, but using a less costly liquid. The origin of the caste is uncertain, but if not from Od, the old synonym for Orissa, it is likely that Telingána gave it birth, as even in the Panjab this caste preserves its southern habits, and wears the black blanket peculiar to the Deccan. The name of Beldár is evidently a northern one, and has extended south with the migrations of the tribe which use the implement it represents, a peculiarly shaped spade or mattock. The knife grinders are represented by one caste, and that a small one. The occupation is carried on in towns by subdivisions of the blacksmith castes, and the Shikligár is the only vagrant, and even he is said to be settling down in fixed abodes. The next two groups are hardly separable one from the other. Mat making is too often a cover for nefarious observation of the habits of the villagers of the place where the caste in question pitches its camp. The fowler, too, has the reputation of being a noted snapper-up of unconsidered trifles. The cane worker, pure and simple, such as the Burúd, is often respectable enough, and leaves his village only for the travelling season, returning during the rains. Many of the rest travel for purposes distinctly immoral, and are constantly being "moved on" at the request of the resident population. They are, moreover, closely connected with the great tribe of Kanjar, or Sansi, in Upper India, with the Bedia, in the tracts more to the east, and to the Jogi, who, under this philosophical appellation, travels all over India, telling fortunes, singing songs not over decent, and swindling the cultivating public by most palpable frauds. Marco Polo says they live to 150 and 200 years, but, fortunately, the receipt for the draught of sulphur and mercury, by which they achieved this longevity, has apparently been lost. The last group comes from exactly the same stock, and many of them have all the aptitude of hereditary training for conjuring and acrobatic feats, in which they are remarkably proficient.

Class XII. Vagrants	**3,457,666**
Group 1. *Grindstone Makers*	18,996
1. Tákankar	9,508
2. Khúmra	6,554
Group 2. *Earth and Stone Workers.*	1,124,357
1. Od, or Waddar	793,516
2. Béldár	152,515
Group 3. *Knife Grinders*	18,980
Shikligár	16,781
Group 4. *Mat and Cane Workers.*	639,150
1. Korvi	207,045
2. Burúd	53,413
3. Bansphor	89,955
4. Basór	73,345
5. Changár	36,569
6. Ghásia	46,077
Group 5. *Hunters and Fowlers*	948,870
1. Wágri	179,070
2. Bahelia	39,203
3. Mahtam	56,984
4. Móghia	146,667
5. Valaiya	289,411
6. Aheria	36,320
Group 6. *Miscellaneous Vagrants.*	400,969
1. Jógi	214,546
2. Sansia	30,704
3. Kanjar	29,486
4. Barwála	63,856
Group 7. *Jugglers and Acrobats.*	306,344
1. Bedia	65,194
2. Nat	139,068

It is superfluous to enumerate all the items, mostly small, that come under this head, but they will be found in Table XVII. (A.). The comparatively large group of castes, the titles of which are either unrecognisable or so indefinite that they could not be classed, concludes the list of Indian social divisions. In the last category, it may as well be explained, for the benefit of the readers who are acquainted with India, are placed such entries as Madrasi, Bengali, Zamindar, Outcaste, and so on.

Class XIII. Indefinite Indian Titles.	**3,079,204**

The rest of the table needs but little comment. The 14th class, showing the Indian Christians, contains, as explained in the end of the preceding section, only a portion of that community, and the Goanese have only been distinguished in Bombay and a few other places. The class of Musulmán that returns a foreign title includes nearly 12 per cent. of the population, so that it comes next to the Agricultural group in numerical strength. In the marginal statement the chief items are shown. Out of the 27½ millions of Shaikhs nearly 21 millions are returned in Bengal, the reason for which concentration has been already given. The Pathán, as he is called east of the Indus, comes next in order, and, probably, most of the 970,000 returned in the Panjáb are really of this race, or nearly akin to it. The rest, with the exception of a few colonies in Rohilkhand, have little claim to transfrontier descent. Like the Pathán, the Balóch haunts only the frontier provinces of Sindh and the Panjáb. There are, however, a few bodies of Makráni, with a good tinge of African in them, in many of the native courts of Western and Central India. The Saiad, or descendant of the adherents of the prophet, is found in all provinces and States. In the West Panjáb the title is given to any holy man of that faith, and means simply a religious teacher, supported by the alms of the believer. Elsewhere the title is assumed on conversion, or, according to the proverb, on the acquisition of the proper amount of worldly goods. In the case of the Moghal, the strain of foreign blood is more traceable than in that of the Shaikh or Saiad in the north of India, and amongst the mercantile classes of the west, where it often means anyone of Persian descent. The Túrk is found chiefly in the north-west corner of the Panjáb, where several tribes of the race are returned. In Bombay and Haidrabád there are said to be a few members of the Othmánli community, and in the Rámpur State, in Rohilkhand, there seems to be a considerable colony of this title. Here, however, it is not certain that, as in Madras and formerly in Burma, the name Túrk is not given to any Musalmán of foreign origin. The Arabs are returned mostly in Aden and Bombay. In the former they come from the mainland, and in the latter from the Persian Gulf, either with horses from the northern parts of Arabia, or from Maskat. Along the Malabar coast, too, there are settlements of traders of this race, which have been in existence for many centuries. The Arabs in the Panjáb are either merchants from Bombay, who have entered into business at Multán, or at Pesháwar, where India meets Central Asia, or else are local Shaikhs, who have adopted their ancestry more thoroughly than the rest.

Class XV. Musulmans of Foreign Title.	**34,348,085**
1. Shaikh	27,644,993
2. Pathán	3,225,521
3. Moghal	333,114
4. Saiad	1,430,329
5. Balóch	971,835
6. Túrk	50,503
7. Arab	39,338

Class XVI. Himalayan Mongoloids.	**244,722**
1. Ladákhi	30,672
2. Bhóti	25,670
3. Lepcha	9,745
4. Khámbu	33,490
5. Tháru	53,875
6. Newár	4,979
7. Limbu	15,079
8. Gúrúng	10,894
9. Mangar	19,383
10. Súnúwár	5,210
11. Múrmi	21,889
Class XIV. Indian Christians	**1,835,848**
1. Native	1,807,092
2. Goanese	28,756
Class XVII. Assamese and Burmese.	**7,297,618**
1. Burmese	5,408,984
2. Karen	540,876
3. Shán	182,745
4. Chinese	41,832
5. Arakanese	452,164
6. Yau	12,934
7. Món	467,885
8. Ahóm	153,518
9. Cross breeds	19,821

The great tribes of the Himálayan Mongoloid race are but poorly represented in the census returns. In the west we have the Ladákhi of Kashmér, a title which includes, probably, the Bálti, of Skárdu, who is found in Simla for a great part of the year. The Bhóti, which is the general name given to those of Thibetan origin, comprise both the people from the British Himálayan districts beyond the first snowy range, as well as the inhabitants of Bhotán, who come in small numbers to Dárjiling and the Assam markets. Between these two come the Nipáli tribes, of whom we have only the settlers in the submontane tracts and the Tarái grazing lands and forests, together with the comparatively few soldiers in so-called Gúrkha regiments, many of whom return their caste as Kshatria. There are also immigrants for labour to be found in the tract round Darjiling. The Lepcha are mostly from

Class XVIII. Western Asiatics -	—
1. Jews - - -	16,951
2. Armenians - -	1,295
3. Pársis - - -	89,618
Class XIX. Eurasians - -	**81,044**
Class XX. Europeans - -	**166,428**
Class XXI. Africans - -	**18,775**

Sikkim, now resident in Dárjiling. Of the Tarái settlers, the Khámbu and Limbu admit their Kiránt or Himálayan origin, whilst the Tháru apparently repudiate it, and it is possible that their Mongoloidic type of feature is due to cross-breeding with the Méch and other forest tribes, after they were expelled, as they assert themselves to have been, from their realm in the Gangetic basin. The Newár are the people of the Nipál Valley displaced by the Gúrkha, and the Gúrúng, Súnúwar, and Mangar belong to the military tribes of that State. The Múrmi, like the Newár, seem to have been once powerful in the higher valleys, and to have succumbed to the rule of the new-comers from the plains. Of the rest of the classes sufficient has been said above, in connection with language and religion, so with this may be concluded a very lengthy, albeit inadequate, description of the chief elements in the heterogeneous mass that is known as the "people of India."

CHAPTER VI.

The Distribution of the Population by Literacy.

The waves of the ocean, before reaching the child, break against four walls, which encompass the water of his education or crystallisation—father, mother, brothers and sisters, and a few extra people, are his forming-world and mould. But, all this deducted, we must remember in education that its power, like that of the spirit of the age, which must not be measured by individuals but by the concentrated mass or majority, must be judged, not by the present, but by the future.—*Richter*.

Where the task of public instruction is undertaken by the State to the extent that it is in India, the function of a census of Literacy is to supplement the current record of progress in regard to this important matter. This can be done either by taking stock of the results on the given date, so they may be shown cumulatively, instead of merely by annual instalments, or by bringing to book the out-turn of institutions which are territorially or departmentally beyond the scope of the annual reviews. How far the census fulfils this object will be discussed in the course of this chapter. The first point to be considered is the scope of the inquiry made at the census. With respect to the tracts brought under enumeration, it was not thought worth while to attempt this detail in the wild country on the eastern frontier of Bengal and Assam, or in the very similar tract to the south-west of Orissa. Then, again, in Rajputána and Central India, the establishments available had to be treated, as explained above in connection with the return of mother tongue, with the utmost leniency, so the schedule was relieved of this column also. Lastly, in Kashmér, as the census was being taken systematically for the first time, it was held that more important statistics than those of instruction should alone be recommended. We have thus to deal with a population of 261,838,926, detailed in Table IX. of the Imperial series. In 1881, nearly the same omissions as on this occasion were allowed in the Hill tracts of Eastern Bengal and Orissa. The Malabar States and those under the Central Provinces, as well as Khairpur under Sindh, and the Nága and Gáro Hills in Assam, were also excluded, but have been brought on to the record of the present census, in addition to Quettah, Aden, and the Andaman settlement and the newly acquired territory of Upper Burma.

To show the nature of the information asked for, the rules for filling up this column are here reproduced:—

1881.	1891.
"Col. 12. Against those under instruction write 'is learning'; against those not under instruction but able to read and write, enter 'knows'; against those who cannot either read or write, or who can read but cannot write, or can sign their names but cannot read, write 'does not know.' Only those should be shown as able to read and write who can do both."	"Col. 12. Enter in this column against each person, whether grown up, child or infant, either 'Learning,' 'Literate,' or 'Illiterate.' Enter all those as Learning who are under instruction, either at home or at school or college. Enter as Literate those who are able to both read and write, but are not under instruction as above. Enter as Illiterate those who are not under instruction, and who do not know how to both read and write, or who can read but not write, or can sign their name but not read." "Col. 13. Enter here the language which those shown as literate in col. 12 can both read and write, and if a person knows how to read and write English as well as a vernacular, enter English also." "This column is to be left blank for those shown in col. 12, as Learning or Illiterate, and, except when English is known, only one language should be entered, namely, that best known."

Thus three classes were distinguished. First, those who were under instruction; secondly, those who had finished their schooling; and lastly, those who had not had any. Special provision was made to exclude from the category of the pupils those who attend what are known as "Rote Schools," which are numerous in the Panjáb, and are found nearly all over India to some extent. In such establishments reading and writing are not taught, and the curriculum is confined to the inculcation of portions of the Kurán, with the appropriate enunciation and gestures, or of some Puránic lore, both entirely by oral tradition. Then, again, in the present day so many messengers, porters, and other menials find it to their advantage to be able to sign their names, that they acquire this amount of literature without ever advancing

beyond it; and it was held advisable to specially exclude this class from the category of literate. So far, the instructions in 1891 followed those of the preceding census. But it was thought worth while to attempt a further step by adding to the return of the literate, supplementary information regarding the number that were conversant with the English language. This information, it will be observed, was not called for in respect to those still under instruction, whether at school or college, as the object was to include only such as were, so to speak, out in the world. Taking the instructions as a whole, experience in every Province has shown that the distinction between those under instruction and those able to read and write, but no longer in a state of pupilage, is one which it is advisable to abandon at a future enumeration, since there is a general tendency to disregard it. The former class is considered inferior to the latter, and as India is, according to Jacquemont, "l'Utopie de l'ordre "social à l'usage des gens comme il faut," the dignity of the castes to whom literacy, according to that social ordinance, should be restricted, revolted at the notion that the half-naked urchin set to drive his father's cattle as soon as he has completed the fourth vernacular standard should be entered as Literate, whilst the Bráhman reading for his degree in Arts was relegated to the category of Pupils. The feeling is well expressed by the Census Superintendent for Mysore, himself a Bráhman and experienced in educational matters, who writes:—

> "Moreover, the enumerated persons returned themselves in a vast number of cases as *learned*, though they were still *learning*, probably in a spirit of bravado. For it is a notorious characteristic of the student of the period that he is generally too obtrusively and superciliously self-conscious of the superior educational advantages enjoyed by himself, and as his contemporaries and seniors of the old school were returned as *literate*, his personal vanity was not unnaturally tickled, and many of his class returned themselves at the enumeration as *learned*, although still *learning*, thereby exaggerating the ranks of the *literate*, at the expense of the numbers under tuition."

The results of the enumeration were tabulated by the three age-periods, (*a*) under 15, (*b*) 15 to 25, and (*c*) 25 and over; so it was not difficult to see that Mr. V. N. Narsinghaiangar is right in his facts, whilst his professional knowledge of the class in question allows the presumption that he is not wrong as to the motives he attributes. It is not only in Mysore that the egg, to use a German proverb, holds itself wiser than the hen, and not alone in the Rome of Persius.

> Ingenium et rerum prudentia velox
> Ante pilos venit.

Thus the really trustworthy division of the population in respect to literacy, so far as the census return is concerned, is into those who do not know how to read and write and those who do, whether the latter be still under instruction or have ceased to be so. But for the sake of comparison in a later part of this chapter with the annual statistics published by the State Educational authorities, the three groups, as collected from the schedules, are shown in the marginal abstract of the general return now under review. But the depth to which literacy has filtered through the community can be better appreciated when the figures are set forth proportionally, especially if the above-mentioned age-periods are also recognised. This is done accordingly in the following statement:—

Table A.—General Summary.

—	Total.	Males.	Females.
Learning -	3,195,220	2,997,558	197,662
Literate	12,097,530	11,554,035	543,495
Illiterate -	246,546,176	118,819,408	127,726,768
Total	**261,838,926**	**133,371,001**	**128,467,925**

Table B.—Proportional Abstract.

—	Total.				Under 15.		15 to 25.		25 and over.	
	Both Sexes.	Males.	Females.	Females to 1,000 Males.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Learning - - -	1·22	2·25	0·15	68	4·74	0·36	1·96	0·06	0·09	0·01
Literate - - -	4·62	8·66	0·42	47	1·27	0·18	13·10	0·85	13·73	0·47
Illiterate -	94·16	89·09	99·43	1,075	93·99	99·46	84·94	99·09	86·18	99·52

Now, the salient facts illustrated by these relative numbers are, first, that in the whole population dealt with only 58 persons in every thousand can read and write, or are learning to do so, and, secondly, that of those 58, 53 are males and five are of the other sex. If we consider, first, the males only, it will be seen that of those under 15 years of age, 94 in every 100 are neither learning or literate, but if we omit from the calculation all boys under five, assuming them to be below the age at which instruction may be held to begin, the ratio of the illiterate falls to 90 per cent. After the age of 15 instruction begins to have an appreciable weight, and between that age and 25, 15 per cent. instead of 10, are, to put it negatively, not illiterate. It is in this period that the confusion between pupils and literate is perceptible, and the two classes are therefore considered together. The next division of the table treats of men of full age, and the proportion of the illiterate rises a trifle. The comparatively large number of pupils in this period may be attributable in part to the technical and training institutions, or, at least in Upper India, to the adults attending religious lectures in connection with masjid (mosques) in the case of Musalmáns, and charitable institutions of a corresponding character for Sanskrit studies in the case of Bráhmans. The technical name for the former, which would no doubt be returned at the census, is "Seekers after Knowledge" (Tálib ul 'ilm), while the latter would in like manner be termed "Disciples." Literacy of males.

Another light in which to view these figures is that thrown by the relative distribution of the learners and literate by age, instead of that of the age of literacy, which we have been considering above. The marginal table gives this information. Of the male pupils, 84 per cent. are under and 16 over the age of 15 years. The literate of 25 years and over bear the proportion to the total literate of 69⅓ per cent., which indicates, as it were, the cumulative results of the system of instruction. Were it not for the intrusion of the literate-pupil element above noted; this ratio would no doubt reach 72 or 73 per cent. The figures for females will be discussed below.

TABLE C.—Instruction by Age.

	Males.		Females.	
	Learning.	Literate.	Learning.	Literate.
Under 15 -	84·01	5·84	89·82	16·15
15 to 25 -	14·27	24·76	6·89	34·55
25 and over -	1·62	69·36	3·29	50·70

What has preceded this chapter in the present review has no doubt prepared the reader for the great prevalence of illiteracy indicated by the above statements. First of all, we have the occupational bias of the mass of the population, which is set steadily away from literature. The agriculturist in India is in this respect probably not much below his compeers in far more civilised countries, only his numbers are more preponderant in the community. However well his affairs may prosper, it is long before the landowner gives over personal participation in all the operations by which he has thriven, and after a long course of early rising and late return from the field, the "swinkt hedger" is seldom in the psychological conditions for the assimilation of more abstruse knowledge than is current in the friendly circle that every evening squats down to discuss the húkka and pán of village sociability. Interested as he is in every novelty that his eye has learnt to perceive, the average raiat is not given to going a step out of his way to discover any; but when the three R's are brought within his reach, he is often quick enough to appreciate their advantages in dealing with the grain dealer and money lender, so he sends his son to school accordingly. Unfortunately, however, as the census and departmental returns show—and experience too often confirms them—the necessities of the farm generally lead to the lad's removal at a rudimentary stage in the curriculum, and by the time he is 18 years old he has forgotten most of the little he learnt when he was 11 or 12. In the towns the state of affairs is a little better, but then, as we have seen, their influence extends to less than a tenth of the population.

The second influence antagonistic to a more general spread of literacy is the long continued existence of a hereditary class whose object it has been to maintain their own monopoly of all book-learning as the chief buttress of their social supremacy. Sacerdotalism knows that it can reign over none but an ignorant populace. The opposition of the Bráhman to the rise of the writer castes has been already mentioned, and the repugnance of both, in the present day, to the diffusion of learning amongst the masses can only be appreciated after long experience. It is true that the

recognition by the British Government of the virtue and necessity of primary education has met with some response on the part of the literate castes, but it is chiefly in the direction of academic utterances, which cannot, in the circumstances, be well avoided. It is welcomed, too, in its capacity of affording the means of livelihood to many of these castes, as they have to be engaged as teachers, and are bound accordingly to work up to the State standard of efficient tuition. The real interest of the castes in question is centred on secondary education, of which they almost exclusively are in a position to reap the advantage. This, however, is a topic that will recur in connection with the distribution of literacy by caste, which forms the subject of a later section of this chapter.

We can thus see that the field in which the seeds of literacy have to be sown consists of a few square yards of what we may term relatively good soil, prepared to receive all the seed it can get, and thirsting for the whole of the attention of the husbandman. Then comes the vast stony waste of labour and menial offices, without sufficient depth of soil to allow the seed to strike root, and lastly, the many miles of arable mark, so taken up with the production of the food and clothing of the whole community, that whatever else is sown in it is inevitably choked before it can ripen.

Literacy of females.

Before taking up the next section of our subject, a glance has to be given at the return of the literate amongst the weaker sex. The outlook in this direction is, if possible, more dreary than in that from which we have just turned. It is by the position of women in it that we judge to a great extent of the relative progress made by a community towards the complete life that we call civilisation; as the Comte de Ségur has it, "leur sort est un boussole sur pour le premier regard d'un étranger qui arrive dans un pays inconnu." Though, as Burma may be said to show us, there may be no intimate or direct connection between the status or influence of woman and her acquaintance with the three R's, a very great divergence, in this last respect, between the two halves of the community more often than not implies the relegation of the wife and mother to the position either of the queen termite, immured for life in the most remote chamber of the ant hill to fulfil her function of replenishing the numbers of the community, or to that of the household drudge enslaved to the caprice of her mother-in-law. It has been said, and we see the truth of the adage not only in India, but in the west also, that she who rocks the cradle rules the empire, and of what sort must the influence be of those, however shrewd and staunch to the better customs in which they have themselves been brought up, who are unable to stray beyond their immediate and narrow surroundings, or get into touch with anything that may help to elevate them on to a higher level? Their utmost aim is to rear the Telemachus, of whom his father spoke in terms so affectionately depreciatory :—

> Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere
> Of common duties, decent not to fail
> In offices of tenderness, and pay
> Meet adoration to my household gods
> When I am gone.

According to the current theory, the first duty of a woman is to produce and rear a son to perform the funeral obsequies of her husband; and, second, to see that satisfactory meals are ready for her husband, and the third, to keep her husband's family gods in good order for his worship. Into such an ideal, intellect can scarcely be said to enter, but faith pervades the whole. On the other hand, it is to intellect alone that an appeal is made by the State system of education, under which come more than 80 per cent. of the whole body of learners, and amongst nations, writes the author quoted at the beginning of this chapter, the head has at all times preceded the heart. But how if the head of the man persists in advancing, whilst that of the women and the heart of both refuses to stir? The head is a notorious sapper of creeds based as are those of India, and the "dual life" in that country, of which a good deal has been written of late, is not a feature that one would desire to see extended further than its present sphere, where, amongst the fraction of the 6 per cent. of writers and literary Bráhmans whom it affects, it is comparatively harmless. The social reformer possesses, as Carlyle has it, a prehensile tail. He returns home from his meeting or lecture in full panoply of occidental ethics and political catchwords "up to date," to cast off all these alien swaddling-bands as easily as he divests his shapely foot of its patent leather covering, and his person generally of other encumbrances that interfere with his free enjoyment of home comfort. He performs,

moreover, all the ceremonies at births and deaths required by the custom of his caste, keeps his brother's widow in the orthodox servitude, and marries off his daughter at eight years old, provided he has no bridegroom ready for her at seven. "Once he has come to forty year," if by mishap he be a widower, he accepts from his friend and co-reformer a bride of as nearly as possible the same age as his daughter, and thus tradition is maintained. In these circumstances, there is practically no breach in domestic life caused by the intellectual advance of the master of the house. His studies are regarded as no more than the proper equipment in life of the class that at the festival of the Diwáli pays homage to its pen as the family bread-winner, just as the trader does to his ledger, and they affect his relations with the outer world only. His indoor life is still regulated by the customs to which he duly conforms, like the philosopher of imperial Rome, who "approached with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Lybian, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter." There is thus no want in that life which the education of his wife is needed to supply. Still less is illiteracy felt in the houses of the mass of the population, where the education of the men themselves is, at the best, but surface deep. Against the above remarks there will be urged, of course, the case of the Parsis, amongst the women of which race literacy is far more prevalent than in other Indian communities. The record of the State Educational Department, too may be brought up to testify against the return of the literate and pupils of the fair sex at the census, which is less by nearly one half than the former. This last argument will be examined in a later section of this chapter. As to the Parsis, they form a small homogeneous community of foreigners, who owe everything but bare existence to another race, equally alien to the country, any part of whose customs to which they may be attracted can be assimilated by them unhindered by caste or tradition. There is obviously no analogy between this case and that of a vast and heterogeneous population that has grown up within the country itself, and has by gradual and historical process, not by imitation or foreign impulse, hemmed itself in by centuries of the most exclusive prejudices and inviolable custom the world has ever seen.

Referring again to Table B., it will be seen that the females imbued with some tincture of literacy come to about six in the thousand, or, as we are dealing with such small fractions, it will be more correct to put the number at 57 in 10,000. Under the age of 15, they come to 54, and the pupils are nearly double the number of those who have ceased their schooling. If we deduct the girls under five years old, the ratio rises to 93, approaching one in a hundred. In the next period, between 15 and 25 years old, the proportion is nearly the same, or 91 per 10,000, and the literate exceed the pupils. This follows of course, the fact that at this age, amongst the classes that mainly contribute to the returns, a girl, sane and sound, who is not married by the age of 15 is an exception, and would certainly not be paraded at school, even if returned at the census at all. The actual pupils in this period are probably, to a great extent, in Normal and Medical establishments, or widows, and the return shows, too, that a good many are returned from the Christian community, where the age of marriage is later. Lastly, amongst women of 25 years old and over, the proportion of the not illiterate drops to 47 per 10,000, leaving over 99½ per cent. illiterate. This seems to indicate that the stimulus to female education was imparted little earlier than the beginning of the present generation. Table C. confirms this view, as not many more than half the literate females come within this age-group. It may be noticed that the proportion of pupils in this group is higher than amongst the males. This may be partly explained by the preference shown by females, in returning their age, for the year 25 over any year between 20 and 24. Then, again, there are the special and technical institutions above mentioned, and the Zanána teaching, all of which are, probably, at work in Bengal and the Malabar States, where the bulk of the class in question is to be found.

A few words more about the proportions of the two sexes amongst the literate and pupils will not be irrelevant to what has just been said. In the population with which this return deals, there are 963 females to every 1,000 of the other sex. To put it in another way, in a thousand of the whole population, there will be, on the average, 509 males and 491 females. The females under instruction number 63 to 1,000 males in the same stage, but to a thousand literate males, there are but 47 females similarly endowed. The illiterate are more on an equality, for we find only 1,075 females to the 1,000 males, a ratio that would represent an excess of the former sex of about 116, if the total number of the two were the same.

The marginal Statement D. gives the figures for 1881 compared with those for 1891 in the same tracts. There will be noticed a slight difference between the latter as here proportionately shown and those in Table B., because from the former have been omitted the returns for Upper Burma and the Malabar States, where literacy is more prevalent than in most of the tracts dealt with, but which did not come within the scope of the census of 10 years ago. As the table stands, the rate of increase of the not-illiterate is considerably above that of the population at large, and is especially marked in the case of females. But in relation to the whole population of each year, the leeway that has to be made up is enormous. Where there were four females in a thousand who are not illiterate, there are now five; and in a thousand males, in place of 91, we now have 104. In a later section, the variation in the different Provinces and States will be shown.

TABLE D.—Comparison of 1891 and 1881.

		Population		Distribution per Cent.		Percentage of Variation.
		1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	
Males.	Learning and Literate.	10,526,283	13,416,398	9·05	10·42	27·45
	Illiterate	105,838,357	115,454,733	90·95	89·58	9·08
	Total	116,364,640	128,881,131	—	—	10·75
Females.	Learning and Literate.	432,475	589,256	0·39	0·48	36·25
	Illiterate	111,332,927	122,735,279	99·61	99·52	10·24
	Total	111,765,402	123,324,535	—	—	10·34
Total.	Illiterate	217,171,284	238,190,012	95·20	94·44	9·67
	Total	228,130,042	252,205,666	—	—	10·55

Comparison of Census Return with that of the State Department of Public Instruction.

The next point to be treated of is the comparison of the census return with that published for 1890–91 by the various Directors of Public Instruction in India. This relates to British territory only, except with regard to the small States under Bombay which appear to be included with the rest.

TABLE E.—Comparison of Census with Departmental Returns of Pupils.

	Males.		Females.		Difference of Census.	
	Departmental.	Census.	Departmental.	Census.	Males.	Females.
Madras	556,449	576,079	87,715	59,127	+ 19,630	— 28,588
Bombay and States	551,216	439,360	69,282	30,745	— 111,856	— 38,537
Bengal	1,380,385	883,990	88,558	34,845	— 496,395	— 53,513
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	275,651	238,440	13,870	8,404	— 37,211	— 5,466
Panjáb	223,056	158,849	22,657	7,834	— 64,207	— 14,823
Central Provinces	105,699	76,306	5,799	3,901	— 29,393	— 1,898
Upper Burma	49,341	99,229	3,811	3,372	+ 49,888	— 439
Lower Burma	100,668	128,269	14,629	14,853	+ 27,601	+ 224
Assam	74,086	49,111	4,698	3,427	— 24,975	— 1,271
Coorg	4,059	4,192	736	610	+ 133	— 126
Berár	48,320	38,502	2,022	976	— 9,818	— 1,046
Total	**3,368,930**	**2,692,327**	**313,777**	**168,094**	**— 676,603**	**— 145,683**

The main feature to which attention is required at present is the fact that the departmental return of pupils exceeds that of the census by 25·13 per cent. in the case of males, and as already remarked above, by about 87 per cent. in the case of females. It is further noticeable that the above feature presents itself in every Province, with the exception of Burma and the male pupil element in Madras and Coorg, exceptions which admit of special explanations. The departmental statement is based on the returns from schools and colleges in connection with the State, either directly or indirectly, as by grants-in-aid, or by being under inspection, or financial control. The extent to which non-official schools, especially those of the lower grades, are thus connected, varies in every Province.

In the Panjáb, for instance, the return includes far more than in most other parts of the country. In Upper Burma, on the other hand, the number of monasteries not brought on the departmental books is large, and even in the lower division of the Province there appear to be a good many that are equally ignored. As a rule, every Burmese has to pass a certain period of his boyhood as a "kyaungtha," or attendant at one of these institutions, even if he may not advance to the noviciate, so the number must be enough to place this mode of instruction within the reach of every village. In Madras, the excess shown at the census is attributed in great measure to the same cause, as it occurs in the tracts such as Tanjore and Malabar, in the first of which there are known to be many elementary schools kept by Bráhmans, which are not brought within the sweep of the departmental net, whilst on the Malabar coast, the religious antagonism between the Mappilah community and the rest stimulates the maintenance of many institutions within the precincts of the mosque, which are likewise not brought to the notice of the infidel inspector, whether Christian or Brahmanic. On the other hand, at the opposite extremity of this Presidency, the departmental figures for the Ganjam district show a number of pupils more than 100 per cent. in excess of that found in the census schedules, and this brings us to the second distinction between the scope of the two returns. The census, it is true, includes the pupils of the institutions that do not contribute towards the departmental total, but it excludes, by the definition of pupil adopted in the instructions quoted above, all children who are not learning to read and write. The case of the Kurán-Purán schools has been already mentioned, and in the Panjáb we find 57,397 pupils in them, including over 10,000 of the 22,657 girls departmentally returned. In Bengal, again, this class of institution accounts for over 62,000, and in the whole of the tract covered by the return under discussion, 154,500 come under this category. As few, if any, of these pupils learn how to read or write, they were, of course, ignored in the census. We then come to the departmental return of "public schools," where 809,116 children are shown as "not reading printed books." Finally, there are the "private schools," with about 262,000 pupils in the elementary stage, out of whom probably the same proportion, at least, as in the other class of institution, are not yet advanced enough to study printed books. All these, together with the pupils who patronise the rote schools, give a total of about 1,051,000 children in the most elementary stage of instruction, so far as literacy is in question, and as the departmental total exceeds that of the census by 822,286 only, there remains a balance of 228,770 in favour of the latter. In all probability, the excess is far greater, for in Bengal, where the difference in favour of the departmental return amounts to nearly half a million of boys and over 53,000 of girls, this return is obviously unduly exaggerated by fraudulent entries made by the hedge-schoolmaster who is a more prominent feature in that province than elsewhere. The same feature appears in the return for the Ganjam district of Madras, where the departmental excess, amongst a population notoriously averse from instruction, is most remarkable, and places this tract, in point of education, immediately behind the three foremost districts of the Presidency, Madras, Tanjore, and Malabar. The proximity of Orissa, about which the Educational Inspector writes that "for one case of detection there may be a dozen that go undetected," has probably stimulated the local Pandit to go abroad to some purpose. In the Sháhabád district of Bengal, the district board practically abolished the system of annual rewards in the year under review, because they "encouraged fraudulent practices." In the Dacca district, in 1890, there was discovered "wholesale fabrication of returns in two municipalities." Even under the very shadow of the central authority, in the suburbs of Calcutta, we find it stated that "it is not unusual for unscrupulous men to start schools at the close of the year for the "purpose of earning rewards, which schools melt away as soon as that object is "fulfilled." In one case, the schoolmaster got the reward by showing off a school attended mostly by pupils of his colleagues, lent for the occasion. But the prize for ingenuity is taken by the Chittagong master, who held a school in a village on the frontier of the district, so that, having obtained the reward at the annual examination, he promptly transferred himself with all his pupils to the adjacent village on the other side of the boundary, and reaped his recompense at a second examination held in his new domicile. History stops at this point, but it would be interesting to learn whether the pupils who shared the toil were also admitted to the fruits thereof. It is irrelevant to the present purpose to inquire with whom lies the responsibility for this state of affairs, it is enough that it exists, and that while it exists there is no reason

to assume that the difference between the census returns and those of the State department betokens any defect in the former. But apart from intentional fraud, there is the tendency for every village school to attach to itself a sort of kindergarten, where the infants of the lower middle classes disport themselves whilst their elder brothers or sisters, who officiate as caretakers, are possibly really under instruction. In the upper grades of this undisciplined contingent, a plantain leaf, a small board with a supply of sand, or even the mud floor, serves as the medium of communicating the alphabet or the digits, whereupon the pupil is duly entered as "under standard." In the case of females this is a very common practice, and in the Panjáb, for instance, where not only are half the pupils of this sex under instruction in Kurán schools, where they only learn by rote, but in other schools, more than half are under seven years old, it is clear that there is little to complain of in the small show made at the census. Some of that little, too, is explicable, the Superintendent thinks, by the refusal of rural enumerators to recognise instruction in any other character than the Persian, so that Sikh girls learning Gurmúkhi do not appear in the record. Finally, there is always the confusion between literate and learning to fall back upon, but so far as the comparison with departmental figures is concerned, it is not necessary, on the facts shown above, to have recourse to its discussion in detail. In the provincial reports for Bengal, Bombay, and the Panjáb, Messrs. O'Donnell, Drew, and Maclagan have dealt with it in relation to their respective charges.

Literacy by religion.

The general Table IX. is subdivided according to the main religions, and with reference to a few of the items, perhaps, the subject merits a little comment, though the relative spread of literacy in the community can be better appreciated from the caste distribution, the materials for which are to be found in Tables XVIII. and XIX. in Volume II. of the Imperial series. But the proportion of the illiterate amongst the adherents of the main forms of creed will be found in the marginal statement. From this it will be seen that the Parsis hold the first place, both as to females and to males, but, as remarked above, they are only a small and isolated community. With respect to literate males, the Jains come next, as might be expected from their addiction to commerce. But their liberality has not yet extended far in the direction of the instruction of their women, who come fifth on the list, with 14 per 1,000 not illiterate. The second place amongst the females belongs to the Jewess, also the member of a small body, whose male relative comes but third in the roll of his sex. The Buddhist occupies the fourth place, both for males and for the other sex, but in a thousand of the former he shows 474 not illiterate, whereas, owing to the exclusion of women from the Kyaung school in Burma, the corresponding proportion for the sex is but 26. The Christian occupies the fifth place amongst the males, and the third amongst the females. In the former case the not illiterates number 343, and in the latter 136. The four last religions occupy the same order in both sexes. The Brahmanic community comes sixth, with 105 males and 4 females, distinguished from the crowd, but, as was shown in the preceding chapter, the collection of castes that goes by this name represents no uniform feature of importance. It is not very different with the Musalmán, between whom and the Bráhman comes the Sikh. The latter, in the Panjáb, comes between the two in the matter of education only if taken in the lump. Taking separately the larger castes that furnish the Sikh community, these last are more literate than the Brahmanic members, and the balance is restored by the literates amongst the priestly and mercantile classes of the latter. Finally, we have the forest tribes, of whom, as has been explained, only the wilder portions returned their tribal religion. To this section, therefore, literacy can hardly be expected to have extended, so it is not surprising to find but eight in the thousand of the males able to read or write, though it may be unexpected to see that the females are not far from being one in the same category.

Religion.	Illiterate per 1,000 of each sex.	
	Males.	Females.
Brahmanic	895	996
Sikh	904	996
Jain	466	986
Buddhist	526	974
Pársi	223	499
Jew	481	786
Musalmán	929	997
Christian	657	864
Animistic	992	1,000
Total	891	994

Literacy by provinces, &c.

The next topic in connection with literacy that requires notice is the variety in its territoral diffusion in India. But in anticipation of this, it may be interesting to show how that country stands in this respect in comparison with others of which the returns are available. The marginal statement, accordingly, gives the average number of persons who are not illiterate per thousand of the general population. From this it will be seen that the British colonies in the south head the list, along with the white population of the United States. Less than half the population are literate in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Portugal, Chilé, Ceylon, and amongst the coloured residents of the United States. Unfortunately, census returns for the German Empire, for Scandinavia, and Great Britain, are not available. The return as far as women are concerned, assumes a slightly different order. The greatest divergence is seen in the case of Ceylon, which illustrates the breach between the West and the East in this respect. Portugal, Queensland, and the coloured female population of the States, advance a step, whilst New South Wales and our American cousins go down to that extent. India does not approach within one half of the literacy of even Portugal, so far as its males are considered, and the proportion of its literate females is only just above a fifth of that in Ceylon, and this last, again, does not reach a quarter of that of Portugal, or a seventh of that amongst the negroes and mulattoes of the Western Hemisphere.

TABLE F.

Country.	Number able to read and write per 1,000 of each Sex.	
	Males.	Females.
1. Victoria	755	755
2. New Zealand	748	725
3. United States* (*White*)	725	706
4. South Australia	717	711
5. New South Wales	688	667
6. Queensland	676	691
7. Ireland	554	501
8. Austria	521	467
9. Hungary	408	283
10. Italy	377	236
11. Chilé	281	221
12. Ceylon	269	29
13. United States* (*Coloured*)	254	217
14. Portugal	250	108
INDIA, 1881	91	4
„ 1891	109	6

* The census return for the United States includes only those over 10 years old. The figures here given are therefore approximate.

In Table G., that follows, are shown the component parts of the general total given above, together with the variations in the proportions that have taken place during the last decade :—

TABLE G.—Provincial Statement of Illiterate and others.

Province or State, &c.	Males.					Females.				
	No. per 1,000 Males of—				Variation in Literates in 1891.	No. per 1,000 Females of—				Variation in Literates in 1891.
	Illiterate.		Literate, &c.			Illiterate.		Literate, &c.		
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.		1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	
Ajmer	879	867	121	133	+12	994	992	6	8	+2
Assam	953	924	47	76	+29	999	997	1	3	+2
Bengal	913	892	87	108	+21	997	996	3	4	+1
Berar	938	916	62	84	+22	999	998	1	2	+1
Bombay	883	860	117	140	+23	993	990	7	10	+3
Sindh	921	915	79	85	+ 6	995	995	5	5	—
Lower Burma	539	557	461	443	−18	964	962	36	38	+2
Upper Burma	—	538	—	462	—	—	985	—	15	—
Central Provinces	953	941	47	59	+12	998	998	2	2	—
Coorg	869	844	131	156	+25	990	986	10	14	+4
Madras	862	851	138	149	+11	991	990	9	10	+1
N.-W. Provinces	940	937	60	63	+ 3	998	997	2	3	+1
Oudh	948	942	52	58	+ 6	999	998	1	2	+1
Panjáb	937	926	63	74	+11	998	997	2	3	+1
Total, British Provinces	—	889	—	111	—	—	994	—	6	—
Haidrabad	937	928	63	72	+ 9	999	997	1	3	+2
Baroda	894	856	106	144	+38	998	995	2	5	+3
Mysore	888	895	112	105	− 7	996	993	4	7	+3
Bombay States	900	887	100	113	+13	998	995	2	5	+3
Bengal States	965	945	35	55	+20	999	998	1	2	+1
N.-W. Province States	963	965	37	35	− 2	996	999	4	1	−3
Panjáb States	947	941	53	59	+ 6	999	999	1	1	—
Total, States	—	902	—	98	—	—	993	—	7	—
India	**909**	**891**	**91**	**109**	**+18**	**996**	**994**	**4**	**6**	**+2**

These last are on the side of improvement in every case save those of Lower Burma, Mysore, and the States under the North-West Province Government. As regards the first, the Superintendent finds that in 1881 many families returned as under instruction the boys whom it was intended to send to the monasteries but who had not yet joined, and this misconception accounts for the relative falling off in the number of learners of that sex. The Mysore decrease also occurs amongst the pupils, and is confined to the western division of the State, where it affects the return of both sexes. No explanation is given of the fact in the report, and in the case of the small States of the north no report has yet been submitted. It may be noticed that the ratio of the not-illiterate amongst the females is higher in the States in 1891 than in the Provinces, and this seems to be due mainly to the extraordinary number of this sex returned as literate or under instruction in the Malabar States, which contain nearly one-half of the whole tale of the pupils of feudatory India, and more than that proportion of the literates. As these States were not called upon in 1881 to return literacy, they have been excluded from the table under discussion, but will be found duly entered in the next. The literate males are in considerably higher proportion in the Provinces than in the States at the present census. Upper Burma heads the list with nearly half of this sex not illiterate. In its companion division, the monastery is less frequent, but it will be seen that the provision for female instruction, which is the accompaniment of British rule there, shows a much higher ratio than in any other part of the country. The Superintendent notes, with reference to the Phongi, or Buddhist monk, that there is a tendency to modify the course of instruction in their Kyaung, so as to include the European method of teaching such subjects as mathematics, a fact which indicates anything but the decline of their influence that was feared by some of the State educational authorities. In India proper it will be noted that more than 10 per cent. of the male community are provided with some stock of instruction in Madras, Bombay, Baroda, Ajmér, Coorg, Mysore, and Bengal. Madras and Baroda head the list, the former having inherited this position, the latter having acquired it during the last 10 years. Upper India falls considerably below the average of either the Provinces or the country as a whole. Even Assam exceeds the North-West and the Panjáb, which have only the Central Provinces between them and the bottom of the list. Assam, too, is distinguished by the highest relative increase of its literates, except that in Baroda. The latter lies chiefly in the Gujaráth division of Western India, which has always been the foremost in the Presidency in the matter of education, the Broach and Surat districts coming not far short of Bombay City in the proportion of their literates. The ratio in the city of Calcutta is almost the same as that in Bombay, whilst in Madras, where the unskilled labourer finds less attraction, and educational institutions flourish, holds by far the highest place in this respect. In the Bengal Province it seems that the tract surrounding Calcutta is throughout the best supplied with literates, and that in the Eastern Division it is the dead weight of the Musalmán lower classes that pulls down the average. Bihár, were it not for the hill tracts of Chutia Nagpur, would hold the lowest place in the whole province, whilst Orissa and the north occupy about the middle. In the Madras Presidency, Tanjore, the great Bráhman centre, shows the highest ratio of literate males, but takes a comparatively low place as regards the instruction of its female population. The extreme south and Malabar are the only two districts besides Tanjore that contain less than 80 per cent. of illiterate males. In the Panjáb there is great diversity in the proportion of the literate, and, on the whole, the lowest is found in the Trans-Indus districts of Bannu, Kohát, and Hazára, and on the borders of Rajputána. The western tract of the Central Provinces, bordering on Berar and Bombay, have the largest proportion of literate, and, excepting Jabalpur, the rest of the province gets more illiterate in proportion to the amount of hilly country included in it, until in the Mándla district there are but 29 males per 1,000 literate or under instruction. The details for the North-West Provinces and Oudh are not available for review in the present work. Berar, like Bengal and Bombay, has made considerable progress in the extension of literacy during the 10 years, and nearly reaches Sindh, where, as in Oudh, the progress has apparently been very slow. In the North-West Provinces there seems to have been practically none, as the per-centage of increase is but 3. It is possible, however, that there may be some special explanation of this peculiarity, which will be found in the local report, when published.

The next table deals with the population divided into certain age-periods, as in Table B. On this occasion, however, it has been thought worth while to subtract the

infant population, so as to leave a balance of possible school-goers. The result is a difference of 2 per cent. in favour of the literates. In Upper Burma, for instance, the illiterate are reduced by 71 per 1,000; in Madras, by 26; in the Malabar States by 34, Literacy by age.

TABLE H.—The not-illiterate per 1,000 of each Sex, by Age-period.

Province or State, &c.	Total.		Total over 5.		5–14.		15–24.		25 and over.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Ajmér	133	8	154	9	97	9	191	12	172	9
Assam	76	3	89	4	66	6	114	5	95	3
Bengal	108	4	125	5	96	5	156	7	135	4
Berar	84	2	97	2	104	3	135	3	83	1
Bombay	140	10	163	12	149	17	194	14	159	4
Sindh	85	5	100	6	75	9	119	10	108	5
Upper Burma	462	15	533	18	315	15	592	26	620	15
Lower Burma	443	38	510	45	290	44	584	67	602	34
Central Provinces	59	2	66	2	54	4	99	3	64	2
Coorg	156	14	175	20	195	37	190	20	162	10
Madras	149	10	175	12	143	18	196	15	185	8
N.-W. Provinces	63	3	73	3	41	2	86	4	84	2
Oudh	58	2	67	2	34	1	79	2	81	2
Panjáb	74	3	89	3	60	4	97	4	125	3
Total, Provinces	111	6	130	7	95	9	155	9	141	5
Haidrabád	72	3	83	3	61	4	97	3	83	3
Baroda	144	5	161	7	128	13	181	7	161	7
Mysore	105	7	113	9	110	14	130	8	113	9
Bombay States	113	5	133	6	110	8	154	8	133	6
Madras States	239	35	273	40	209	49	298	43	278	40
Central Province States	22	1	21	1	17	1	36	4	21	1
Bengal States	55	2	64	2	35	2	76	4	64	2
N.-W. Province States	35	1	40	1	22	1	55	1	40	1
Panjáb States	59	1	66	1	30	1	73	2	66	1
Total, States	98	7	111	8	79	10	129	9	124	6
India	109	6	127	7	93	9	151	9	138	5

and in the Central Provinces and the Panjáb by 7 only. The difference, in fact, varies with the prevalence of instruction amongst the younger generation. Another feature in the return brought out by the distribution by age is that, except in Burma, the proportion of the literate males diminishes after the twenty-fifth year, whilst it everywhere increases from the first period to the second. The inference to be drawn is obviously that instruction in India proper is but a plant of tender years, whilst across the Bay of Bengal it dates from some generations.

The diffusion of instruction through the community is appreciated more accurately when we have before us the relative extent to which it pervades each of the groups of castes or races under which the population was classified in the preceding chapter. In the provincial volumes this return will be found under the title C., at the end of the Imperial series. In the general series, to which the present review relates, it is numbered XVIII., and will be found in the second volume of tables. In the following proportional abstract, Table J., the leading features are given. It will be noticed that the ratio of the group to the total population is not always identical with that given in the last chapter, partly for the reason stated in the preliminary note to Table XVII., namely, that two Provinces sent in their returns so far in arrears of the rest that the latter had been worked into their proportionate form in anticipation of the incorporation of the former. The reclassification therefore that seemed advisable in the case of some of the castes found chiefly in Bengal and the North-West Provinces, was made only in the portion of the caste returns that was comparatively simple, involving, that is, merely re-addition, irrespective of further computation. Then, again, the return under discussion omits the 25,000,000 or so not returning statistics of literacy. Literacy by caste or race.

Table J.—Literacy by Caste.

Caste Group.	A. Both Sexes.			B. Males.			C. Literates knowing English.	
	Per-centage of			Per-centage of			Per-centage of the English-knowing in each Group on	
	Each Group on Total Population.	Literate in each Group.		Each Group on Total Males.	Literate in each Group.			
		On Total Literate.	On Total Population of the Group.		On Total Literate Males.	On Total Males of the Group.	Total English-knowing Literates.	Total Literates of the Group.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
I. Military Agriculturists	9·46	8·10	3·94	9·78	8·01	7·07	2·82	1·55
II. Other Agriculturists	17·48	10·89	2·81	17·43	11·12	5·51	5·83	2·39
III. Cattle Graziers, &c.	4·20	1·01	1·19	4·20	1·12	2·29	0·65	2·65
IV. Field Labourers	3·11	1·25	1·86	3·02	1·28	3·66	0·44	1·55
V. Forest Tribes	5·04	0·44	0·40	4·95	0·45	0·78	0·20	2·01
Class A. Agricultural	**39·29**	**21·69**	**2·55**	**39·38**	**21·98**	**4·81**	**9·94**	**2·03**
VI. Priests	4·90	16·81	15·78	4·96	16·98	29·52	20·29	5·37
VII. Devotees, &c.	0·85	1·00	5·41	0·87	1·01	10·02	0·31	1·38
VIII. Temple Servants	0·11	0·25	10·32	0·11	0·23	18·11	0·07	1·30
IX. Genealogists	0·16	0·20	5·71	0·16	0·20	10·91	0·04	1·00
X. Writers	0·94	4·74	23·37	0·92	4·66	43·59	9·13	8·58
XI. Astrologers and Herbalists, &c.	0·10	0·39	17·58	0·10	0·34	29·72	0·97	11·28
XII. Ballad Reciters and Musicians	0·20	0·06	1·36	0·20	0·06	2·51	0·01	0·53
XIII. Singers and Dancers	0·05	0·06	6·62	0·04	0·03	7·62	0·02	1·19
XIV. Mimes, &c.	0·01	—	3·87	0·01	0·01	7·48	—	0·19
Class B. Professional	**7·32**	**23·51**	**14·80**	**7·37**	**23·52**	**27·53**	**30·84**	**5·84**
XV. Traders	4·11	13·74	15·38	4·15	14·09	29·30	6·60	2·14
XVI. Pedlars	0·05	0·01	1·42	0·04	0·01	2·80	—	0·65
XVII. Carriers by Pack Animals	0·34	0·06	0·81	0·36	0·06	1·51	0·01	0·84
Class C. Commercial	**4·50**	**13·81**	**14·13**	**4·55**	**14·16**	**26·86**	**6·61**	**2·13**
XVIII. Goldsmiths, &c.	0·57	1·20	9·69	0·57	1·24	18·69	0·26	0·97
XIX. Barbers	1·28	0·70	2·51	1·28	0·71	4·80	0·33	2·14
XX. Blacksmiths	0·92	0·50	2·53	0·92	0·52	4·82	0·21	1·87
XXI. Carpenters and Masons	1·13	0·97	3·97	1·14	1·00	7·61	0·24	1·10
XXII. Brass and Coppersmiths	0·11	0·20	8·43	0·11	0·21	16·34	0·08	1·86
XXIII. Tailors	0·23	0·23	4·64	0·23	0·24	8·93	0·14	2·73
XXIV. Grain Parchers, &c.	0·53	0·38	3·29	0·53	0·39	6·46	0·17	1·97
XXV. Betel Leaf Sellers, &c.	0·09	0·13	6·80	0·09	0·14	13·23	0·12	4·12
XXVI. Weavers and Dyers	3·16	2·09	3·03	3·15	2·13	5·83	0·90	1·93
XXVII. Washermen	1·02	0·24	1·08	1·01	0·24	2·08	0·12	2·30
XXVIII. Cotton Cleaners	0·30	0·04	0·64	0·30	0·04	1·25	0·01	0·77
XXIX. Shepherds and Blanket Weavers	1·78	0·39	1·02	1·77	0·41	1·98	0·20	2·28
XXX. Oil Pressers	1·66	1·16	3·22	1·64	1·20	6·32	0·57	2·17
XXXI. Potters	1·14	0·34	1·37	1·15	0·35	2·62	0·26	3·38
XXXII. Glass and Lac Workers	0·05	0·03	2·56	0·05	0·03	5·05	0·04	5·10

TABLE J.—Literacy by Caste—*continued.*

Caste Group.	A. BOTH SEXES.			B. MALES.			C. LITERATES KNOWING ENGLISH.	
	Per-centage of			Per-centage of			Per-centage of the English-knowing in each Group on	
	Each Group on Total Population.	Literate in each Group.		Each Group on Total Males.	Literate in each Group.		Total English-knowing Literates.	Total Literates of the Group.
		On Total Literate.	On Total Population of the Group.		On Total Literate Males.	On Total Males of the Group.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
XXXIII. Salt and Lime Workers	0·54	0·15	1·29	0·53	0·15	2·49	0·03	0·76
XXXIV. Goldsmiths' Refuse Cleaners	—	—	1·89	—	—	3·90	—	—
XXXV. Iron Smelters and Gold Washers	0·01	—	0·70	0·01	—	1·35	—	0·57
XXXVI. Fishermen, &c.	3·17	0·80	1·13	3·12	0·79	2·17	0·36	2·05
XXXVII. Servants, &c.	0·07	0·02	1·43	0·07	0·02	2·75	0·01	1·14
XXXVIII. Distillers and Toddy Drawers	1·84	2·44	6·11	1·80	2·47	11·87	0·74	1·33
XXXIX. Butchers	0·20	0·03	0·63	0·20	0·03	1·20	0·01	1·64
XL. Leather Workers	4·59	0·53	0·53	4·58	0·55	1·04	0·13	1·13
XLI. Watchmen and Village menials	4·68	0·63	0·62	4·59	0·64	1·21	0·44	3·09
XLII. Scavengers	1·32	0·17	0·59	1·35	0·17	1·11	0·12	3·25
Class D. Artisans, &c.	**30·39**	**13·47**	**2·02**	**30·19**	**13·70**	**3·91**	**5·49**	**1·83**
XLIII. Grindstone Makers	0·01	—	0·51	0·01	—	0·98	—	—
XLIV. Earth Workers and Quarrymen	0·42	0·03	0·33	0·41	0·03	0·62	0·01	1·80
XLV. Knife Grinders	—	—	1·22	—	—	2·29	—	1·97
XLVI. Mat and Cane Workers	0·22	0·03	0·61	0·22	0·03	1·16	0·01	0·79
XLVII. Hunters and Fowlers	0·28	2·04	0·79	0·28	0·05	1·52	0·02	1·56
XLVIII. Miscellaneous Vagrants	0·12	0·03	1·19	0·13	0·03	2·15	0·01	1·31
XLIX. Jugglers and Acrobats	0·10	0·03	1·29	0·09	0·02	2·24	0·03	4·32
Class E. Vagrants	**1·15**	**0·16**	**0·67**	**1·14**	**0·16**	**1·26**	**0·08**	**1·87**
L. Musalmáns of Foreign Titles	12·52	9·46	3·48	12·54	9·56	6·58	6·19	2·91
LI. Thibetan and Nipáli Tribes	0·08	0·10	5·64	0·09	0·10	10·25	0·07	3·09
LII. Burmese Tribes and Chinese	2·79	12·53	20·68	2·72	12·46	39·53	0·58	0·20
LIII. Western Asiatic Races	0·04	0·42	45·50	0·04	0·26	54·89	2·98	33·08
LIV. Mixed Burmese Tribes	0·01	0·01	7·99	0·01	0·01	15·38	—	1·64
LV. Indefinite Indian Castes	1·08	1·40	5·94	1·11	1·37	10·69	1·24	3·95
LVI. Europeans	0·06	0·98	73·24	0·09	0·81	78·67	21·06	95·79
LVII. Eurasians	0·03	0·35	52·18	0·03	0·19	54·73	7·16	91·27
LVIII. Native Christians	0·72	2·05	13·07	0·72	1·67	20·05	7·38	16·28
LIX. Goanese, &c.	0·01	0·05	18·61	0·01	0·04	26·61	0·37	26·18
LX. Africans	0·01	0·01	3·18	0·01	0·01	5·30	0·01	4·98
Class F. Races and Miscellaneous.	**17·35**	**27·36**	**7·25**	**17·37**	**26·48**	**13·17**	**47·04**	**7·67**

Table J. deals with the literate, including those still under instruction, in three sets of ratios. First come the proportions respectively borne to the total population by each of the caste groups. In connection with this is the series showing the proportion of the literate in each group to the total literature, together with a second series, in which is given the ratio between the literate in the group to the total population coming under that group. The second set of proportions deals with the males only, and is added merely on account of the practically universal illiteracy of the other sex. It comprises the same subjects as the preceding set. The third and last set indicates, first, the distribution by groups of the literate persons of both sexes who know English, and, secondly, the ratio between the latter and the total literate of the group. This detail is so far interesting, since instruction above the primary limits is practically conducted in English in all the public schools and colleges. It will be treated, accordingly, along with literacy in general. The following is the way in which the table under discussion is intended to be used:—Group II., Other Agriculturists, contains 17·48 per cent. of the population, with 10·89 per cent. of the literates, the latter bearing a ratio of 2·81 per cent. on the population of the group. Amongst the literates are 5·83 per cent. of the total body of English-knowers, and these, in turn, form 2·39 per cent. of the literates in the group, so that in every 10,000 six know that language, or one in 1,667. With this explanation the figures may be left to speak for themselves, so far as the details are concerned, and it is worth while to bring to notice here only the more prominent features in this curious return. For instance, if both sexes be taken together, as in the first section of the table, it will be seen that in 11 groups only are the literate as high as 10 per cent. on the included population. The marginal extract reproduces the information regarding these 11. They comprise just under 14 per cent. of the population, just over half the literate population, and more than three-fourths of those who can read and write English. If the collection be re-grouped into more minute sections, it will be seen that the Bráhmans, Writers, Traders, Native Christians, Temple Servants and Herbalists, &c., who constitute the strictly native portion of the whole, contain 11 per cent. of the population, 38 of the literate, and 45 of the English-knowers. The Burmese and Parsis with the few Armenians and Jews come next, with 2·8 per cent. of the population, nearly 13 of the literate, and just above 3½ per cent. of those who know English. Finally, we have the European and Eurasian element, which accounts for just under one in a thousand of the population, 13 in the same number of the literate, and 282 of the English-knowing part of the community. Outside this circle is found about 23 per cent. of the latter population, or about the same proportion as is contributed by the Europeans and Parsis, &c., taken together. It will also be noticed that the Bráhmans, Writers, and Europeans monopolise more than half of this class of the literate, and the Traders, Eurasians, and Native Christians, a fifth more. As regards the introduction of the Herbalist and Astrologer, it should be explained that the former is apparently one of the best instructed classes in Eastern Bengal, to which part of the country he is, as a separate caste, confined. The Temple Servant group, again, owes its position to the Sátáni of Madras and Mysore, where this class is most prevalent.

Concentration of literacy in certain groups.

TABLE K.

Caste Group or Race.	Per-centage on total of		
	Population.	Literates.	English-knowing Literates.
1. Priests	4·90	16·81	20·29
2. Temple Servants	0·11	0·25	0·07
3. Writers	0·94	4·74	9·13
4. Herbalists, &c.	0·10	0·39	0·97
5. Traders	4·11	13·74	6·60
6. Burmese	2·79	12·53	0·38
7. Pársis, &c.	0·04	0·42	2·98
8. Europeans	0·06	0·98	21·06
9. Eurasians	0·03	0·35	7·16
10. Native Christians	0·72	2·05	7·38
11. Goanese Christians	0·01	0·05	0·37
Total	13·81	52·31	76·59

We may now turn from the general section of the table to that which treats of males only. Here we find that no less than 20 of the 60 groups returns 10 per cent.

and over of literates in its community. The additions to the former list are the Devotees, Genealogists, Goldsmiths, Brass-smiths, Betel Leaf Sellers, Distillers, Nipali and Thibetan tribes, and the mixed races of Burma, with the group that had to be set apart for indefinite entries, containing a good number of the writing castes serving at a distance from their native province, and thus entered under some misconstrued title. These additions enlarge the scope of the collection considerably. Instead of 14 per cent. of the population we get over 18 of the males, with 58½ per cent. of the literate of that sex and 79½ per cent. of those who know English. The groups in which female instruction is more prevalent take, of course, a lower place in this statement than the last. This remark applies to the Writers, Temple Servants, Herbalists &c., Parsis &c., Burmese, Europeans, Eurasians, Native Christians and Goanese, to all of the former selection, in fact, except to Traders and Bráhmans. In the case of the former, there is no doubt that some of the difference is attributable to the number of literate men who come from Rajputána, &c., to the centres of commerce in British territory without their families, but more to the general cause, namely, apathy, as in the case of the Bráhman. If, again, we take as the standard proportion the ratio of the literate for all India, which we have seen in the beginning of this chapter to be 8·66 for males alone, our roll is increased by one name only, that of the Tailors; but by including the fair sex, the Tailor falls out, and the Nách girl takes his place. It is interesting to compare a few castes selected as the least illiterate of each Province, as is done in the following table :—

TABLE L.

Caste Group, &c.	Per-centage on totals of		
	Males.	Literate Males.	English-knowing Literate Males.
1. Priests	4·96	16·98	20·29
2. Devotees	0·87	1·01	0·31
3. Temple Servants	0·11	0·23	0·07
4. Genealogists	0·16	0·20	0·01
5. Writers	0·92	4·66	9·13
6. Herbalists, &c.	0·10	0·34	0·97
7. Traders	4·15	14·09	6·60
8. Goldsmiths	0·57	1·24	0·26
9. Brass-smiths	0·11	0·21	0·08
10. Betel Leaf Sellers	0·09	0·14	0·12
11. Distillers, &c.	1·80	2·47	0·74
12. Thibetans	0·09	0·10	0·07
13. Burmese	2·72	12·46	0·58
14. Burmese, Mixed	0·01	0·01	—
15. Pársis, &c.	0·04	0·26	2·98
16. Indefinite Indians	1·11	1·37	1·24
17. Europeans	0·09	0·81	21·06
18. Eurasians	0·03	0·19	7·16
19. Native Christians	0·72	1·67	7·38
20. Goanese Christians	0·01	0·04	0·37
Total	18·66	58·48	79·45

TABLE M.

Caste, &c.	Group.	Literate per 1,000 of Sex.	
		Males.	Females.
Madras:			
Bráhman	VI.	722	37
Kannakkan	X.	658	21
Karnam	X.	587	13
Komti	XV.	605	9
Náyar	I.	490	125
Native Christians	LVIII.	218	76
Eurasians	LVII.	786	720
Bombay:			
Bráhman	VI.	645	33
Káyasth	X.	687	212
Prabhú	X.	791	164
Brahma Kshatria	X.	648	268
Bania Shrimáli	XV.	697	15
Bania, Unspecified	XV.	518	18
Berar:			
Bráhman	VI.	638	21
Káyasth	X.	557	160
Prabhu	X.	764	160
Vidhúr	X.	368	—
Bania	XV.	480	—
Kómti	XV.	349	—
Bengal:			
Bráhman	VI.	477	23
Káyasth	X.	555	41
Baidya	XI.	734	139
Karan	X.	604	16
Bania	XV.	280	4
Mysore:			
Bráhman	VI.	678	38
Bania	XV.	819	—
Kómti	XV.	664	12
Central Provinces:			
Bráhman	VI.	317	7
Káyasth	X.	475	16
Vidhúr	X.	342	4
Bania	XV.	388	—
Haidrabád:			
Bráhman	VI.	569	5
Káyasth	X.	438	—
Vidhur	XV.	151	—
Baroda:			
Bráhman	VI.	559	24
Prabhu	X.	790	87
Bania	X.	776	1
Panjáb:			
Bhábra	XV.	453	7
Aróra	XV.	381	6
Bania	XV.	429	3
Khatri	XV.	394	7
Súd	XV.	416	8
Bráhman	VI.	191	2
Kálál	XXXVIII.	164	5
Kayasth	X.	434	68
Saiad	L.	110	6
N.-W. Provinces:			
Bráhman*	VI.	180	5
Káyasth	X.	610	29
Bania	XV.	265	4
Bania Agarwál	XV.	468	6

* The Brahmans in the N.-W. Provinces are largely agriculturists.

The final computation made above brings us to the fact that in India, as a whole, the very moderate average of 46 literate persons in a thousand, is not attained by 81·35 per cent. of the population, but is the result of greater prevalence of instruction amongst the remaining 18·65. In the case of the males alone, the standard rises to 87 per 1,000, but it is not reached by more than 18·89 per cent. of the sex, leaving 81·11 below it.

English-knowing literates.

The return of those who know English shows a ratio of 4·4 per cent. on the tota literate. We must subtract, however, the Europeans and Eurasians from the account, which then amounts to 3·2 only, or 1·4 in every thousand of the community. From the detailed table it will be seen that, excluding the Europeans, Eurasians, Nipáli, Africans, and Pársis, the latter proportion to the literates of the group is achieved only in the case of the Bráhmans, Writers and Herbalists, with the group of the indefinite castes. There are, it is true, four or five other groups that show a per-centage in slight excess of this, but they are all chiefly recruited from Bengal, where this part of the enumeration seems to have been unsatisfactory, since nowhere else do we find the Scavenger, Potter and Acrobat in such exalted company. The entire number returned as knowing English, including Europeans and Eurasians, was 537,811, or 386,032, if the foreign element be excluded. This, too, includes a certain proportion of those who are not yet emancipated from their studies, as has been already remarked in the beginning of the chapter. Some of the Superintendents, on the other hand, seem to think that the return includes, from excess of caution, only those who habitually use English in their daily life, and not the numerous class that learn a certain amount of that language at school, but carry the use of it no further than the last examination before their escape from that stage, and cease to be able to read and write it after the lapse of a few years. The census return seems to compare but poorly with the Departmental record in this respect, for the latter gives an average number of pupils studying English of 290,741 per annum during the last decade, beginning with 187,420, and ending with 353,515. The average period of study is not accurately known, but one would have expected to find at least 700,000 or 800,000 of the above number amongst the English-knowing literates. But apparently the study of English ends in a very rudimentary stage, for with an average annual attendance of nearly 337,000, studying in that language for the last five years, only 15,200 presented themselves for the matriculation examination at the Universities, or 76,000 during the whole period. As English is the language of instruction at the colleges affiliated to the latter institutions, it is presumably an important subject at the matriculation test, if not the most important. But we find from the same returns from which the above quotations are made, that the ratio of the successful for the five years in question was 47·74 in Calcutta, 26·87 in Madras, and 25·41 in Bombay. The other Universities need not be counted, as they are, comparatively speaking, in their infancy. But at any rate the out-turn of 25,680 in five years of youths up to matriculation standard, even with the possible successes under the sixth standard elsewhere, are scarcely results that need make the census returns blush in comparison.

Quality of literacy.

It is interesting, though not arising out of the census returns, to carry this subject a little further, and now that we have seen the concentration of literacy in considerably under a fifth of the population, including foreigners, to give a passing glance at the quality of that acquirement. For this we must resort to the Departmental tables, of which a proportional abstract is given in the margin. To start at the bottom, are 922 pupils in every thousand, in the primary stage, of whom 825 are classed as "elementary" and the rest as "upper." The proportion in the lower section that has not yet got into printed books is not complete, owing to the introduction of the private schools, where the information is not tabulated, but in those under the State it seems that in the total lower primary section 30 per cent. of the boys and $36\frac{1}{4}$ of the girls are in that stage. The ratio varies from 3·6 in the Panjáb, where the Kurán schools and the like are not in the returns, to 87 per cent. in Upper Burma. Amongst the girls, omitting the Panjáb, Assam comes lowest, with 15, and Berar highest, with 85 per cent. It is remarkable that

TABLE N.

—	Per 1,000 Pupils.
University	4
Normal Institutions	1
Technical Institutions	4
High Schools	15
Middle Schools	54
Upper Primary Schools	97
Lower Primary — Reading Books	492
Lower Primary — Not Reading Books	220
Lower Primary — Not stated	113
Total Pupils	1,000

in the last province and its neighbour to the east, the pupils of each sex not yet up to reading books outnumber those in the advanced stages of instruction. The same table shows the proportion of the lower primary scholars to the total by provinces. It is unnecessary to reproduce it here, but it may be mentioned that in the case of boys, the average is 82 per cent., and Assam heads the list, if we omit Upper Burma, with 90·4, and Bombay comes lowest, with 65½. The figures for girls, averaging 91¼ per cent., rise to 99 in Assam, and fall to 83 in Berar. Out of the thousand, we have left, after the primary scholars, 78 pupils in higher stages. There are 69 in the Middle and High Schools, and four in Technical Institutions, most of which are not specified in the return by the object of their course of training. Normal schoools and colleges account for one in the thousand, leaving four for the University.

Universities.

It is worth while to follow the progress of the candidates for matriculation a little further than was done above. It was there shown that an average of 15,200 per annum had presented themselves during the last five years, and that just under 34 per cent. had passed. The accompanying Table N. shows that out of every hundred that were examined in Calcutta 52 failed; in Madras, 73, and in Bombay, 74. In the next section of the table we pursue the successful only, and find that out of every hundred of them, 36 in Calcutta, 2 in Bombay, and 48 in Madras did not attempt to graduate. Of the remaining 64 that came up for a degree in Calcutta, 29 got one. In Bombay, out of 98, 46 were successful, and in Madras, the 52 that tried came out with 26. In the case of Bombay, there is evidently some change of date or system to account for the relative scarcity of those who were content with matriculating, and there may be, in like manner, some special cause for the astonishing proportion of this class in Madras. But so far as the figures go, it seems that out of the four pupils per mille that go up for matriculation, those that get a degree are 1 in 10. The lower test, known as the First Arts, is more popular, and even failure at it is often considered as a certain qualification for salaried employment but the main points brought out by the figures published in these returns seem to be, first, the insignificant number of pupils that carry instruction beyond the rudiments; secondly, the remarkably unprepared state in which the minute remainder appear for matriculation; and lastly, the relatively infinitesimal number that obtain a University degree either in Arts, which is the faculty most favoured, or in more special subjects,

TABLE O.—Results of University Examinations for the five years 1886–87—1890–91.

	Universities.		
	Calcutta.	Madras.	Bombay.
A.—Examined for Matriculation*	100·00	100·00	100·00
Failed	52·26	73·13	74·59
Passed	47·74	26·87	25·41
Examined for Degree in Arts	20·59	10·37	12·87
" " Law	7·06	1·80	2·44
" " Medicine	2·30	1·52	6·66
" " Civil Engineering	0·55	0·16	2·97
Total examined for Degrees	30·50	13·85	24·94
Passed	13·97	6·80	11·78
Failed	16·53	7·05	13·16
Total not appearing for Degrees	17·24	13·02	0·47
B.—Passed the Matriculation	100·00	100·00	100·00
Examined for Degree in Arts	43·13	38·61	50·66
" " Law	14·79	6·68	9·62
" " Medicine	4·83	5·64	26·21
" " Civil Engineering	1·15	0·61	11·67
Total examined for Degree	63·90	51·54	98·16
Passed	29·25	25·32	46·35
Failed	34·65	26·22	51·81
Total not appearing for Degrees	36·10	48·46	1·84
C.—Per-centage of those examined who passed for Degree in Arts.	38·60	55·32	47·09
Per-centage of those examined who passed for Degree in Law.	63·93	28·96	33·79
Per-centage of those examined who passed for Degree in Medicine.	53·78	32·44	48·27
Per-centage of those examined who passed for Degree in Civil Engineering.	47·86	32·14	53·88
Per-centage of those examined for any Degree who passed.	45·77	49·34	47·22

* The actual figures are, Calcutta, 21,238; Madras, 34,393, and Bombay, 14,774.

a number which amounted, in a year of census, to one person in about 213,000 of th population to whom the career was open.

Literature.

In the chapter on occupation it was shown how small a fraction lived by literature and though the annual returns show an imposing array of publications, the review o the literary activity of the year by the Officia Reporter is rather discouraging reading According to this authority, a few works o Sanskrit texts, with an occasional drama on historical occurrence or a subject of the da are all that are likely to survive the year o their birth. A good deal of this infan mortality, so to speak, seems to be attributabl to the very high proportion of the publication which deal with the text books prescribed fo University or School examinations, or othe ephemeral works designed for the same market The most striking characteristic of the out turn seems to be the absence of originality in scientific or imaginative work. The list does not want variety, as will be seen from the marginal statement of subjects, with, of course, the qualification that rather over a third are translations or republications. The language in which the works are issued also is a matter not devoid of interest, and it appears that in English 660 were published, with 955 in polyglot, 2,157 in a vernacular tongue, and 424 in the three Oriental classical languages. But a more favourate outlet for budding talent is found in journalism, of which we find 490 exponents in the list. The largest circulation is stated to be 20,000 in the case of one paper in Bengal; about 6,000 is the maximum in Bombay, and 5,000 in Madras. Elsewhere it seems to rarely reach a thousand. This does not represent, of course, nearly the number of readers, for the economical practice of private circulation, or of perusual at cheap libraries, is far more extended in India than in many other countries. But lithography and disregard for typographical appearance enables an enterprising publicist to start a local broadsheet at a very small cost, and what with the restrictions of career imposed upon themselves by a solely literary caste or two, no country, probably, has more representatives than India of the hero of the Romaic ballad :—

Province.	Books published in 1890–91.
Madras	1,022
Bombay	2,044
Bengal	1,225
N.-W. Provinces	1,107
Burma	149
Assam	22
Berar	13
Central Provinces	13
Total	5,595

Subject.	No. of Publication.
Art	80
Biography	58
Drama	185
Fiction	262
History and Geography	128
Languages	682
Law	71
Mathematics	158
Medicine	127
Philosophy	149
Poetry	672
Politics	13
Religion	770
Science	119
Travels	5
Unclassed	2,116
Total	5,595

Θερμὸς ἔιμαι πατριώτης, καὶ κουκκουλια 'γω δ'εν βάφω,
Ἢ ὑπουργημα με δίδεις ἢ ἐφημερίδα γράφω.

This digression from the results of the census has been unduly lengthened, but when so much is heard as at present of the literate classes of India, it is just as well to define the limitations of that term. It may thus be judged how far the φῶς ἀφεγγὲς of the handful of people to whom, under the most liberal interpretation, the term can be said to apply, is to be held capable of illuminating the thoughts and conditions of the vast mass from whom the very education, apart from the traditions, of that close corporation, inclines them to stand aloof.

CHAPTER VII.

Infirmities.

"But what we're born for, we must bear;
Our frail condition it is such,
That what to all may happen here
If't chance to me, I must not grutch."—*Ben Jonson.*

The question of how far a return of infirmity should be included within the scope of the census rests mainly on two considerations; first, the social aspect of the inquiry, namely, whether the infirmities selected for the purpose are such as it is possible or advisable for the State effort or private charity to remedy on some general system, and this must be qualified by the condition that these infirmities are not of a sort that their return is likely to be refused or resented by the persons concerned; and, secondly, whether, from a medical standpoint, they are susceptible of being correctly recognised by the layman. In India, it has been the custom at each of the last three provincial enumerations, to restrict the inquiry to four subjects, which may be assumed to fulfil rather better than others the above conditions. In the first place, there are the persons of unsound mind, a term which is held to include both the imbecile and the lunatic. Secondly, the deaf-mute, but only those who have been so afflicted from their birth, a qualification which experience shows to be rather too abstruse for the masses. Thirdly, come the totally blind, and, lastly, the lepers. Before entering further into the subject, it is as well to reproduce the rules for enumeration of the above infirmities:—

1881.	1891.
Column heading:—Infirmities. 1. Unsound mind. 2. Deaf-mutes from birth. 3. Blind. 4. Lepers.	*Column heading:*—Note. If any be blind, insane, deaf-mute, or a leper, enter the infirmity below.
Instructions:—Enter as lepers only those afflicted with the true, or eating, leprosy (juzam). Enter as deaf-mutes only those who have been both deaf and dumb from birth. Enter as blind only those who are blind of both eyes.	*Instructions:*—If any person be blind of both eyes, or deaf and dumb from birth, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, enter the name of the infirmity in this column. Do not enter those blind of one eye only, or who have become deaf and dumb after birth, or who are suffering from white leprosy only.

One of the first points to notice with regard to the above rules is that in most of the vernacular languages of India there are distinct words for "white leprosy" and the true or corrosive disease, and also, as in French, for the "one-eyed," as distinguished from the totally blind. But it is curious to find that in Western India the term for Leukoderma is what is used in the north for true leprosy, when the Arabic name for the latter, which is quoted in the instructions for 1881, is not employed. Again, the the word for one-eyed in the whole of Upper India is said by the Superintendent of the Assam census to be applied in the Brahmapútra valley to the totally blind. The main object was to frame the instructions so as to exclude these two classes, who appear to have been mixed up with the rest in previous enumerations. As regards the deaf-mutes, there seems to be little doubt that in some tracts those who grew deaf in after years have been included along with the congenitally afflicted. It was desired again, to prevent the excess of zeal that characterised the work of certain enumerators in 1881, who made the entry of "got" or "not got" against each person, without specifying the infirmity in view, and of others, who entered into conscientious detail, such as "cannot see very well," or "is rather hard of hearing, from age," which occurred on former occasions. The results show that, on the whole, the instructions worked well. This fact is manifested chiefly in the decrease in the numbers of the infirm in tracts where there has been no special cause for so great a difference. On the other hand, in Assam, where in 1881 the return seems to have been very deficient, the increase was such as to induce the Superintendent to have a special investigation made, the results of which, it is gratifying to see, confirmed the accuracy of the

present figures. In Bombay, too, the difference between the two years was enough to justify inquiry, with the same result.

But, even though we admit the accuracy of the statistics, it is to be feared that the enumeration is prone in too many cases to fail in the matter of diagnosis. For example, in a country where so much disease is put down to fever, there must be numbers of patients who are for a time, at least, "off their head," without being permanently deranged, and some of them are no doubt returned at the census from ignorance on the part of their relatives of the temporary character of the malady. In Europe, there is either medical authority for the case, or the latter is not returned by the householder at all, and it is not Polonius alone, who is puzzled to give a definition of insanity. In the case of leprosy the difficulty of diagnosis is still greater, and, apart from the confusion between the true disease and leukoderma, it is not improbable that a good deal of syphilitic sore is set down by the untrained observer to the former. It seems by no means certain that the confusion of leukoderma is not due to the wording of the instructions in former years, or to the misuse of the vernacular words for it by European professionals, for, whilst in the mouth of the rustic the two maladies are entirely distinct, to the occidental mind there is always a connection between leprosy and whiteness, a casting back to Gehazi or other Biblical characters, and the patches of white seen on the dark skin of a native of India in cases of leukoderma are certainly very striking. It is probable that a good deal of the decrease in the number of lepers returned in 1891 from tracts in which they were formerly remarkably high, is nominal, and due to greater accuracy of diagnosis, and this being so, it is impossible to say for certain whether this disease is, on the whole, stationary or not. In the provincial reports, instances are given by the Superintendents of undoubted decrease, but the assumption that this is the case with the country at large is hardly justifiable at present. The question is one that will be referred to in a later portion of this chapter.

The following statement shows in a proportional form the prevalence of the four infirmities in question, and, for the sake of comparison, the corresponding figures for some western countries are added. As regards the latter, the most striking points

TABLE A.—PROPORTIONAL SUMMARY, showing Prevalence of Infirmities per 10,000 of each Sex.

Country.	Insane.		Deaf Mutes.		Blind.		Lepers.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
India, 1881	4	3	10	7	22	24	8·5	3
India, 1891	3	2	9	6	16	17	6·8	2
England and Wales	31	33	6	5	9	8	—	—
Scotland	38	39	3	2	9	8	—	—
Ireland	38	34	8	7	11	12	—	—
Italy	—	—	6	5	8	7	—	—
Austria	22	19	15	11	10	8	—	—
Hungary	22	18	14	12	13	13	—	—
Portugal	23	17	3	2	21	19	—	—
Ceylon	13	9	2	1	24	18	—	—
Victoria	37	31	4	3	11	6	—	—
New Zealand	33	22	2	2	4	3	—	—
United States	35	32	7	6	10	9	—	—

of difference are, first, the relative freedom of India from insanity, and then the relative frequency in that country of blindness. The former affliction is very markedly prominent in the more advanced of the western countries and in the British colonies in the south. Ceylon, for some reason or other not apparent, stands, in this respect, between east and west. The return for Italy seems to include a smaller class than the rest, so it has been omitted. It is also noticeable that the higher proportion of congenital deaf-mutism amongst males, that has been commented on in the English census, is maintained in India, but in the case of blindness, in Ireland alone, of the western countries mentioned, does the ratio amongst females exceed that in the other sex, as is found to be so often the case in the East. The proportion of deaf-mutes in Austria-Hungary appears from this return, which deals with the figures of 1880, to be higher than that which prevails in India, and in striking contrast to the low ratio in the rest of the European countries selected. Leprosy is returned in India alone, and here we find the proportions in the two sexes to differ more widely than in the case of any other of the infirmities under review, a point that will receive notice further down. The greater prevalence of insanity in western countries is easily accounted for by the difference of life there from what it is in India. We have seen that in the latter the brain-energy of the masses is not overtaxed by literary pursuits, and the struggle for life is not the competition between man and man so much as between man and the soil and sky. In the one case we have almost infinite variety, entailing continual adaptability and change of thought; in the other, monotonous devotion to a certain and lifelong task, based on previous experience. The man of the west runs more and more towards the busy novelty of the town, whilst his Oriental compeer placidly and contentedly chews the cud of village custom. Then, again, though we find that a certain proportion of the insanity of India is attributed by experts to the abuse of hemp drugs or opium smoke, alcoholisation has as yet made no way, except, perhaps, amongst some of the Central Hill tribes and a few of the literate class and the lower strata, who look upon this indulgence as a symbol of their emancipation from former prejudice. This fertile cause of insanity is thus absent. So far as to the men, and much the same arguments will apply to the other sex. It can be seen from the return under discussion how much nearer are the ratios of the two sexes in the West than in the East. The busy household life of the middle class woman in a country where the employment of domestic servants is restricted to the highest families, the seclusion of the upper class within the four walls of the Zanana, away from all chance of active participation in the affairs of the outer world, and the continuous outdoor labour of the lower orders, contain little stimulus towards the over-taxation of the brain, nor does a school life that generally ends at 12 years old, if not earlier, foster any tendencies in the same direction. On the other hand, the prevalence of blindness in India to so much greater an extent than in more temperate latitudes, and amongst women more than amongst men, is a matter that seems to be due to more complicated causes. It has been said that, speaking generally, there is a tendency for this infirmity to increase in intensity as the equator is approached, though the case of Norway is cited in contradiction of the hypothesis, and prevalence of snow in wide expanse may have some influence on the sight in the extreme north; but the returns for India certainly seem to bear out the notion that heat, accompanied by a dry atmosphere, is, other things being equal, inimical to sight. There are facts to be found in the tables that militate against this view, but they refer to restricted areas, where some special local influence may be operative. Taking the country as a whole, however, the hot and dry plain and plateau seem more favourable to the development of ophthalmic defect than the moister, though perhaps warmer, air of the coast and the purer atmosphere of the hill tracts. There seems to be nothing peculiar in connection with the prevalence of deaf-mutism in India. As in many other countries, there seems to be a tendency for this defect to haunt the valleys of certain streams. For instance, the Chenáb, the Gandak, and the Makhua, all three Himalayan rivers, bear a specially evil repute for producing both deaf-mutism and cretinism, with the frequent accompaniment of goitre. In Burma the hill country shows a greater prevalence than the plains, and in Assam the same feature is prominent, and it is by no means improbable that the practice of consanguineous connection that is common amongst the tribes of those tracts has something to do with the spread of the infirmity, for beyond the Gangetic basin, in the Central Belt, the corresponding tribes show no difference from the population of the plain below. Leprosy is a disease with which the East is in the present day credited to an extent beyond, perhaps, its deserts. Its prevalence will be examined in a later portion of this chapter.

We come now to the detailed figures regarding the four selected infirmities which will be found tabulated for each province and State, by sex and age, in Tables XII. to XV. of Volume I. of the Imperial series. The scrutiny of these data is a matter that must be left in great measure to professional experts, and it is not for laymen to draw conclusions from them. It is proposed, therefore, to exhibit the figures here in their proportional form, with a few words of comment or explanation on points immediately connected with the enumeration and kindred operations. The tables that follow are for the provinces only. In the first, marked B., is given the proportion amongst 10,000 of the afflicted found at each age-period, preceded by the corresponding figures for the population, as a whole, similarly distributed.

TABLE B.—Showing the Distribution by Age of 10,000 under each Infirmity.

Age-period.	Males.					Females.				
	Total.	Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.	Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
0-4	1,416	166	457	427	44	1,524	170	528	281	81
5-9	1,433	552	1,445	639	84	1,393	532	1,450	409	180
10-14	1,145	789	1,317	647	236	948	789	1,154	417	399
15-19	836	924	1,070	594	400	817	937	1,024	417	602
20-24	796	1,045	965	609	572	890	988	952	453	735
25-29	866	1,233	897	633	873	900	1,000	859	518	924
30-34	827	1,272	823	662	1,205	833	1,108	801	621	1,186
35-39	613	975	602	563	1,212	556	885	544	541	990
40-44	626	995	620	693	1,516	616	980	622	738	1,292
45-49	369	573	374	565	996	328	608	367	598	788
50-54	404	561	452	735	1,174	421	727	484	868	1,010
55-59	183	287	242	626	495	174	328	252	711	465
60 and over	469	600	729	2,601	1,185	583	911	955	3,422	1,335
Age not stated	17	28	7	6	8	17	37	8	6	13

The mean age of the living, as gathered from the general age-tables, is, roughly speaking, 24 years, and if we divide the population shown under each infirmity at that age, we find the distribution to be as given in the margin. Nearly two-thirds of the insane in both sexes are over the age in question, the deaf mutes are nearly halved. In the case of the blind, there is more divergence between the two sexes, and the males begin to suffer from this affliction at an age considerably earlier than the other sex, whilst as regards leprosy, the reverse is the case, and 20 per cent. of the female lepers are under 25 years of age, as compared with no more than 13 per cent. of the males thus affected. In respect to the more detailed age-periods, it must be borne in mind that the tendency to select multiples of five in returning age, a feature by no means unknown in Europe, is very marked in an Indian census, so that, as the more favoured multiples are the even ones, it is advisable to consider the tables in the decennial periods of 25–34, 35–44, and so on. Taken in this way, the figures show a gradual rise in the case of males of unsound mind, from the first five years of life to the period ending at the 35th year, from which point insanity declines with remarkable rapidity. On

	Males.		Females.	
	0–24.	25 and over.	0–24.	25 and over.
Insanity	348	652	342	658
Deaf-mutism	525	475	511	489
Blindness	292	708	198	802
Leprosy	134	866	200	800
Total Population	**563**	**437**	**557**	**443**

Insanity.

the other side, young girls suffering from this defect are a trifle more numerous, relatively to the total number of the insane of their sex, but between 25 and 34 the proportion is less than that which rules at those ages amongst males, whilst after 45 it rises considerably above it.

Deaf-mutism.

The deaf mutes exhibit a distribution more in accordance than the rest with that of the population as a whole, but the extremities of the return, especially in the case of the females, indicate the inclusion of the deaf at advanced ages. The first period, if the congenitally afflicted alone had been returned, would have contained the largest number, and there would have been a gradual tailing off, as death, in the ordinary course of events, carried off its victims. It is not so, however, in the table, but the maximum is found in the next period, that between 5 years and 10, and both sexes take a sudden rise after 55 years of age. There are obvious objections on the part of parents to admitting that a young child is deprived of both hearing and speech, especially before completion of the age within which betrothal is possible, and this may account for a good deal of the inconsistency just mentioned.

Blindness.

Blindness, in the case of females, is most decidedly the affliction of old age. The table shows that over 40 per cent. of those returning it are past 55, and the increase is continuous, though not regular, through life. In the case of males, there is more irregularity, owing, however, to some extent, to the predilection for returning 25 years, when the actual age is probably anything between 20 and 30. The proportion over 55 is only about a third, and the greater number found amongst the young, as compared with the other sex, is very remarkable. It has been remarked in several of the provincial reports that there was a frequent inclination to return as totally blind persons of advanced age whose sight was dimmed by glaukoma. On the other hand, a few cases were mentioned in which the enumerator, owing to misreading his instructions, tacked on the qualification of "from birth" to this infirmity, as well as to that to which it properly belonged.

Leprosy.

Leprosy, in point of distribution between the two main periods of life, corresponds, in the case of females, almost exactly with blindness, but in detail it is very different. There are more than thrice the number of blind girls of tender age than of lepers, the latter are still in a considerable minority between 5 and 15, but the marriageable age being past, they then begin to outnumber the others, relatively, of course, to the respective totals afflicted. The lepers, however, are not recruited, as are the blind, in old age, and their life seems a comparatively short one. Male lepers of less than five years old are still less prevalent than those of the other sex, and it is not till between 25 and 34 that they relatively outnumber the blind. Like the other sex, they maintain their comparative superiority until 55 years of age, when they fall to about the half. Even here, however, they seem to considerably outlast the insane and the deaf mutes.

We may now review the age-return of the afflicted population from another standpoint, namely, in its relation, not to the total of the persons suffering under the respective infirmities, but to that of the entire population of the same sex and age. This ratio is given in Table C., below.

Table C.—Showing the number afflicted in 100,000 of each Age.

Age-period.	Males.					Females.				
	Total Afflicted.	Insane.	Deaf Mute.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total Afflicted.	Insane.	Deaf Mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
0–4	86	4	31	49	2	55	2	21	31	1
5–9	186	13	96	73	4	125	9	64	49	3
10–14	240	23	109	93	15	178	19	75	74	10
15–19	310	37	121	116	36	208	26	78	86	18
20–24	337	44	115	125	53	196	25	66	85	20
25–29	341	48	98	120	75	206	25	59	97	25
30–34	385	52	94	131	108	250	30	60	125	35
35–39	444	54	93	150	147	303	36	60	163	44
40–44	509	54	94	181	180	351	36	62	201	52
45–49	600	53	96	250	201	475	41	69	306	59
50–54	666	47	106	297	216	515	39	71	346	59
55–59	939	53	125	560	201	879	42	89	682	66
60 and over	1,285	43	147	907	188	1,179	35	101	986	57
All ages	367	34	95	164	74	277	22	62	168	25

From this statement it appears that, taking all four infirmities together, the average on the whole population begins to be exceeded after the 30th year amongst males, and five years later amongst the other sex, and the general liability to one or other of the four continues to rise from the earliest period. Insanity, in the case of males, reaches its highest intensity in the decade ending with the 45th year, where it amounts to 5 per 10,000. If the accidental variations at quinquennial periods be excluded, this infirmity may be said to remain at this level till old age. Women show the highest ratio between 45 and 54, or 10 years later than the other sex. Deaf mutes of both sexes show that, if correctly returned, they last a considerable time, but the high ratio at the end of life is probably fictitiously swollen by the inclusion of those who are only deaf. In other respects, it is curious to see how the general average is maintained amongst both sexes at all periods except between 10 and 25, and at the extremities of life. Blindness begins to be markedly on the increase after 40 or a few years earlier, but takes its great leap after 55 amongst both sexes. Amongst the very young, though less prevalent than at any other age, it seems from the return to be more than 12 times as prevalent as insanity in the males, and 15 times amongst females. Leprosy, again, seems to pass by the young and to begin its attacks about 25 years of age. Its maximum prevalence is at 50 years, after which those afflicted by it seem to die off. In the case of females, the maximum shown in the table is at 55, but this is a period which is safely taken as conjectural, and is distributable between 50 and 60, without much change of discrimination.

The next series of figures that it is advisable to bring to notice here is that which shows the proportion of females to 1,000 males at each age, in the four returns of infirmity respectively. The general proportion found to prevail amongst the population at large is added in Table D., for the sake of comparison, in anticipation of special notice in a future chapter. The main point is so prominent in the figures as they stand that comment is almost superfluous. In no case but that of the blind does the ratio come anywhere near that found in the general return, and as regards the blind, too, the female element preponderates only after the 40th year. Amongst the insane, at the prime of life, the women are but little above half the men in number, and this is in accordance with a tendency found to prevail not only in India, for the "age of the passions" is more strongly demarcated in the sex which has given itself greater license to indulge them. It will be noted, too, that after the first period, which comprises, probably, the congenitally idiotic, the ages at which insanity in the females approaches nearest the proportion of this infirmity in the other sex, are those of early child-birth, and of the change of life. After the latter period insanity tends to greater sexual equality. Amongst the deaf-mute, as has been already noticed, the small proportion of females is only what is found to be the characteristic of this infirmity in most countries where it prevails, and, indeed, of all congenital defect. It is at its minimum at the age when there is the greatest inducement to conceal it, which is also, it will be noted, that in which the proportion of girls generally is the smallest. From 40 years onwards the ratio begins to rise. The proportion of blind girls to boys similarly afflicted is curiously in consonance with that of the insane for the first three periods shown in the table. It rises, however, continuously from the fifth year, without intermission at the dangerous periods of life, and, as just observed, from 40 years onwards, the blind women are in excess of the blind men. The case of the lepers is very remarkable, so far as the sex proportions are concerned. In the first place, there are three times the number of males that there are of the other sex. Then, again, up to 30 years old this average ratio is exceeded, a fact which is not met with again until the end of life. In the first three periods slightly more than half the number of

TABLE D.—Proportion of Females to 1,000 Males at each Age.

Age-period.	Total Population.	Insane.	Deaf Mute.	Blind.	Lepers.
0–4	1,039	651	728	651	582
5–9	939	614	633	633	685
10–14	799	637	553	638	542
15–19	943	646	603	695	483
20–24	1,079	601	621	737	412
25–29	1,004	516	604	809	339
30–34	972	555	614	928	315
35–39	875	578	569	952	262
40–44	950	628	632	1,054	273
45–49	859	675	618	1,048	254
50–54	1,005	824	674	1,179	276
55–59	922	729	657	1,125	301
60 and over	1,199	967	826	1,125	361
Age not stated	909	850	709	1,231	507
All ages	965	637	630	990	321

lepers are females, but the ratio goes on decreasing till the 40th year, after which it oscillates irregularly, in harmony with the general inaccuracy of the age returns.

Territorial distribution of infirmity.

In treating of the territorial variation in the prevalence of the four infirmities in question, it is necessary to take into consideration the probable effect of relative inaccuracy in the enumeration. To a certain extent this can be appreciated from the comparison of the two last returns, that of 1891 and that of the preceding census. The following statement will give some notion of the differences between the two, as

TABLE E.—Showing the relative Order of the Provinces as regards prevalence amongst Males of Infirmities in 1881 and 1891.

Province, &c.	Insane.		Deaf Mutes.		Blind.		Lepers.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
1. Ajmér	3	11	7	14	3	5	*15*	*15*
2. Assam	9	3	12	4	15	9	4	2
3. Bengal and States	*5*	*5*	1	2	*11*	*11*	2	3
4. Berar	10	14	5	15	4	2	*1*	*1*
5. Bombay and States	7	7	10	9	*8*	*8*	6	5
6. Sindh, &c.	*1*	*1*	3	1	2	4	*14*	*14*
7. Lower Burma	*2*	*2*	11	13	10	14	3	4
8. Central Provinces	*12*	*12*	9	10	7	7	5	6
9. Coorg	13	8	4	7	13	15	12	13
10. Madras and States	8	10	14	6	9	13	7	8
11. N.-W. Provinces and States	*15*	*15*	8	5	5	3	8	7
12. Panjáb	4	6	2	3	*1*	*1*	9	11
13. Haidrabad	11	13	15	11	*12*	*12*	10	9
14. Baroda	6	4	6	12	*6*	*6*	11	10
15. Mysore	14	9	13	8	14	10	13	12

it shows the serial order of each province or State with reference to the respective prevalence therein of the four infirmities in the two years. It is not justifiable, of course, to set down the whole of the very large variation that appears to have taken place in some of the items to inaccuracy of enumeration or tabulation alone, as it is no doubt true than in certain parts of the country other causes have been operative, which account for a good deal of the discrepancy. In Madras, for instance, the recuperation of the population since the famine has added so largely to the supply of young children that, except in the case of congenital disease in the affected tracts, the preponderance of that class must have had some influence in bringing down the ratio of the infirm, and it is noticeable that as regards the only congenital disease with which the census has to deal, the variation in the results is least, on the whole, in the tracts where the infirmity was most prevalent in 1881. With the above qualification, the results given in the statement can be best judged by assigning to each item a "figure of merit" according to the stability of its place in the four columns. By this standard, Bengal, Bombay, and the Central Provinces are in a class by themselves, since in two cases they occupy the same relative position in the list at both enumerations, and in the two others they rise or fall by one place only. Below them we find Sindh, which is on a par with them in respect to two infirmities, but changes in the others to the extent of two places each. There follow seven items in which there was identity of position in one case only. Of these the Panjáb comes first, as it has varied but by two places in a couple of columns, and by one in the last. The North-West Provinces come next by one point. Burma and Haidrabad follow at the same interval again. Baroda is worse by two more, as in one case it varies six places, and Coorg, where, as might be expected from the migratory character of a large portion of its inhabitants, there is no instance of identical position on the list, is but two beyond Baroda. There is then a considerable break in the graduation. Mysore and Madras show a variation of 15 places, as compared with the 11 of Coorg, Berar has 16, Ajmer 17, and Assam, of which mention in connection with this point was made above, has no less than 22 points of variance. On the whole, however, it may be said that the results show that, other things being equal, the enumeration was good in all the main provinces; that the variation is probably real in Madras and Mysore, where the conditions are very different in 1891 from what they were 10 years previously,

and that in Assam the preceding enumeration was admittedly deficient in accuracy. As regards Ajmér and Berar, it is uncertain which of the two returns is to be trusted. In the former case Mr. Egerton writes, "In 1881 the results showed an unaccountable "increase on the figures of 1876, and the present record shows as remarkable a "decrease on those of 1881. Possibly both enumerations were inaccurate in opposite "extremes. . . . Compared with the figures of 1881 for other provinces, the "proportion of afflicted returned is below the average in about the same degree as "it was above it at the former census." Ajmér is undoubtedly subject to more chance of actual variation than most other parts of the country, as it lies embedded in foreign territory, is a place of passage between two or three large tracts on each side, and lies conveniently for expeditions to several centres of Brahmanic pilgrimage, which are always the favoured resort of the infirm of all religions, who lie in wait by the sacred pool without thought as to the troubling of the waters. It is worthy of note, too, that both here and in Berar instances are mentioned of the application by the enumerating agency of the qualification of congenitality to blindness and insanity, as well as to deaf-mutism. This misunderstanding tends, obviously, to the reduction of the number returned. In Berar, on the other side of the account, it has been found that in 1881 persons were returned as deaf and dumb who had become so in later life, so that the enumeration having been more careful on the occasion under review, the diminution is in the direction of greater accuracy. This part of the subject may be concluded with the remark that the statement we have been considering shows that whilst in the case of all the other infirmities, a number of the items, varying from three, as regards the return of lepers, to six, in that of the blind, occupy the same position in the list that they did 10 years ago, the column for the deaf-mute return does not contain a single instance of identity in the respect, thus proving the difficulty of obtaining a consistent application of the definition of that infirmity.

In considering Table F., opposite, in which is shown the prevalence of the four infirmities to the uniform base of 100,000 of the population, it is, perhaps, more interesting to take the infirmity rather than the territorial item, as the text for comment. In place, therefore, of considering the diffusion of the four infirmities over any particular political unit, information on which point is available in the provincial volumes, the local prevalence of each infirmity will form the subject of the next few paragraphs.

Insanity. To begin with insanity, it appears that at both enumerations Sindh and Lower Burma came first and second respectively in the order of prevalence. In the case of the former, the cause of its bad pre-eminence is not ascertainable from the returns, as they do not distinguish idiotcy from lunacy, so that we cannot say if the climate or water of the river, or the drought, or the indulgence in hemp smoking, or all or any of these are responsible for the results. In Burma, it is said, the people are excitable and self-indulgent; and the returns show that the Môn, a more phlegmatic, or, perhaps, abstemious race, is comparatively free from taint. The population, too, as a whole, is better educated. There seem other considerations, moreover, to which weight must be attached. For instance, in Upper Burma the ratio is higher than in Lower, and as there is not yet an asylum in the former, there was possibly less concealment of domestic cases from fear lest the sufferer should be removed to a place of refuge by the State officials. Then, again, the high ratio amongst the Forest tribes in the Lower Province indicates the probability of much of the return being taken up by the cretinism that seems to follow mountain streams. There is one more fact connected with the Burma return that calls for remark, namely, that the woman adult is apparently more prone to mental derangement than the male. If this were due to ordinary physical change, we should find it more prevalent, but it is peculiar to the upper portion of this particular province, and is unexplained. Third on the list comes Assam, where, no doubt, the greater part of the malady returned is cretinism of the description just mentioned, which follows the main river. In 1881, Ajmer enjoyed this rank, but, as remarked above, its decadence is unexplained. We find the Panjáb and Baroda have changed places, and the former is now sixth instead of fourth, and *vice versâ*. The Baroda report is not yet to hand, and so comment on the figures is inadvisable, in the absence of the local experience of the Superintendent. The chapter on infirmities written by Mr. MacLagan in his Panjab report is well worth perusal, as he has treated the subject with care and in detail, reviewing the circumstances of his large and varied charge from a high standpoint. It appears at least probable that most of the insanity in this Province is connected in some way with special rivers

TABLE F.—Showing in each Province, &c. the Average Number of Persons afflicted per 100,000 of each Sex, in 1881 and 1891.

Province, &c.	A.—MALES.				B.—DEAF MUTES.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Ajmér	69	22	42	9	80	39	61	24
Assam	38	62	26	49	68	96	41	76
Bengal and States	53	41	36	28	153	117	94	71
Berar	36	19	26	14	104	21	81	15
Bombay and States	41	30	22	17	77	64	54	46
Sindh and Khairpúr	162	109	107	64	133	128	95	75
Burma, Lower	114	83	84	51	72	42	48	34
„ Upper	—	124	—	127	—	79	—	66
Central Provinces and States	27	21	14	12	78	58	59	43
Coorg	23	26	18	25	108	80	85	63
Madras and States	38	25	28	18	62	83	50	62
North-West Provinces and States	19	16	9	8	78	84	48	50
Panjáb and States	59	38	36	22	141	113	92	76
Haidrabád	30	18	16	10	49	46	29	30
Baroda	51	43	34	27	93	45	62	30
Mysore	22	25	14	19	68	77	56	61
Rájputána	—	32	—	19	—	—	—	—
India	**43**	**33**	**27**	**21**	**104**	**90**	**68**	**59**

Province, &c.	C.—BLIND.				D.—LEPERS.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.	1881.	1891.
Ajmér	355	181	588	208	9	6	3	3
Assam	76	108	60	106	100	183	40	61
Bengal and States	136	100	144	96	122	93	41	31
Berar	330	226	402	241	215	193	59	58
Bombay and States	217	140	273	149	84	77	31	26
Sindh and Khairpúr	391	209	561	221	13	7	10	6
Burma, Lower	152	89	162	99	101	92	33	31
„ Upper	—	317	—	416	—	160	—	81
Central Provinces and States	218	156	296	188	89	66	41	33
Coorg	92	49	90	50	25	12	23	14
Madras and States	153	97	170	99	68	54	25	18
North-West Provinces and States	270	216	290	224	63	54	16	13
Panjáb and States	488	338	538	368	61	29	21	11
Haidrabád	128	100	110	84	42	38	19	13
Baroda	248	161	351	235	39	32	17	15
Mysore	89	106	98	104	16	21	9	11
Rájputána	—	272	—	380	—	21	—	7
India	**217**	**164**	**243**	**171**	**85**	**68**	**29**	**23**

such as the Chenáb in particular, along which cretinism is rife, from the Himálayan valleys to the plains of Multán. This hypothesis receives some support from the experience given by the returns for Bengal, which province comes next on the list. Here, too, the Himálayan rivers seem to form the chief centres of mental unsoundness. On the other hand, so far as Multán is concerned, it is noted that the neighbourhood contains more than one shrine of repute for its curative virtues in such afflictions, so that the local idiots may well be reinforced by those brought to the locality by faithful relatives. There is also the fact that amongst a Musalmán population, such as that of the Western Panjab, there is greater latitude as regards consanguineous marriage than amongst the Brahmanic clans. But, taking the whole of the circumstances into consideration, there seems every reason to think that a specially baleful influence on the mind is exercised by mountains, whether the Himálaya or the Salt range, in Upper India. The detailed returns for the North-West Provinces have not yet been received in the Central Office, so there is a gap in this argument that has to be filled up by the local census Superintendent, whose province enjoys the honour of being, according to the results of his enumeration, the sanest in India. In Bengal, Mr. O'Donnell seems to think that the distribution of insanity is racial or professional rather that local, and that the Mongoloid strain in the eastern portion of the province, together with the wider expansion of instruction and the notoriously litigious temperament of the population in that tract, make, on the whole, a more favourable seed-bed for mental derangement than the stolid ploughman of Bihár, or the Dravidian hill-man of Chutia Nagpur. This may be so, but the details show that the cretin element is by no means unimportant, as the ratio of insanity is far above the provincial average in the sub-Himálayan districts and is remarkably high in the Tarai-bordering State of Kochh-Bihár. That the return, however, is not altogether free from suspicion is shown by Mr. O'Donnell's discovery of an attempt made by a righteous Hindu scribe to cast a stigma on the followers of the Prophet by entering all the infirm of his subdivision as Saiads by tribe. The errors due to fraud or otherwise seem, all the same, to have neutralised each other, for the province, like Sindh, Burma, Bombay, the Central and the North-West Provinces, takes the same place in the list as it did in 1881. As regards Bombay, there is nothing special in the distribution to call for remark, save that the general feature of the variation seems to show that enumeration on this occasion was more correct than that of 1881. It may be here noted that there certainly seems to be some connection between the returns of insanity and the general condition of the people during the intercensal period, for wherever the decade has been one of normal prosperity, the persons thus afflicted have fallen out of the census roll to a remarkably large extent, and this may be noted in Bombay, Bengal, the Panjáb and Madras, as well as in smaller tracts. To a comparatively small extent, too, the spread of hospitals, and of dispensaries in the rural parts of the country must have tended to check the growth of insanity, since the patient, who perhaps may be only temporarily deranged, or epileptic, can be attended to by trained agency before the disease is confirmed. To return to the tables:—In Madras there are traces, according to the view of Mr. Stuart, the Superintendent, of a racial tendency, or predisposition to insanity, as the Uria and Tamil seem to be less subject to this infirmity than the Telanga or the Malabári. The difference does not seem to be due to climatic or geographical causes alone, for the prevalence is by no means in general accord with that of the adjacent districts in the coast and Deccan portions of Bombay. There is one curious fact that may be mentioned for what it is worth, in the present state of the study of morbid pathology, and this is, that amongst the six highest ratios of the insane, no less than four appertain to communities of the Malabár coast, out of whom three are still polyandrous to some extent, in their domestic arrangements. Another fact brought out in the returns is that the ratio of insanity decreased during the decade to a greater extent in the worst of the famine districts than in any other portion of the Presidency. There is little that need be said regarding the rest of the provinces. The distribution of the insane in the Central Provinces seems to indicate that apart from cretinism, which is not prevalent there, there is nothing in the hill-country that specially breeds or wards off this infirmity. The Superintendent, indeed, mentions the tendency of the forest tribes to drink to excess, so that here is ready to hand the explanation of the local prevalence of insanity amongst a class which elsewhere seems peculiarly though densely sane.

Deaf-mutism

The next part of the table to come under review is that which relates to the proportion of the deaf-mute. Here we find Sindh, Bengal, and the Panjáb again well to the front, both in 1881 and on the present occasion. Assam comes not far behind.

In all, except Sindh, where the source of the evil is not traced, it appears that the main prevalence is located in the Himálaya or along the rivers flowing directly from that system, so that, as in the mountainous countries of Europe, this infirmity is combined with cretinism and goitre It is possible that diet may have some effect on the system predisposing the inhabitants of the tracts in question to these forms of malady, for, at all events, in the Panjáb Himálaya the food of the people is very different from the staples in favour in the plains. This, however, does not explain the Sindh case, nor, probably, much of the prevalence in Bengal, Burma, or Assam. It is curious to find the same feature in the Burma returns from the hill tracts, whilst the Môn, as in the case of insanity, are less liable to deaf-mutism than the Burmese, and in Upper Burma, where there is a comparatively dry atmosphere, the ratio is far higher than in the lower division of the Province. Here, however, there is the probability of inaccuracy in the return, as the enumeration was conducted for the first time, and experience indicates that on such occasions the confusion of the deaf with those afflicted in both ways is greater than at subsequent inquiries. Still, the standard of life is lower, and the diet more sparse than in the Delta. In Madras we find the same feature as in Assam, namely, that the ratio of the deaf mutes to the total population has risen. This is attributed apparently, in part, as in the latter province, to bad enumeration in 1881. Beyond a general accordance with the distribution of insanity, and some slight preference for the hot and dry districts of the South Deccan, the return for this Presidency presents no special feature. It is curious, all the same, to find that the increase in the ratio is least in the tract where the increase of population has been highest during the decade, as if the determining factor were the well-being of the masses. At the bottom of the list come Berár and Ajmér, the two in which the variation is most clearly of all due to inaccuracy of return.

Blindness.

In the return of blindness we find greater agreement than in the rest between the results of the two enumerations, and the decrease, which is general throughout the returning tracts, with the exception of Mysore and Assam, where the ratio has risen, may accordingly be taken as truly representative of the facts. There are, as already noted, certain defects in enumeration, such as the inclination to enter, on the one hand, senile glaukoma and dullness of sight as blindness, and to include, on the other, those who were not born blind; but it is not unreasonable to assume that these misconceptions are not universal, and, on the whole, are likely to be constant, and to balance each other. If the scale be unevenly weighted, it is probably on the side of excess; that is, the undue entries are more numerous than the undue exclusion. On this hypothesis, the decrease in blindness in the last 10 years is in reality considerably greater than is shown in the returns, and the provincial Superintendents, as a rule, agree that this is the case in their respective charges. The improvement is attributed chiefly to two causes, first, the rapid spread of dispensaries in the smaller country towns, bringing trained assistance within the reach of many claesss who have been hitherto obliged to let ophthalmia and similar affections run their course amongst the children of the community. Then, again, though the increased accuracy of death registration somewhat obscures the fact on paper, there has been a notable diminution in the proportion of deaths to seizures in the case of small-pox, and this disease is, in India, one of the most fertile sources of blindness. In Mr. Maclagan's review of the Panjáb statistics these points are well illustrated, as he shows, as to the first, that the number of patients treated for eye affections at the public medical institutions of the province, rose from 90,820 in 1881 to 233,670 in 1891; whilst in connection with the second, the comparative tables he quotes show that the decrease in blindness is greatest precisely in the parts of the Province where mortality from small-pox has most declined, and where vaccination has made most progress. This last fact proves how difficult it is to trace the relative prevalence of blindness in India to any single cause; for if locality alone were the determinant factor, the infirmity would be more diffused amongst the population of the glaring and arid plains of the Indus valley, instead of reaching its maximum in the wooded and well-irrigated tracts of the submontane and eastern divisions of the province. On the other hand, Sindh, hotter and dryer than even the Multán tract, is peculiarly favourable to the development of diseases of the eye, but so appears to be the Malabar coast, where the climatic conditions are vastly different. But, on the whole, the statistics for different parts of the same province—for the latter is far too varied in its component parts to be otherwise than an unwieldy unit—seem to indicate that blindness is more prevalent, as a rule, in hot and dry tracts, and less prevalent in mountain air and within the influence of the heavier

rain currents. In the Panjáb, for instance, the Himálayan tracts are markedly favoured as regards eyesight, so are the Chútia Nágpúr and other hill tracts of Bengal. Along the coast, again, Orissa, the Konkan and the littoral tracts of Burma present a marked contrast in this respect to the plains of Bihár, the North Deccan, Upper Burma, Rájputána, and the adjacent and somewhat similarly conditioned tract of Gujaráth. There are, however, the anomalous cases of the Malabár coast and the north-eastern coast tract of Madras to be considered.

The statistics of the rest of the Presidency are in general accord with those for similar tracts elsewhere, that is, the Nilgiris and surrounding hilly tracts show least blindness, and the hot and dry plains of the Ceded Districts return the maximum. Mr. Stuart has accordingly subdivided the coast districts into their littoral and inland tracts, with the result that the former seem to show more blindness than the latter in some cases, though not in all. It is possible that the geographical peculiarities of these tracts may have some influence on the variation, as there is a great difference in the distribution of the rainfall between Malabar, where the Ghâts lie at some distance from the shore, and Kanara, where they come close down to it. In the latter, the coast receives the full current; in the former, it is attracted to some extent, inland. Perhaps there is some feature of this sort in Vizagapatam and its neighbourhood on the opposite coast, but in either case the suggestion is purely conjectural. It is also open to question whether, so far as ophthalmia and cognate disease is concerned, especially amongst infants, the prevalence does not to some extent depend upon what we may call normal agricultural dirt, which in India is often associated with high cultivation. The better the tillage, the nearer is the manure to the master's eye, and the dryer the air, the more numerous and busy are the flies round every source of moist nourishment, from the dunghill to the eye of the sleeping infant. Finally, and as regards the prevalence of blindness amongst women alone, there are the social considerations, such as seclusion within dark rooms often reeking with acrid smoke from the cooking-places, which is customary rather in Upper India, Sindh, the Panjáb, Rajputána, and the North-West Provinces, than in the rest of the country; also the conventional mourning of relatives, which is necessarily very frequent, and is invariably accompanied, as Mr. Maclagan puts it, by much ostentatious squeezing of the eye. Whether either of these two causes is in operation on the Malabar coast is not stated in the Madras report, though no doubt the long rainy season keeps both sexes indoors to a greater extent than in the light fall of the uplands, and may thus serve the same purpose in connection with our present subject, as the zenána system of the north.

Reverting to the consideration of Table F., it should be remarked that in 1881 the ratio of the blind was higher amongst females than males in all parts of India, except Coorg, Assam, and Haidrabád. In the last two the peculiarity has been maintained on the present occasion, and extends to Mysore and Bengal. Looking at this fact, and the tendency in the same direction in Madras, and in the opposite one in the case of Sindh, the Panjáb, North-West Provinces, Ajmer, and Rajputána, it seems that where the sexes are nearest numerical equality, or the women exceed the men, blindness inclines to be less markedly a female affection; and when the males are far in excess, the women are more prone to blindness. It has not been suggested, however, in any provincial report, that the objection on the part of the patriarch to the return of the females of his household at the census does not extend beyond those who are sound in mind and body, which seems a not unnatural inference to be drawn from the above figures. The relative accuracy of the return for the two years has been discussed on general lines above. All that it seems necessary to add is, that apparently Ajmér and Berár, possibly Sindh and Mysore, and admittedly Assam, show differences which can only be ascribed to the enumeration, without basis in fact. It will be noted that in both years the Panjáb heads the list, though with a remarkable decrease in the prevalence of the infirmity. Berár and Sindh have exchanged places as second and fourth respectively, not without suspicions of inaccuracy in both cases, as the ratio in Sindh seems to have receded by one half. A precisely similar movement has been executed by Ajmér and the North-West Provinces for the third and fifth places, in both instances with a diminution in prevalence amounting to over the half. In the last-named tract the improvement is said to be real, and due to the extension of vaccination and the erection of rural dispensaries. The three next—Baroda, the Central Provinces and Bombay—occupy the same position respectively as in 1881, a fact which shows fairly uniform accuracy of return. The decrease in ratio in all three is less, however, than in the tracts where blindness is more prevalent.

Bengal occupies the eleventh place in both years, and Haidrabad the twelfth. From the Central Provinces downwards, in the case of the males, and from Bombay in that of the other sex, the ratio falls below the general mean for India, showing how much more this infirmity prevails in the north than in the centre, south and east. Rajputána and Upper Burma come on to the list for the first time, and, as in respect to other infirmities, no doubt show a fuller return than will be the case at future enumerations. Both, however, are hot and dry in climate, so that the ratio, though likely to decrease, is not to be expected to descend to the level of that of coast tracts.

Summarising the results of the two returns, it appears that blindness tends to be more prevalent in hot and dry plains away from the hills and sea; that in the north of India social customs are specially favourable to its spread amongst women, but that whether the infirmity be due to congenital or infantile ophthalmia or to small-pox, it is everywhere on the decrease owing to greater facilities for obtaining timely surgical assistance, and to the diminution of small-pox due to the extension of vaccination.

Leprosy.

The subject of leprosy has been brought very prominently before the public during the last three or four years, and so far as India is concerned, has been exhaustively treated by a special commission of qualified experts who have analysed all available statistics in the report recently published.* The record of the results of their investigations, therefore, will necessarily supersede anything that may be written on the subject by a layman, so that a short shrift and sharp execution is all that the statistics require in the present work. Table E. shows that in only three cases do the positions of the territorial items correspond in the two years. Berár still heads the list, and the small variation in its ratio, both amongst males and females show that if inaccuracy there be, it is constant, and therefore statistically insignificant. Sindh and Ajmér again occupy the two last places, each with a considerable proportional decrease in the prevalence of their lepers. As regards the rest, it will be noted that none but Assam has altered its position by more than a single place, and the explanation as to the variation in this last has been already given. It is doubtful how far locality is connected with the prevalence of leprosy. From the fact that the ratio is high in the hill tracts of the Panjáb, and in the corresponding portions of the North-West Provinces and Bengal, and on the Yoma tracts of Burma, it appears that mountainous country is favourable to its development and a dry if not hot, atmosphere inimical. There is some evidence, too, of its affinity to coast tracts; but here, again, the Malabar figures are inconclusive, for those of South Kanara contradict their companions of the next district. In another direction, it appears that this disease finds a poor and ill-nourished population more accessible to its inception than one whose average condition is higher; and it is also stated that there seems to be some connection between the circumstances giving rise to cholera and those favourable to the development of leprosy. The Report of the Commission just mentioned, of which a summary is all that is at present available for the purpose of the present work, is decidedly encouraging in some of its conclusions, and, speaking generally, there seems reason for anticipating that most of the influences which predispose the population to the attacks of this disease are such as are likely to give way as the standard of maintenance advances.

Infirmities by caste groups, &c.

There is only one further point in connection with this subject with which it is necessary to deal here. It is the respective affinity between the four infirmities selected for investigation and social circumstances, so far as the latter can be judged by caste or race. We must first, however, revert for a space to what was said above as to the influence exercised on certain forms of disease by climate and locality. These, it will have been seen, affect, to a greater or less extent, all four of the selected infirmities, so that, looking at the varied territory comprised within the limits of a single Province or large State, it is most probable that distinctions of caste in respect to such matters will be outweighed by physical conditions. As a striking instance of this we may take the prevalence of deaf mutes amongst the two widely different castes of the Bráhman and the Chamár, or leather worker in the Panjáb. The ratio is about the same in both, but more than a third of the total number of affected persons are returned from a single district in the hill tract. But if we compare the proportions amongst the different caste groups for all India, we obliterate,

* A copy of this Report only reached me on the 14th June 1893, so the contents could not be fully adopted in this chapter.—J. A. B.

in turn, local influence, and any distinctions there may be are most probably inherent in the social, not the geographical or climatic circumstances in which the caste in question is situated.

The figures on which the following remarks are based will be found in the different sections of Table XVIII. in Volume II. of the Imperial returns. It was necessary to split up this table into three, because the same detail was not tabulated in every one of the constituent tracts. Rájputána, for example, tabulated three of the infirmities by caste, but not deaf-mutism, whilst Central India and Kashmér omitted this portion of the schedule for all but the cantonment population, &c. It is not proposed to enter into territorial detail in respect to the results of the tabulation, for the reason just given above, nor does it seem worth while to reproduce the whole table in its proportional form, as its bearings can be adequately exhibited by the following extracts. Table G., below, for instance, gives the 12 caste groups in which the total number of afflicted is highest relatively to the total strength of each sex in the group. It should be explained that betel leaf sellers and brass-smiths are amongst the 10 highest in the case of males only, and their place amongst those of the other sex is taken by the leather-working castes and the barbers. The first

Castes showing a generally high ratio of infirm.

TABLE G.

Caste Group, &c.	Males.					Females.					
	Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.	Order.	Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.	Total.
1. Indefinite Castes -	130	194	358	128	810	1	79	146	440	53	718
2. Devotees - -	40	103	305	82	530	7	24	70	227	31	352
3. Scavengers - -	33	110	281	95	519	3	21	78	310	39	448
4 (*a*). Betel Leaf Sellers	27	105	224	144	500	10 (*a*)	15	65	203	38	321
5. Miscellaneous Vagrants	32	106	318	37	493	2	13	73	355	22	463
6. Burmese - -	103	62	184	131	480	4	83	51	233	54	421
7. Grain Parchers -	26	182	191	79	478	6	12	99	213	30	354
8. Genealogists - -	28	88	258	82	456	5	16	51	285	35	387
9 (*a*). Brass-Smiths -	48	156	156	84	444	10 (*a*)	28	80	173	46	327
10. Hunters and Fowlers	33	98	223	77	431	8	24	72	222	28	346
10 (*a*). Barbers - -	29	108	210	73	420	9	19	72	215	28	334
10 (*a*). Leather Workers -	19	79	215	47	360	10	12	51	251	15	329
Total Population -	**33**	**90**	**164**	**68**	**355**		**21**	**59**	**171**	**23**	**274**

place belongs in both sexes to the Indefinite, which probably includes not only wandering nondescripts, but the inmates of asylums, whose caste was not correctly ascertained. The next group, that of Devotees, is necessarily high, as in many cases the affliction is the reason for joining the fraternity. The women are better off in this respect than the men in this category. Thirdly, in both sexes, come the Scavengers, a hereditarily dirty, and often a foul-feeding crew. The Burmese come higher amongst the female groups than on the other side of the table, owing to a high ratio in all four infirmities, with the exception of the deaf mutes. The miscellaneous Vagrants, too, are similarly situated, but owe their position to this infirmity as well as to blindness. The sellers of Betel leaf, who are in many cases agriculturists, show a remarkably high proportion of the blind and leprous amongst the male members of their community, and though the corresponding proportion in the other sex is nothing like as high, the fact that the ratio of lepers is considerably above the average, seems to indicate some uniform predisposition to this malady. The next group, that of the Grain parchers and confectioners, depends upon its deaf mutes for its position in the case of both sexes. The blind are the predominating element amongst the infirm in the category of Genealogists. The Brass-smiths seem to be peculiarly subject to three out of the four infirmities in question, but their eyesight is exempted, and the females, though affected beyond the average in the three cases, do not fall within the 10 groups most afflicted. The Hunters and fowlers, one of the vagrant sections of the community, form the last group which is thus included for both sexes. Then follow, to complete the tale of high ratios in the case of females, the two groups of Barbers and Leather workers, each of which shows a proportion amongst the males above the general average, though not falling within the selected rank. The same

remark applies to the two groups included amongst the males, but falling short in their proportion of afflicted females. It should also be noted that the figures in italics signify that the group falls within the 10 highest in their ratio of those afflicted by the infirmity marked in the heading of the column. In illustration of the selection, we may draw attention to the fact that the unfortunate Scavengers and Brass-smiths enjoy this unenviable pre-eminence in three out of the four cases, and the Leather workers in the case of the blind only, whilst the Devotees are prominent in two, of which only insanity is common to the two sexes to that extent. Omitting the Indefinite group, it will be seen that at least four, and probably five, of the rest are of decidedly dirty life, devotees, scavengers, vagrants, hunters, and leather workers, two, the brass-smith and the grain parcher, exercise a very special occupation. Of the whole 12 mentioned in the table, there are four of the insane groups amongst the males and five in the other sex which fall within the 10 at the top of the list for that infirmity. The corresponding figures for the deaf mutes are five and seven; for the blind, eight and six, and for the lepers, six and seven.

Insanity.

The next process is to take the infirmities singly, and see the distribution of the classes affected in the highest degree. Table H. on the next page will show this. In the first section are given the 10 groups containing the highest ratio of the insane. It should be explained with reference to this collection, that two items, the Eurasians and the Pársis, contain less than 100,000 members respectively; but there is a special reason for recognising them along with larger communities. It is that they are the only two with a distinct and predominant foreign strain in their blood, and they are the only two in which education may be said to have really permeated the community, so that both sexes are, comparatively speaking, on an equality in this respect. They thus stand out from the rest, and serve as a landmark, as it were, between the high ratios that we have seen prevail in western countries and the dead level of sanity amongst the masses of the dwellers of the plains in the East. The next point to note in the return under discussion is that amongst the eight remaining groups in this category, the Writers, Herbalists and Traders are found, all of them far above the average in education, as was shown in the last chapter. Still more striking is it to find that amongst the women of the trading castes insanity is much less prevalent than in the other sex, and to note that whilst the latter come high in the ranks of the literate, the former are not far, if at all, above the lower classes. We have then the Brass-smiths, whose occupation is perpetually and indissolubly connected with monotonous noise, which fact may account for their high place amongst the deaf-mute also. The women of this caste do not take an active part in the work, so the prevalence to such an extent of insanity and deaf-mutism amongst them opens out an interesting question of hereditary predisposition to such infirmities. As regards the Musalmáns returned under such titles as Shaikh, Saiad, and so on, it is to be feared that a good deal of the mental alienation returned amongst them is due to indulgence in preparations of hemp, some, no doubt, more deleterious to the faculties than others, but all taken in the most injurious form, that of smoking. The case of the Devotees has been mentioned above, and there is little difficulty in accounting for the prevalence in those orders of mental defect, a quality that is so often regarded by the lay mind as a token of divine interest in the person who manifest it. Finally, the Burmese, who come so high in the list, are said to be as a race more nervous, excitable, and prone to indulgence than the natives of India, as a whole. As they are not distinguished in the returns by any more minute subdivision than that of race, their predisposition to unsoundness of mind is all the more remarkable. It is curious, however, to find the women of the race so high in their ratio, and it is not unlikely that in Upper Burma, where the fair sex is in numerical predominance, a good many have been entered in this category whom greater experience would have excluded.

Deaf-mutism.

The table for deaf-mutes introduces us to an almost new set of people. Writers and Brass-smiths are again present, and, amongst women, the Hunting and fowling castes. In the same sex, too, besides the low life of the latter, we find the Scavengers and the Vagrants, who have the reputation of exceedingly dissipated proclivities. The Mongoloid of the Western Himalaya is here represented, and we have seen that his native tract is peculiarly liable to the infirmity under consideration. The Blacksmith and the Grain parcher, and, amongst the smaller groups not entered in the summary, the Glassblowers and Iron smelters are all groups in which the male workers spend most of their busy hours over the fire, as the Weaver and Oil-presser do

TABLE H.—Showing the Proportion of afflicted Persons per 100,000 of each Sex, in the 12 Caste Groups, in which the Infirmities are respectively most prevalent.

Males.		Females.	
Caste, &c.	No. per 100,000.	Caste, &c.	No. per 100,000.
A. Insane:—*Average*	**33**	**A. Insane:**—*Average*	**21**
1. Indefinite Castes	130	1. Burmese	83
2. *Eurasians*	112	2. Indefinite Castes	79
3. Burmese	103	3. *Eurasians*	69
4. *Parsis, &c.*	91	4. *Parsis, &c.*	57
5. Writers	64	5. Musalmán Races	35
6. Brass-Smiths	48	6. Writers	35
7. Musalmán Races	46	7. Herbalists, &c.	31
8. Herbalists, &c.	45	8. Brass-Smiths	28
9. Traders	42	9. Devotees	24
10. Devotees	40	10. Hunters and Fowlers	24
B. Deaf Mutes:—*Average*	**90**	**B. Deaf Mutes:**—*Average*	**59**
1. Indefinite Castes	194	1. Indefinite Castes	146
2. Grain Parchers, &c.	182	2. Thibetan and Nipáli	104
3. Brass-Smiths	156	3. Grain Parchers	99
4. Blacksmiths	117	4. Brass-Smiths	80
5. Thibetans and Nipáli	114	5. Scavengers	78
6. Scavengers	110	6. Blacksmith	73
7. Weavers	109	7. Miscellaneous Vagrants	73
8. Writers	109	8. Hunters and Fowlers	72
9. Barbers	108	9. Barbers	72
10. Oil Pressers	107	10. Washermen	71
C. Blind:—*Average*	**164**	**C. Blind:**—*Average*	**171**
1. Indefinite Castes	358	1. Indefinite	440
2. Miscellaneous Vagrants	318	2. Scavengers	310
3. Devotees	305	3. Miscellaneous Vagrants	355
4. Scavengers	281	4. Genealogists	285
5. Genealogists	258	5. Servants, &c.	267
6. Betel Leaf Sellers, &c.	224	6. Tailors	256
7. Hunters and Fowlers	223	7. Butchers	252
8. Tailors	222	8. Leather Workers	251
9. Leather Workers	215	9. Burmese	233
10. Traders	212	10. Drummers, &c.	233
D. Lepers:—*Average*	**68**	**D. Lepers:**—*Average*	**23**
1. Betel Leaf Sellers, &c.	144	1. Burmese	54
2. Burmese	131	2. Indefinite Castes	53
3. Indefinite Castes	128	3. Brass-Smiths	46
4. Scavengers	95	4. Field Labourers	42
5. Field Labourers	95	5. Temple Servants	40
6. Oil Pressers	90	6. Scavengers	39
7. Temple Servants, &c.	90	7. Betel Leaf Sellers	38
8. Brass-Smiths	84	8. Forest Tribes	38
9. Genealogists	82	9. Genealogists	35
10. Writers	82	10. Oil Pressers	35

inside the house, and it is worth note that the females amongst the last two groups do not show the prevalence of deaf-mutism to anything like the extent that their mates do, whilst in the former set of caste occupations there is more tendency to equality. Amongst the Writers, too, the females do not appear in the first 10 groups of their sex, though the prevalence of deaf-mutism amongst them is above the average. But the Parsis, who do not reach the minimum population fixed for the table, return a high proportion in both sexes. This distinction may be due to the greater prevalence in this community of consanguineous marriages. There is no explanation apparently for the high ratio of this infirmity amongst the Barbers and Washerwomen.

Blindness.

Amongst the blind the Vagrants are again well to the front with the Scavengers. As to the Genealogists, their position is possibly due to the fact that the greater number are returned from Upper India, where blindness is generally more diffused than further south. Some explanation of the same sort may apply to the case of the Leather workers, who are, in addition, uncleanly in food and habits. The Tailors, again, may have their sight affected by their occupation, especially if a large number of embroiderers is included amongst them. It is noticeable that no less than five out of the 10 groups in this section of the table differ in the male column from those that appear on the female side of the return. It is, perhaps, to the higher numbers dealt with in the ratio than to any special or inherent peculiarity of social custom that this discrepancy is due.

Leprosy.

Finally, as regards leprosy, it seems that the Commission found that there was no evidence of special predisposition in one caste over another, but that prevalence was generally determined by locality. This opinion appears to be confirmed by the results of the census, as summarised in the table under consideration, with the qualification that the higher ratios are found, as a rule, amongst the lower and poorer castes. The Genealogist, and in the case of males only, the Writer, are exceptions to this rule, and the latter seems to indicate a tendency on the part of the higher or more educated castes to conceal the existence of women and girls thus afflicted. The figures for the Bráhmans and Goldsmiths are in favour of this hypothesis. The Burmese, it will be noted, stand high both in males and the other sex, but, as mentioned above, for the purposes of this table, they cannot be taken on the same footing as a comparatively restricted item, such as the Indian caste, or other occupational or social group. It does not seem advisable to enter into further analysis here in the case of a disease of which so little is known, and regarding which the returns are possibly inaccurate.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Population according to Sex.

"Oh! Fruitful grief, the world's disease!
And vainer man, to make it so,
Who gives his miseries increase
By cultivating his own woe."—*Cotton.*

Of the many problems that come to light in the course of reviewing the results of the census of an Indian province, none is more perplexing than that of having to account for the varying proportions of the two sexes in different parts of the country. The general outlines of this question as it arises in connection with the present enumeration can be appreciated from the following table, in which are shown the proportions under discussion, both in India and in certain foreign countries in various quarters of the globe. In the case of the former, too, the corresponding figures for 1881 are added.

Table A.—Showing the general Proportion of the Sexes.

I. India.						II. Foreign Countries.			
Province, &c.	Females to 1,000 Males.		Province, &c.	Females to 1,000 Males.		Country.	Females to 1,000 Males.	Country.	Females to 1,000 Males.
	1881.	1891.		1881.	1891.				
Panjáb - -	847	854	Bengal - -	1,010	1,006	England and Wales	1,064	Spain - -	1,038
„ States -	828	834	„ States -	961	970	Scotland - -	1,072	Portugal -	1,091
Kashmér - -	—	879	Bombay - -	955	951	Ireland - -	1,029	Denmark -	1,051
Sindh - -	833	831	„ States -	943	956	France - -	1,005	Sweden - -	1,065
Khairpúr - -	826	814	Baroda - -	917	928	Belgium - -	1,005	Norway - -	1,071
N.-W. Provinces -	918	923	Haidrabád -	968	963	Holland - -	1,023	Canada - -	929
„ „ States -	896	912	Mysore - -	1,007	991	Germany - -	1,043	United States (White).	961
Oudh - -	946	949	Coorg - -	775	804	Prussia - -	1,037	United States (Coloured).	993
Rajputána - -	849	891	Madras - -	1,020	1,022	Bavaria - -	1,049	Chilé - -	1,000
Ajmér - -	851	881	„ States -	1,012	996	Saxony - -	1,059	Japan - -	977
Central India -	896	912	Upper Burma -	—	1,084	Austria - -	1,044	Victoria -	909
Central Provinces -	984	998	Lower „ -	877	892	Hungary - -	1,015	New South Wales	830
„ „ States	970	984	**Total, Provinces**	**962**	**965**	Bulgaria - -	965	South Australia -	872
Berár - -	936	942	„ **States** -	**922**	**932**	Switzerland -	1,040	Queensland -	706
Assam - -	949	942	**INDIA** -	**956**	**958**	Italy - -	995	New Zealand -	856

Except in Italy, where the proportion of females is a little below that of males, and in Bulgaria, which borders on Asiatic conditions, every country in Europe returns more of the former sex than of the latter. In North America immigration from the Old World tends to lower the ratio of the fair sex, but amongst the coloured population of the United States, who were largely indigenous at the census of 1880, there is a nearer approach to equality. The five last countries on the list are given merely to illustrate the results of immigration in new colonies. But in India, as we have seen, immigration is an insignificant factor in the constitution of the community, and, nevertheless, to every 1,000 males there are returned only 958 females. Put in another way, the tables show us that there are in the country fewer females than males to the number of, speaking roundly, 6¼ millions. The table given above

indicates how irregular is the distribution, territorially speaking, and from the marginal extract it will be seen that of the deficiency, by far the greater part is to be looked for in the northern portions of India. In the three provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Upper Burma alone, do we find the females in excess, and the aggregate number by which they surpass the males in those tracts is but something under three quarters of a million. The above remarkable discrepancies must represent a state of fact or a state of feeling. That is, the difference between the two sexes in point of numbers must be real, and thus due to some general and widespread cause, natural or social, or else it must exist only in the census returns, and be due to the estimation in which women are held by their male relatives. It is better to consider the latter before entering into the other, which is a more contentious matter. In the third chapter of this work, on page 73, it was stated that the census return appeared to be deficient as regards young women and unmarried girls of nubile age, and that the tendency to conceal these classes at the time of enumeration was stronger in Upper India than in the rest of the country. In addition to this sentiment, there is also the inclination on the part of some classes of householder, not, moreover, of any special position in society, high or low, to assume that an inquiry such as the census, instituted by the Government, is very unlikely to be applicable to individuals of so little public importance as girls and women, so that the latter are simply ignored in making the return, without any intent to deceive. Then, again, there comes the third section of the community, who are open to suspicion in this respect, and that consists of the small settlements of forest tribes in the wilder parts of some of the hill tracts, who deliberately conceal the number of their women, not on either of the grounds above-mentioned, but from mere ignorant apprehension of what may follow the acquisition of this information by persons outside their tribe. In nearly every province are traces to be found of one or other of these motives, resulting in the omission of a certain number of women and girls between the ages of about 10 and 20. But though this feature in the returns is noticed by the Superintendents concerned, few or none of them are inclined to attribute to omission the whole of the difference between the numbers of the two sexes. For instance, in the Panjáb, where, as the above extract shows, the deficiency is greatest, to accept the hypothesis of omission as the sole cause of the above result, is tantamount to asserting that one woman in five escaped enumeration. Looking at the proportions of the sexes in the different grades of society, as shown in the caste statements, it is clear that the deficiency runs through the community, and is found, accordingly, to an almost equal extent in the jealously-guarded household of the local magnate and in the hut of the scavenger, or the mat wigwam of the wandering fowler, whose wife and daughters pass their lives in the open air. In the North-West Provinces, again, it seems to be much the same, though in the absence of the views of the Superintendent it is inadvisable to pronounce a general opinion on the matter. It is to be remembered, however, that in the review of the results of the census of 10 years back, the then Superintendent was of opinion that the omission of women had been very considerable, amounting to nearly all the deficiency. The Census Commissioner for India, too, Sir W. Chichele Plowden, who had personally superintended the census of the Province in question on two occasions, seems to lay more stress on the chance of omission than upon any other cause for inequality in the respective numbers of the sexes. We have, moreover, the undoubted fact that in the majority of cases, the increase during the intercensal decade is shown to be larger in the case of females than in that of the other sex. If the irregularity of rate of advance be very marked, it is reasonable to suppose that a good deal of the excess amongst the females is attributable to more accurate return. If, on the other hand, the rates be not far from identical, it is very doubtful if we should at once jump to the above conclusion. As will be seen below, the subject of sex is a very intricate one, and the more one studies it, the less inclined is a cautious statist to adopt any single explanation. To quote the report on the Panjáb census again, wherein Mr. Maclagan has gone carefully into this important question, it would be more probable that women would be omitted by Musalmán householders than by those with whom the anxiety to ensure seclusion and privacy is less prominent, but the returns prove that the proportion of women

Province.	Females in Defect.
Panjab, &c.	2,030,027
Kashmér	162,506
Sindh, &c.	278,955
N.-W. Provinces	1,728,566
Rajputána	690,874
Central India	472,260
Bombay	453,107
Ajmér	34,292

in the exclusively Musalmán tracts is higher than that in the country occupied by Sikhs or Hindus, as the predominant element. Again, the staff available for enumeration was very much better and more intelligently supervised in the centre of the province than in the Himálayan valleys, but the proportion of women brought on to the record was far higher in the latter than in the former. To take an instance in the opposite direction, namely, that of a province in which, as a whole, the female element predominates, in Madras, Mr. Stuart finds reason for believing the omission of females to have taken place to a very small extent in the important tracts in which the general ratio is reversed. He shows that, as in the Panjáb, the relative paucity of women is not confined to the higher, or any other, caste groups, but that it has a tendency to increase amongst the forest tribes of the hill tracts in the north-east of his charge, and to be more marked in the Deccan districts than in those further south. He also shows from the marriage returns that the omission is to be found chiefly amongst the married women. As regards Bengal, Mr. O'Donnell shows that the slight excess of females, taking the province as a whole, is to be found in the west and south only, not in the north and east, and he is not of opinion that in the two last-mentioned divisions of his large and varied charge the deficiency is due to omission at the enumeration, but mainly to local causes and possibly also to the strongly marked racial differentiation of the people, on which comment was made in the fifth chapter of this work. It is certainly very well worth notice that whilst in Oudh and the adjacent tracts of the North-West Provinces there is so great a difference in the numbers of the sexes to the disadvantage of the female, in Bihár, both north and south, that sex should have been found to be in excess far beyond the extent that could be accounted for by the temporary migration of the males to the tracts further to the east. Such a distinction seems to add weight to the argument of the North-West Province census officers that in the case of their charge the deficiency of women is only discoverable in the returns, more especially as the caste-table indicates the omissions to be relatively more numerous amongst the agricultural castes of the military and formerly dominant rank, than in any other portion of the community. It is amongst such classes that the privacy of domestic life is most jealously guarded. Where, on the other hand, the absence of the feminine element from the census return is the result of contempt, or disregard of the importance of the sex in comparison with males, the sentiment is not confined to particular ranks, but generally permeates the whole community; for it is more or less closely connected with the political atmosphere of the country, the lower the form, or, as has been said, the formlessness, of the government, the greater the degradation of women under it. Now, in this respect, the whole country may be said to be uniform, and the affairs of the many have always been in the hands of the few, so there is little reason why one tract should differ from another, so far as the neglect to recognise the position of women is in question.

We must inquire, accordingly, whether there are any special reasons for believing that the deficiency of women in India is a fact, and due to a social cause, such as the neglect, if not the actual murder, of young girls, or to a normally greater mortality amongst this sex than amongst the males, or, finally, to an initial shortness in the supply.

Female infanticide.

Now, it is pretty certain that the deliberate putting to death of female infants is a practice that in the present day, at all events, is confined to exceedingly narrow limits. In former times, no doubt, amongst the Rajpúts and other castes of high social position, it was not by any means rare, and, as we know, its prohibition formed one of the three cardinal tenets inculcated on the leaders of Panjáb society by Sir John Lawrence. In the north of India to the present day, too, certain castes are "under observation" with reference to it, but these are in anything but high ratio to the masses of the people. In the central districts of the Panjáb, for instance, where, as we have seen, the proportion of females is abnormally low, Mr. Maclagan finds reason to suspect that the Jats and other chief constituents of the Sikh community are by no means yet free from suspicion in regard to this offence. But, on the whole, even in Rájputána, the census returns show that the practice must be very restricted in its operation. It is only natural that it should be so, considering that the same results can be obtained by means equally efficient, and not rendering the exponent thereof obnoxious to the suspicions of State officials. The expense of maintaining an infant of either sex is comparatively little; and it is not until, in the castes in question, the arrangements for finding a husband have to be begun that the girl is at a discount. It must be remembered that wherever the Brahmanic system prevails, the main object is to get a husband for one's

daughter of higher rank than oneself, whereas the son can honour, in like manner, an inferior family without mésalliance. If a girl dies, therefore, before she arrives at the age when caste custom demands that she should be betrothed, so much the better for the family resources. Many a girl is allowed to die unattended where medical aid would be at once called in if the son were attacked. But this is a cause which is operative in the case of the well-to-do classes only, and is not likely to have serious effect on the census returns of the masses. We have, therefore, to look for another. The age returns show us that in by far the greater part of the country girls predominate numerically over boys during the first few years of life. Whether they do so on entering this vale of tears is a question which will be glanced at later. But in the next five years, taken as a whole, the boys pass them. and the ratio of girls again falls in the five years ending with the fifteenth. In India, omitting from consideration the irregularities of return at the multiples of five, in later life, the Nadir of the female is reached at this period, and in most of the European countries for which normal statistics are available, there seems to be the same tendency. The ratios in France and Germany are excluded for obvious reasons. Now, it has been said that the period in question is diminished at both ends by undue additions to its neighbours. In India, the parents of a girl of marriageable age return her as below it, if she be not betrothed, and above it, for some reason, if she be married, but living with them. In Burma, Mr. Eales holds that the girls return their age as over 16, when they are really below 15, in order that they may escape the consequences of elopement, which is a mode of initiating an engagement by no means uncommon amongst that frisky population. In the same way, in England, it is said to be not uncommon for girls of that age to exaggerate it in order to make themselves out the more eligible for domestic service. The Indian figures, as set forth in Table B. below, do not bear out the hypothesis of over-statement in the case of girls really between 10 and 15, but returned as below the first-mentioned age, except, perhaps, in Berar, to some extent. The period between 15 and 20 yield figures more difficult of appreciation. In the first place, no doubt a good many women as well as men return their age as 20, when it is not more than 19 or even 18, but this practice is more prevalent amongst those of the former sex. Then, too, the omission to return wives, if it exist, is most likely to affect this period than that which precedes,

Mistakes in returning ages.

TABLE B.—Showing the Number of Females to 1,000 Males at each Age.

Age Period.	India.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	N.-W. Provinces.	Oudh.	Sindh.	Panjáb.	Central Provinces.	Assam.	Upper Burma.	Lower Burma.	Berar.
Under 1	1,020	1,055	1,048	1,016	969	995	932	971	1,014	1,022	1,116	1,024	1,011
Total under 5	1,038	1,081	1,053	1,049	1,018	1,028	959	926	1,076	1,046	1,051	1,014	1,071
5–9	936	951	990	942	900	911	815	845	978	978	1,030	978	1,024
10–14	795	803	871	795	747	761	650	738	830	801	999	884	820
15–19	930	1,031	967	923	815	804	734	887	947	1,074	1,166	1,030	1,047
20–24	1,071	1,187	1,214	1,057	965	1,003	926	869	1,176	1,155	1,065	908	1,195
25–29	989	1,072	1,077	925	947	1,004	856	906	1,083	990	1,052	798	941
30–34	962	1,021	1,093	938	938	978	828	791	977	909	1,054	708	886
35–39	867	882	874	848	891	910	682	921	945	709	993	702	766
40–44	940	982	1,010	945	937	1,011	869	789	891	842	1,082	781	825
45–49	845	878	853	849	866	892	752	855	843	705	1,029	797	714
50–54	993	1,049	1,100	995	994	998	851	705	958	850	1,189	943	838
55–59	908	1,013	907	871	932	884	704	830	1,049	755	1,152	914	744
60 and over	1,187	1,307	1,217	1,218	1,203	1,177	950	774	1,289	1,012	1,416	945	1,033
Total	**958**	**1,006**	**1,022**	**951**	**923**	**949**	**831**	**854**	**998**	**942**	**1,084**	**892**	**942**

TABLE B.—Showing the Number of Females to 1,000 Males at each Age—*continued.*

Age Period	Ajmér.	Rajputana.	Central India.	Kashmér	Baroda.	Haidrabad.	Mysore.	England and Wales, 1881.	Scotland, 1881.	Ireland, 1881.	Italy, 1880.	Sweden, 1880.	Austria, 1880.	Hungary, 1880.
Under 1	1,012	1,006	980	1,002	1,015	1,072	1,057	998	962	952	956	975	1,001	990
Total under 5	986	977	1,036	988	1,060	1,076	1,054	1,003	976	971	964	976	1,011	1,000
5-9	897	876	915	895	911	959	1,027	1,006	976	977	966	978	1,004	1,003
10-14	765	752	721	733	781	796	898	997	968	957	959	980	1,011	1,012
15-19	816	783	822	876	828	1,038	905	1,008	994	1,040	1,025	990	1,043	1,124
20-24	965	964	1,016	1,033	1,002	1,174	1,098	1,093	1,063	1,060	1,017	1,034	1,046	1,173
25-29	847	863	967	965	921	910	994	1,087	1,105	1,120	1,027	1,066	1,052	1,007
30-34	860	903	900	921	912	983	986	1,077	1,117	1,161	1,027	1,097	1,067	1,045
35-39	805	836	852	810	851	762	867	1,069	1,161	1,128	1,015	1,113	1,055	957
40-44	915	949	882	883	964	917	907	1,079	1,166	1,128	1,010	1,118	1,050	1,000
45-49	691	811	788	715	852	706	852	1,103	1,204	1,047	996	1,113	1,072	950
50-54	945	952	960	763	957	961	1,050	1,104	1,215	1,095	1,020	1,134	1,146	1,097
55-59	706	824	890	683	834	749	960	1,111	1,224	1,058	986	1,144	1,104	1,001
60 and over	1,085	1,146	1,190	766	1,156	1,158	1,246	1,187	1,377	1,075	980	1,289	1,068	1,022
Total	**881**	**891**	**912**	**882**	**928**	**964**	**991**	**1,055**	**1,076**	**1,043**	**995**	**1,061**	**1,047**	**1,030**

or that which follows it. Both these causes tend to reduce the proportion of the women in the period in question, and there is also to be taken into consideration the probability mentioned above, of the omission altogether of a girl of this age who has not been provided with a husband, or who, in Upper India, is attached in some intimate capacity to the zanána of the richer classes. But in addition to these artificial reductions of the number of the females of this age, it is not at all improbable that there is a real deficiency, due to the fact that amongst the great majority of the population the five or six years in question include the first child-bed, an occurrence notoriously dangerous to female life, especially where the wife is as immature, physically, as she too often is in India, and where the obstetric methods in vogue there tend to restrict survival to the fittest only. It must be borne in mind that at this time of life no less than 83·30 per cent. of the women are married, whilst only 36·80 of the males are in the same condition, and in spite of the general deficiency of the former sex, which here amounts to over 850,000, the wives are more than twice the number of the husbands. Carrying this train of inquiry back to the preceding period, where the disproportion is, as observed above, at its height, we have included but a year, or, at most, two, of possible child-bearing, but the arrival of the girl-bride at puberty, an event that is almost invariably accompanied with certain ceremonial rites of a somewhat exciting character, and which entails also other demands on the constitution, which are not, in the circumstances, duly recognised, must have its weight in considering this question. The discussion that arose in the course of last year's legislation regarding what is commonly known as the "age of consent," amply shows that the practice of premature cohabitation is more or less local, or restricted to certain castes, as is indicated by Mr. O'Donnell in his report on the Bengal returns of marriage, but none the less is this period a critical one for girls in India, if only on the ground of the demand on the nervous system, for we find that irrespective of the second and later part of the conjugal arrangement in that country, out of the 13 millions or so girls between 10 and 15 years of age, 49½ per cent. are married in the Indian acceptation of that term, and nearly 1½ per cent. are widows. The conditions under which the other sex has to struggle onwards at this time of life are far less importunate on the constitution in this respect, for only 15½ per cent. are husbands, and less than ½ per cent. widowers. Entirely apart,

therefore, from any question of concealment or other cause of omission, and of errors in statement of age, so extensive and remarkable a divergence of practice between the two sexes in reference to such an important and universal factor in social circumstances as marriage is not at all likely to be without its influence on the distribution of the sexes at the periods under discussion, and this influence, if admitted, must inevitably be cast on the side of the results indicated in the returns of both the last enumerations.* It is not worth while to pursue the analysis of the return in detail, because the preference shown, especially by the fair sex, for the even multiples of five, which has been mentioned already as a grave defect in the age tables, grows more and more apparent with age, and even if we adopt the simple method of combining two periods, as from 25 to 35, and so on, the curve is still "backed like a camel" from the age of 24 downwards. The general tendency, however, in India, as in many other countries, is for the women who have safely weathered the period of early childbirth to outlive the men, but there are exceptions to this rule, as in Sindh, Kashmér, the Panjáb, and, curiously enough, Lower Burma. Then, too, there is no doubt but that the age of the old women are exaggerated, and that, though their life is certainly somewhat better than that of men in advanced years, the difference is not so great as that indicated by the returns. It is obvious, again, that so far as the masses are concerned, the wear and tear of woman's life is much the same in India as that of the man's. She shares in most agricultural operations, barring those in which the plough is concerned, carries the grass and firewood to market, and is largely concerned in all general labour, particularly of the class in which the outside of the head bears the brunt of the toil. There is a strong probability, accordingly, that the deficiency shown irregularly between the ages of 35 and 55, has to some extent a foundation in fact. Amongst certain classes, too, as Mr. O'Donnell points out, remarkable prolificity in the prime of life tends to wear out the the woman at a comparatively early age, and the distribution of the Musalmán population of Eastern Bengal is cited as a good instance of this. In the table on page 179 of the Bengal Report the statistics in question are shown side by side for Hindu and Musalmán. The proportions are slightly in favour of the latter between 10 and 30 years of age, after which period the decline in the case of the convert is remarkably swift, and after 60 years of age, there are but 951 Musalman women to 1,000 males of that faith, whereas the Brahmanic classes number 1,179. The general tendency amongst forest tribes seems to be in the same direction. The women are on an equality at least, numerically, with the men, up to a certain age period which oscillates between 35 and 45, after which the hard work of semi-savage existence, rather than the pain and peril of childbirth, has its revenge. In nearly every province, too, the age tables, even in their uncorrected state, show that amongst Indian women, as elsewhere, but to a more marked extent, the time at which the change of life takes place, which is generally between 40 and 45, is a very critical one.

Climate and Nutrition as influential in sex-distribution.

The above resumé of some of the more obvious factors affecting the distribution of sex in India does not, it may be noticed, take into consideration the influence of two elements to which there is no doubt but that some weight should be attached. The difficulty with regard to them is that they are not mutually exclusive, and the sphere of their influence is, at best, but vaguely definable from the available data. The factors in question are, of course, climate and nutrition. A review of the whole field of statistics resulting from the census inquiries seems to afford ground for the following deductions, which, however, are not put forward for the present as more than conjectural. The ratio of females to males, taking the whole population in existence at one time, has a tendency to be higher along the coast or within the influence of sea air, to an extent beyond what can be accounted for merely by the temporary absence of a certain number of males at sea. It runs higher, too, in hilly tracts, as a rule, than on the plains, and it seems to be depressed by a dry and hot climate, particularly if accompanied by a considerable range of temperature. On the other hand, we find traces of the influence of nutrition, which in some cases may fairly be held to neutralise that of climate. It is difficult to prove beyond a doubt any of the above tendencies, for the reason given in the beginning of this chapter, that in the determination of sex so many factors probably

* It is not improbable, too, that the prevalent custom as regards dress may be prejudicial to female vitality between 5 years old and 10 or 11; since, as a rule, when children take to clothes at all, the boy wears only a jacket, but thus covers all above the waist; but the girl wears only trousers or a petticoat, and leaves the more vital organs unprotected.—J. A. B.

enter that, in the present state of information, the relative influence of each cannot be accurately discriminated. Then, again, in a country like India there must be anomalous cases in every such conjecture, which obscure the view of the operation of the general rule, if one there be. A few instances of this may as well be cited here, to show the difficulty of dealing adequately with the subject. The coast tracts are, as a rule, highly fertile, so that the general predominance of females in their population is attributable to good nutrition as well as to climate or situation. But where we get a comparatively ill-nourished population in this tract, as in the case of Ratnagiri, on the west coast, and thus eliminate one unknown quantity, we only find that a second is to be tackled, in the shape of the emigration of males to other scenes of labour. In the Panjáb, again, there is a hot and dry tract lying adjacent to Sindh, but the ratio of women is not at its lowest there, but in a fertile and highly cultivated triangle further north, the population of which are suspected of unfair treatment of the weaker sex. Then in Sindh the ratio is at its lowest, and the country is hot and dry, but it cannot be said that there is any failure in the food supply of the province, so unless we accept inaccurate enumeration as responsible for the whole of the inequality, there is clearly some important factor not as yet ascertained. In Rájputána, where the improvement in accuracy between the two enumerations is more marked than in any other part of India, the lowest ratio was not in the desert, but in the fertile plains bordering on the Jamna, where the existence is suspected of causes probably not dissimilar to those that prevail in the Central Panjáb. The inconsistency between Bihár and the upper portion of the Gangetic basin in this respect, has been already brought to notice. Then as regards Bengal, where there is no sterile and no dry tract, for the Chútia Nágpur plateau falls within the belt of light but certain rainfall, further complications enter the problem. Admitting, with Mr. O'Donnell, that the zone of deficiency of females corresponds with that occupied by races of Mongoloid parentage, we have to ascertain whether the difference is inherent in race or attributable to artificial causes, such as that of extreme fecundity and consequent high mortality amongst women at a comparatively early age, for climatic considerations have clearly nothing to do with the case, and those of nutrition tell in a direction opposed to the facts, since, so far as Eastern Bengal is concerned, the standard of living is above that of South Bihár. The tide of immigration in this province sets from west to south-east, so the birthplace returns should throw some light on the conditions. On eliminating the immigrants, it seems that in both Northern and Eastern Bengal the ratio rises from 966 to 996 and 989 respectively, but is still far from the corresponding figure for the rest of the province. But in Assam, again, we find the same deficiency of females as in Eastern Bengal, for, deducting the immigrant population, the ratio is only 969 of that sex to 1,000 of the other, and here, too, the deficiency is in the fertile valleys, not amongst the hill population. This seems to point to some conditions common to this province and its neighbour, probably social or physical rather than racial. In Madras, the difference between the Deccan population and that of the south and west as regards the proportion of females is very marked. Mr. Stuart has shown that it extends to all castes, and points out how a Tamil caste, such as that of the traders (Chetti), returns a considerable excess of females whilst the class exactly corresponding to it in Telingána (Kómti) is in the reverse position. It is the same with both higher and lower castes than this, but it does not seem necessary to invoke racial characteristics to explain the discrepancy, as there is strong differentiation in both climate and nutrition which may account for it. There are two curious facts noted by Mr. Stuart in dealing with this interesting subject. First, that it is the general belief amongst the people of the southern tracts of the Presidency that 50 or 60 years ago there were fewer women than there are now, and that whereas formerly wives were at a premium, in the present day they have to be accompanied by a dower. The returns show that it is true that in those parts the proportion of unmarried women of 15 years of age and upwards is higher than it is in the Deccan districts. Then, again, so far back as the beginning of the century, no less competent an observer than Sir Thomas Munro found ample reason for agreeing with the popular belief in the "Ceded Districts" that there were only nine women to every 10 men. He tested the accuracy of the statement by personal investigation in different parts of his charge, and satisfied himself that, taking the whole of the tract together, the men were in excess of the other sex. Assuming this fact, the higher proportion of women now returned seems to argue in favour of the nutrition theory. We are met, however, by a case supporting the opposite conclusion in the Gujaráth division of Bombay, where the ratio of females is lower than in the Deccan, in spite of the general fertility of the tract and its accessibility to sea air. It is noticeable, however, that the ratio tends to

descend in a northward course, and as in that direction the tract is bounded by Sindh and Rajputána, where the great deficiency of the sex cannot be wholly attributed to anything but inaccuracy of return, it is probable that a good deal of the Gujaráth discrepancy also can be accounted for in that way. In Burma there is a great difference between the two divisions as regards sex distribution, as in the upper province females are largely in excess, whilst in the lower they number no more than 892 to 1,000 males. It appears, however, that the latter ratio is due to immigration and temporary sojourners, amongst whom the ratio of females is 694 in the case of those from Upper Burma, and only 230 amongst the Indian-born. The birthplace tables show that the home-born have a preponderance of females, as in the upper province, and that along the coast the ratio is generally higher than inland. In no case, however, does it reach that of the newly-acquired territory, of which a few frontier districts in the north and east, where no doubt there is an influx of temporary visitors from the Shán hills, are the only ones that do not return a considerable excess of females. To some extent this is accounted for by the fact that whilst this tract was under Burmese sovereignty, emigrants to British territory were forbidden to take their women with them, and since annexation, there being no restriction, the proportion of females to 1,000 males in that class has risen from 598 to 694. This movement does not, however, suffice to wipe out the distinction between the two divisions of the province, so that, on the whole, the case tells slightly adversely to both the climatic and nutrition hypotheses.

Summary.

To summarise what has been said above, it seems that in most parts of India proper there is a tendency, in a greater or less degree, to omit from the census record girls of from 9 to 15, and wives of from 15 to 20, or thereabouts, but that in every part of the country, except the north, girls below five years old were returned as more numerous than boys of that age. After that period, apart from wilful or ignorant omission, there is probably a real deficiency in the number of females, extending to about the twentieth year, more or less, and due to neglect, functional excitement, premature cohabitation, and unskilful widwifery. At a later period, hard work, as well as the results of the above influences, and, amongst some classes, excessive fecundity, tell on the female constitution, producing greater relative mortality than prevails in the other sex, though towards the end of life the latter succumb to old age sooner than the survivors from amongst their mates. It is also probable that either from difference or inferiority in nutrition, or from climatic influences, female life is, on the whole, better in India on the coast and hills than on the hot and dry plains.

Sex at birth.

So far we have treated of the circumstances that affect the distribution of the sexes amongst those actually in existence. There remains the question of whether the census throws any light on the determination of sex during the "nine months' ante-natal gloom."* Here we tread on delicate ground. In one of the more recent works on the subject the authors say:—

> "The number of speculations as to the nature of sex has been well nigh doubled since Drelincourt in the last century brought together 262 'groundless hypotheses,' and since Blumenbach quaintly remarked that nothing was more certain than that Drelincourt's own theory formed the 263rd. Subsequent writers have, of course, long ago added Blumenbach's Bildungstrieb to the list; nor is it claimed that the generalisation we have in our turn offered has yet received 'final form,' if that phrase, indeed, be ever permissible in an evolving science, except when applied to what is altogether extinct."

The hypothesis in question, as stated by its authors, is that—

> "Such conditions as deficient or abnormal food, high temperature, deficient light, moisture, and the like, are obviously such as would tend to induce a preponderance of waste over repair,—a *Katabolic* habit of body,—and these conditions tend to result in the production of males. Similarly, the opposed set of factors, such as abundant and rich nutrition, abundant light and moisture, favour constructive processes, *i.e.*, make for an *Anabolic* habit, and these conditions result in the production of females. With some element of uncertainty, we may also include the influence of the age and physiological prime of either sex, and of the period of fertilisation."

Now, in India, as in Europe, the male births everywhere exceed the female, and, looking at the diversity of ratio between the two in countries where registration is fairly accurate and complete, there is no reason to suppose that in the tracts we are now considering, there is more than a slight degree of incompleteness in the data for females as compared with those for the other sex. That there is some failure in this respect is admissible, though, as some of the Superintendents have pointed out, the information is not furnished by the parents of the newly-born infant in rural tracts,

* Geddes' and Thompson's "Evolution of Sex."

but obtained indirectly by the accountant, who knows every house in his charge, and has no more interest in returning boys than girls. Where the vicissitudes of season are very considerable, one must expect to find great irregularities in the birth ratio, and in the case of a large proportion of the masses the average standard of nutrition is decidedly low. The best examples of birth registration are given in the Madras Census Report, and, amongst other noteworthy features, they exhibit the peculiarity of containing the highest ratio of male births in the tracts where the general proportion of that sex is the lowest, and *vice versâ*. The confirmation these returns lend to the theory above quoted is very slight, still there does appear to be in them some ground for holding that male births have the tendency to increase relatively to those of females as the amount of nutrition gets lower, and to decrease, conversely, as times improve. There is, again, the question of how far the respective ages of the parents affect the sex of their offspring. The evidence collected by statisticians in Europe on this point begins with the results of the inquiries by Sadler and Hofacker, who held that the greater the distance between the age of the parents, the higher the chance of the offspring being male. Since 1830, however, investigation on this line has been extended over wider areas and larger collections of people, with the result of severely shaking our faith in this theory. At all events, the statistics with which we have to deal at present do not seem to give fruitful results. Finally, there is the supposed tendency of inherited volition. Where a population has special reasons to desire male or to deprecate female children, it has been said by some that a high preponderance of male births will probably ensue. But such an influence can only be a feeble one, for the reason that its extension would in time tend apparently to the extinction of the race!

In conclusion, the information on sex distribution in India furnished by the census inquiries indicates that, as in most other countries, more boys are born than girls, but owing to the very much higher mortality amongst the former during the first year of life, the latter predominate in number until their vitality begins to be affected by special sexual influences from which the male is free, so that throughout almost the whole of the prime of life the females are to a greater or less degree in defect, and the balance swings back only towards the end of life, when the total number is insufficient to restore numerical equilibrium.

CHAPTER IX.

The Population by Civil Condition.

"For what secures the civil life
But pawns of children and a wife?
That lie like hostages at stake,
To pay for all men undertake;
To whom it is as necessary
As to be born and breathe, to marry.
So universal all mankind
In nothing else is of one mind;
For in what stupid age or nation
Was marriage ever out of fashion?
Unless——————."—*Butler.*

As in the case of languages to the philologist, so as regards the study of the branch of ethnology that concerns itself with marriage custom, there is no field more varied and worthy of research than that presented by the population of India. It is but a minute corner of that field, however, that lies within the sphere of exploration to which the census is restricted. A return of the people by civil condition was first required at the enumeration of 1881, and the inquiry was followed up on as far as possible identical lines in 1891. The instructions for filling up this column in the schedule ran as follows:—

1881.	1891.
Young boys and girls who may have been married should be entered as married, even though they may not have actually begun to live with their wives or husbands. A male or female whose first wife or husband has died should be entered as widower or widow, unless he or she has married again, in which case he or she should be entered as married.	Enter each person, whether infant, child, or grown up, as either married, unmarried, or widowed. This column must not be left blank for anyone, of whatever age. Children who have been married should be entered as married, even though they may not have actually begun to live with their wives or husbands. Persons who have been married, but have no wife or husband living, should be entered as widowed. The enumerator must accept the statement made by the person, or, in the case of children, by their relatives.

The inquiry was thus limited to the simple question of whether the individual was single, married, or widowed. It was above all things necessary to avoid the appearance of any undue curiosity on the part of the State as to domestic details, hence the prohibition at the end of the rules of any controversy on the subject on the part of the enumerator who had to fill up the schedule. The statement of the person concerned was to be taken as final. There are certain special difficulties, however, in obtaining even the apparently simple information sought for under the above instructions. Several of the census Superintendents note one or two points in which there has been confusion of condition. For instance, in Assam, though there are plenty of words for widow, and a special word for bachelor, none was found, in the Bráhmapútra valley at least, for widower, so the two classes of men who had not a wife living, whether they had had one already or not, were sometimes entered under one head, and, curiously enough, that of widower. Where, too, there are special colloquial terms for the widow who has married again, it was sometimes held that the general word ought not to be used, so the second ceremony was ignored, and the wife entered as a widow, or, in Assam, where the case is particularly prominent, under the special title. On the other hand, some men who had lost their wives, are said to have been returned as married, especially if still in the prime of life. The question, again, of how to enter the divorced arose in some parts of the country. In Burma, where the institution is most in vigour, there is a recognised term, which was returned without hesitation. In India proper, though in every form of creed prevailing there the separation of husband and wife, under certain formalities, is condoned or permitted, the *status* is by no means recognised by either sex. It was the intention of the rule above cited that such persons should be entered amongst the widowed, as they had been married, but at the time of the census had no partner living. The distinction, however, was too subtle for the commonalty, and in many parts of India, even those

where divorce is not rare amongst the lower classes, the former *status* was returned, and both parties appeared amongst the married. This is not the case, it seems, in some of the hill tracts, where the number of widowers and widows is clearly due to the freedom of closing the conjugal union otherwise than by the strong measure of leaving the world. Finally, in almost every section of the lower classes, particularly where the caste rules regarding marriage expenses are stringent, there are numbers of cases in which the wife is one in fact only, but not united by any of the bonds of ceremonial which play so leading a part in the system at large. This practice of permanent concubinage is necessarily confined to those whose property is either insignificant or of a nature not likely to form the subject of a disputed succession. The woman is returned at the census as married, and as often as not the man who entertains her has lost his legitimate wife, and has thus every title, according to his standpoint, to enrol himself in the same category. We have also to deal with the converse case, of the wife who has, and never had, any husband, but who was formally wedded to a dagger, a fig-tree, or bunch of flowers, in order to give her the more dignified *status*. The above constitute the main points with regard to which the statistics now to be reviewed are to some extent untrustworthy, but, speaking generally, the distribution of the population under the three heads of married, single, and widowed, can be accurately gauged by them. It should be mentioned here that Table VIII. in Volume I. of the Imperial series excludes the population for which these details are not available by reason of the omission from the schedule of the column referring to civil condition. The balance, however, amounts to over 262½ millions, the largest population for which this class of statistic has hitherto been collected.

But though the amount of information thus obtained serves the purpose for which it was intended in connection with the census, especially as it has been tabulated in combination with age, and in some Provinces and States with caste also, its comprehensiveness tends to level the diversity and to obliterate most of the distinctions in which the ethnologist delights to revel. Not to go beyond very general topics, we

Polygyny.

find in the returns comparatively little that is new on the subject of polygyny, save that it is almost entirely restricted to the richer members of the Musalmán community, on the one hand, and to sundry hill tribes of the Central Belt and the north-east Frontier on the other. The extent to which it exists amongst the Brahmanic sections of the people must be very slight, though we are aware of the fact of its legality, and know that cases are not rare in which a second wife has had to be introduced into the family circle, owing to the failure of an heir by the first. Taking the whole of India, without Burma, there are seven in every thousand Benedicts who have more than one wife. The provincial statistics are liable to be disturbed by migration of married men for the season, as well as by the custom, in so many parts of the country, if not universally, for the wife to return to her father's house for her first childbed, as well as by the custom of dancing girls, &c. to return themselves as married, though their spouse was a dagger or graven image. Balancing the omission of young wives mentioned in the last chapter against the widows and others shown as married, though living in concubinage, the excess of wives over husbands seems to be greatest in the south of India, where it is estimated to amount to nearly 40 per 1,000. But here, too, there is a general excess of women, and it is possible that the census of this sex was more accurate than in neighbouring tracts. In Upper India, where the proportion of wives to husbands is in remarkable contrast to that of women to men as a whole, there is no doubt polygyny to a small extent amongst the richer classes, as stated above. In the Central Provinces, where the sexes are generally much on an equality in point of number, there is a remarkable difference between the forest tribes and the rest of the community in regard to the excess of wives over husbands, showing the prevalence of polygyny amongst the former to the extent of more than even the Madras ratio, and touching, in some cases, 60 in the 1,000. In the neighbouring province the same feature is found.

Polyandry.

In the opposite direction, too, India has its examples to bring forward of polyandry, or the plurality of husbands. In its patriarchal and simplest form we find it in the Himálayan valleys, chiefly wherever the food supply of the surrounding country is scarce. It is found in the north-west amongst both Buddhists and Brahmanic tribes, so it is not attributable, in these tracts, to religion, though we find it cropping up again at the eastern end of the Himálaya amongst the latter. But in the Panjáb, certainly, if not elsewhere, the custom of the marriage of one woman to the whole family of brothers is on the wane, and is growing to be regarded as disreputable. Peace and plenty may have as much to do with this change of sentiment

as conviction. In the northern plains of India, again, there are traces of this custom in certain tribes, and even in the south of the Deccan, Mr. Stuart has heard of its existence amongst a subdivision of the great Reddi caste. But the great stronghold of polyandry in Southern India is on the Malabár coast, where it prevails amongst many of the more numerous castes of different social positions. It probably originated, so far as these castes are concerned, with the Nair, or ruling community on that coast, who follow the matriarchal form, not that of the Himálaya. Here the succession is through the female, and the rules thereof somewhat complicated. In fact, the census officer for the Travancore State considered that the term married was not of itself sufficient to denote that condition in a population under the "Marumakkathayam" system, as the husband by marriage is not the husband by consummation, nor is the wife of the male member of the community the woman to whom he has been united by marriage rite. It is proposed that to meet local peculiarities in this respect the present column of the schedule should be expanded to eight, in the case of males, and nine in that of the other and favoured sex.

As a third instance of the special factors that enter into the consideration of Indian matrimony, we may mention the practice of marrying the widows of near relatives. In its most common form, that of the marriage by the younger brother of the widow of the elder, it prevails very widely over the north and east of the country, and is generally mentioned by ethnologists under its Biblically-derived title of the Levirate. It is less common in the centre and south. In the Panjáb and upper portion of the North-West Provinces it has a special name, and the second marriage is duly accounted as such in the returns, diminishing thereby, to a considerable extent, the proportion of the widows. But amongst the polygynous tribes of Assam, according to Mr. Gait, the census Superintendent, the practice extends far beyond its Panjáb limits. For instance, the heir to a Miri estate inherits with it the whole body of his father's wives, which are numerous in proportion to his means, an exception being made, it is well to state, of the actual mother of the successor. The system reaches its climax, some people might think, amongst the Gáro tribe, where the bridegroom, by his marriage, binds himself to the reversion of—shade of Thackeray!—his mother-in-law! "Le monde s'écroule," cries the hero of a recent popular drama," la belle-mère reste!" Levirate.

There are several other topics connected with the marriage systems of India, which are not only interesting from the point of view of the ethnologist, but also probably bound up more or less intimately with the wider questions involved in the consideration of this subject, with which alone the census has to deal. The matrimonial bargain, for example, is found in every stage of its progress, from the buying of a wife, which prevails to a great extent amongst the masses throughout India, to the more advanced transaction, in which the husband is bought, a practice in vogue amongst the higher classes only, in some parts of the country, and elsewhere extends to those below who aspire to social distinction by its means. It seems probable, we repeat, that if the field occupied respectively by these two customs were ascertained, it might be found that there is some connection between the mode of contract and the age at which that contract is completed, and thus some additional light thrown upon the distribution of sex, a subject which, as we saw in the preceding chapter, is sorely in need of such illumination. Then, furthermore, it would be interesting, in like manner, to learn how far the custom extends of the father's marrying his son below, and his daughter above, his own rank, a practice connected with the question of dower and bride-gift respectively. Examples of this sort only show how the study of custom ought to be invoked in aid of mere statistics, in treating of wide questions of social importance, such as the marriage system.

For the purposes of the present work, however, we must dispense with that aid, owing to the fact, on which so much stress was laid in the opening chapter, that India is not so much a single country as a continent, so that the collation of such a mass of detail as is available in sporadic form on the subject in hand would entail the preparation of a volume by itself. There are few topics that come within the scope of the census that are less susceptible of being dealt within in Imperial totals than the figures given in Table VIII. and its subdivisions, since the features common to all provinces are prominent, indeed, but subject to such remarkable variety in different territorial subdivisions, that even a province is far too large a tract to be taken as a unit for analysis. In the reports from the Superintendents that have reached the Central Office up to the present time, a chapter is devoted in each case to the consideration of the local statistics, and in some cases the information is supplemented by

the valuable experience of the reporting officer of the country concerned, an experience acquired by work and inquiry amongst the people themselves, and not merely derived from standard works of reference. Amongst those that come under this category, the chapters written in the reports on Assam, Bengal, the Panjáb, and Madras are especially recommended for perusal, and to these may be added the corresponding part of the Burma volume, which deals with a marriage system very different from that of the rest of the Indian Empire. Some of the reports on the census of 1881, too, are perhaps even more valuable, since their authors had to work in virgin soil, and were, in this respect, the pioneers of their successors.

General features.

In the present review, all that is proposed is to deduce, as far as possible, from the similarities in different parts of the country, the general type with which the marriage system of the country at large tends to conform, and to indicate, under the same qualification, from the divergency in various directions, the results that seem to ensue from the adoption of that type. To begin with general features only, the following table gives the relative figures of the population in each of the three conditions for the 16 main territorial divisions of India. To make more apparent the difference between the East and the West in this respect, the corresponding return for a few European countries are added.

TABLE A.—Showing the Distribution by Civil Condition of 10,000 of each Sex.

Country.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
India, 1891	4,873	4,647	480	3,389	4,851	1,760
„ *without Burma*	*4,852*	*4,668*	*480*	*3,339*	*4,883*	*1,778*
1. Madras	5,387	4,269	344	3,724	4,361	1,915
2. Bombay	4,514	5,021	465	3,027	5,273	1,700
3. Bengal	4,756	4,826	418	3,111	4,826	2,063
4. N.-W. Provinces	4,483	4,854	663	3,037	5,259	1,704
5. Oudh	4,557	4,891	552	3,160	5,239	1,601
6. Panjáb	5,265	4,106	629	3,750	4,877	1,373
7. Sindh	5,836	3,653	511	4,185	4,426	1,389
8. Central Provinces	4,668	4,890	442	3,560	4,960	1,480
9. Assam	5,622	3,968	410	4,138	4,162	1,700
10. Berár	3,838	5,588	574	2,635	5,769	1,596
11. Ajmér	4,839	4,653	508	3,355	5,094	1,551
12. Haidrabád	4,383	5,204	413	2,932	5,270	1,798
13. Baroda	4,323	5,158	519	2,997	5,517	1,486
14. Mysore	5,390	4,138	472	3,636	4,249	2,115
15. Upper Burma	5,603	3,884	513	4,947	3,574	1,479
16. Lower „	5,563	3,980	457	5,136	3,927	937
1. England and Wales (1881)	6,193	3,463	344	5,928	3,314	758
2. Scotland	6,628	3,044	328	6,285	2,896	819
3. Ireland	6,871	2,750	379	6,344	2,698	958
4. Austria	6,151	3,554	295	5,771	3,416	813
5. Hungary	5,603	4,090	307	4,941	4,050	1,009
6. Sweden	6,233	3,411	356	5,958	3,233	809
7. Holland	6,237	3,392	371	5,940	3,317	743
8. Italy	5,989	3,610	401	5,397	3,672	931
9. Portugal	6,232	3,362	406	6,040	3,119	841

Now, one of the first points that will strike one in the above figures is that in Europe, omitting Hungary, which has a tinge of Orientalism about it, at least 60 per cent. of the males, and of the females nearer that proportion than 50, are unmarried. In India, if we include Burma, which in this matter is less different than in others from the rest of the country as to its male population, no more than $48\frac{3}{4}$ of that sex are single, whilst the females in this condition come only just above the third. Burma, so far as its single population is concerned, is remarkably similar in its ratio to Hungary, and shows a very much higher per-centage of unmarried women and girls than any other part of India. We may pass on to the married, leaving territorial diversity for future consideration. In Europe, on the whole, about one-third of the men, and a slightly lower proportion of the women are paired off, whilst in India

46½ per cent. of the one, and about 48½ of the other are in that state. As to the widowed, the distinction between Europe and India, though marked enough amongst men, where the proportions are 3·5 against 4·8 per cent., is extraordinary when we compare the figures for the other sex, since where there are eight widows in the temperate zone, there are not far from 18 in the tropics. Looking at the difference in the three conditions proportionately for the two continents, and using round numbers only, it may be said that India is behind Europe in its proportion of unmarried men by about 24 per cent.; that it exceeds the latter in that of the married of the same sex by 46 per cent., and has relatively about 36 per cent. more widowers. As regards females, Europe is 43 per cent. ahead in the matter of spinsters, 48 per cent. behind as to wives, and at least 122 per cent. to the worse—numerically—for widows. That is, men in India are largely, and women very largely, given to matrimony as compared with Europeans, with the consequence that in both sexes the widowed are in far higher proportion.

The marginal table (B.) shows the distinctions in another light, namely, the average number of females to a thousand males in the same civil condition. In Europe, for instance, the unmarried women are usually less in number than the bachelors, though, except in Hungary and Italy, the deficiency is but trifling. In India, on the other hand, they reach but two-thirds of their possible mates. In the case of the wedded, the general excess of wives over husbands in Europe, not being explicable by polygyny, is attributable to migration of husbands, leaving the wives at home. It is also not an unusual occurrence for a woman to describe herself as married at the census, when, in fact, the bond is less durable. In India, as has been explained above, there is a certain amount of polygyny, and also of the concealment of wives. In a few cases, too, migration is undoubtedly to be taken into consideration in connection with this point, as in Madras and Oudh, where the excess is considerable, and, on the other hand, in Assam, Ajmér, and Lower Burma, in which the immigration is of married males only. The excess of husbands in Berar is attributed in part to under-enumeration, but the same feature in Haidrabád and Baroda has not yet been explained, and is certainly remarkable in its extent. The sex proportions amongst the widowed vary more than the rest, as might be expected from the different rules that prevail in India regarding the second marriage of women who have lost their husbands. In Europe, there seems to be an average of 2,500 widows to 1,000 widowers; in India the mean proportion is about 3,570, which is considerably above that found in Hungary, the tract most abnormally situated in this respect, in the West. France and Germany have been left out of the table purposely, since the figures for 1880 were affected by the losses of male life 10 years previously. It is worth notice in passing, that of the Indian provinces, Madras, Mysore, and Haidrabad show very high proportions, which may be in some degree attributable to the accidental cause of famine, a calamity before which, as has been remarked already, the so-called stronger sex seem to fall sooner than the

TABLE B.—Showing the Sex Proportion in each Condition.

Country, &c.	No. of Females to 1,000 Males.			
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Total.
India, 1891	670	1,005	3,533	963
„ *without Burma*	*663*	*1,007*	*3,568*	*963*
Madras	707	1,044	5,702	1,022
Bombay	637	998	3,480	951
Bengal	658	1,006	4,962	1,006
N.-W. Provinces	625	1,000	2,375	923
Oudh	658	1,010	2,756	949
Panjáb	608	1,014	1,863	851
Sindh	596	1,006	2,260	831
Central Provinces	761	1,012	3,340	998
Assam	693	989	3,903	942
Berar	647	973	2,619	942
Ajmér	611	965	2,688	881
Haidrabád	645	976	4,204	964
Baroda	643	977	2,654	928
Mysore	668	1,016	4,433	991
Upper Burma	957	998	3,126	1,084
Lower „	823	880	1,830	892
England and Wales (1881).	1,009	1,014	2,297	1,055
Scotland (1881)	1,020	1,023	2,688	1,076
Ireland (1881)	963	1,023	2,640	1,043
Austria (1880)	982	1,006	2,882	1,047
Hungary (1880)	844	1,007	3,347	1,017
Sweden (1880)	1,014	1,035	2,413	1,061
Holland (1879)	975	1,001	2,048	1,023
Italy (1881)	897	1,012	2,314	995
Portugal (1878)	1,058	1,013	2,263	1,092

more patient. We have, then, Bengal, where the high ratio is due to the local marriage system, and Assam, where the same cause prevails throughout the more populous tract of the province.

We have now elicited two main facts regarding the marriage system in India; first, the abnormal prevalence of marriage, and, again, the abnormal inequality of the sexes in the condition of widowhood. To the discussion of these, then, with their causes and consequences, the rest of this chapter can be more especially devoted.

Prevalence of the married.

As regards the general tendency towards matrimony, it has first to be seen what are the influences that operate with less force in India than in Europe in repression of the mating instincts of humanity. The first is obviously the cost of the process. The charge of recklessness in regard to the assumption of the responsibilities of family life is too often made without considering the relativity of the imputation, and the only recklessness involved is on the side of those who cast the stone. Looking at the difference in the conditions, it is hardly straining language to say that the line between prudent and improvident marriage is more often overstepped amongst the masses in parts of the United Kingdom than it is in India, relatively, of course, to the respective populations. In the latter country, the material necessaries of life, measured in labour, cost but little. The standard of life, as distinguished from bare subsistence, although it shows signs of rising, is still remarkably low, and, as we have seen in the second chapter of this review, the question of building site and accommodation scarcely enters into the question, and clothing is much in the same stage. There are possibly cases, but they are so rare that they only serve to illuminate the general uniformity, in which the labour of a healthy adult does not suffice to provide food for a wife and child as well as for himself. Then, too, at this point, another factor enters into the calculation. Throughout the masses, and it is with them alone that we must deal in this matter, the wife is in every way the helpmeet of her husband, and the sooner she enters on her functions the better for his material comfort. Either she actually works at the family occupation or one of her own, or else a share of the domestic duties being taken by her off the hands of the bread-winner, he is enabled to devote more attention or time, or both, to his special avocation. This relief is, in India, no slight consideration, even though the duties in question be restricted to cooking, fetching water, and cleaning up the pots and pans used in those processes. Every section of the community, so far as general experience goes, seems to have some other with which it cannot mingle and whose touch is pollution to food or drink. There may be somewhere a bottom to the ocean of caste, and probably the European and Chinaman lie very near it, but, as a rule, the distinction is passed down as far as the inquiry is likely to follow. There is no field, therefore, for the public cook-shop, except in towns, or where Musalmáns abound. The time and ceremonial spent in preparing meals is everywhere considerable and amongst some castes proverbial, in witness whereof we may cite the Hindustani saying, "eight Bráhmans, nine cooking-places." It is thus essential that a man who is in the field all the day should have someone to cook and bring his food; so, too, with the artizan, who has his loom, furnace, or tan-pit to attend to. The modern savage, says Mr. Risley, wants a sturdy young woman who can carry his baggage, cook his food, collect edible grubs, and make herself generally useful, and *mutatis mutandis*, with a bit of the higher animal thrown in, this very fairly represents the whole duty of woman throughout the lower grades of Indian society. It will be seen that in these circumstances, the chief motive for prudential restraint is removed almost beyond sight. We come, next, to another side of the case, which was briefly touched upon in the third chapter. The ease with which a man can provide for a wife, the help and comfort he derives from her presence in his home, and the natural wish to leave behind someone to take his place in the world and carry on his name and tradition, all these, it may be thought, are incentives enough to matrimony; but in India, at least amongst the classes most strongly impregnated with Animism, to the realised expectations of this life is added the inducement of improving by a fertile union one's chances in the next. In Madras, writes Mr. Stuart, the strong tendency to marry has little to do with religious sentiment. This may be true, so far as the orthodox Brahmanic view of the destination of the childless adult is in question, but in the popular belief, the spirit of such an individual, so far from being safely encaged, to his own discomfort, in "the Hell called Pút," is found to be exceedingly vicious and importunate in his visitations to his relatives still on earth. Burying him face downwards fails to keep him below ground, and when he has once got up, strings of leaves, and even silver nails, are insufficient to distract his inconvenient attentions.

Then, again, there is the more tangible ground of objection that if the childless man was in possession of any property, the application to the case by the courts of law of rules of inheritance framed entirely on Brahmanic principles, or on custom stereotyped under the neo-Brahmanic influences, might turn out detrimental to the next of kin. Therefore, we may say with Panurge, it is evidently necessary that a man should marry—in India, that is. Now, let us take the case of the women, which, from the census point of view, is more important, and, sociologically, more interesting. In considering this part of the subject, we must first clear the way by assuming or rejecting the hypothesis that was put forward in the last chapter, namely, that the deficiency in the return of women is due in some degree to an actual shortness in numbers, not solely to omissions from the schedules. If fewer girls, relatively to the other sex, reach a marriageable age, the less, of course, is likely to be the proportion of those left unwedded. The greater the difference in age between husband and wife, the higher, in the ordinary course of events, is likely to be the number of the widows. The examination of the circumstances in the case of the male section of the community, which has just been made, indicate how high is the probability that a girl, at some time or other of her life, will find a partner, and whether she is at a premium or subject to discount is a matter of conventionality only. Now, whatever the laxity of the hold that Brahmanic views on social questions, so far as men are concerned, may have on the popular mind, there can be no doubt as to the influence of such tenets in the case of women. It is superfluous to go over again ground already traversed in Chapter V., but it will be borne in mind what was therein laid down as regards the pervading atmosphere of Brahmanic notions, and how they had grown into a standard, as it were, of respectability in certain social features of the community. In marriage custom above all is this perceptible, for the conventionality on which it is based has its root amongst the sex to which, as in other countries, it is of the most importance, so it is by his conduct as regards marriage that the social aspirant is wont to be judged. It is noteworthy that it is in respect to marriage and widowhood that we can appreciate the advance of Brahmanism amongst the forest tribes of the Central Belt. It is amongst the highly orthodox tribes of the western Jamna basin that the Panjáb Musalman preserves all his former customs. Further south, the Telingána population, which received Brahmanism in a fresher form than that which it assumed on its diffusion amongst the Tamils, surpass the latter in their orthodox adherence to the more striking parts of the Brahmanic system, and contain castes which in these respects are said to be more Bráhman than the Bráhmans. The more southern Dravidians, on the other hand, as Mr. Stuart points out, seem to have rejected all of the above-mentioned system that did not chime in with the most honoured of their own customs, and though orthodox in proportion to their position in society, the general level is decidedly below what strict adherence to the Purán would require of them. Now, it is time to see in brief what are the demands of orthodoxy in respect to marriage. It is evident that in the earliest days of which we have even faint record in Aryan history, the girl was left to be courted pretty much as amongst the forest tribes of the present day. She could be won by prowess in athletic games, in war, or by gambling, and could likewise be gambled away or carried off by force or fraud, or otherwise disposed of. But, from what motive it is hardly necessary to inquire, the Brahmanical framers of the Puranic codes conceived a dislike to the position of an unmarried girl, and when they disliked anything they damned it with more than Athanasian comprehensiveness. Thus we read that "the mother, father, and elder brother of a girl, who let her reach puberty unmarried, go to Hell," the precise section of the locality is not mentioned, but it is probably not the same as that reserved for the childless man. The girl was in a parlous state already, from which marriage alone could rescue her, so the act of omission doubtless made it advisable to separate the family, at least by sexes.*

Prohibition of widow-marriage.

Then comes the question of widowhood, on which much has been written, but nothing need be quoted here, as the injunctions on the subject are apparently of still more modern origin than those respecting the marriage of daughters, and leaving out of question the Bráhmans themselves, such precepts have no currency amongst the people, save what they derive from their value as rungs of the social ladder. But it is none the less apparent that the forbearance from marrying a widow is the first sign, in most parts of the country south and east of the Panjáb, of the intention of severing oneself from a former unregenerate condition, and becoming incorporated in a higher section of the Brahmanic community. In many parts of Upper India, where the Levirate is in

* This was written before I had seen the controversy on the subject between Drs. Jolly and Bhandárkar, with their exposition of the chances of misinterpretation of the text in question.—J. A. B.

vogue, the thin end of the wedge is the restriction of the marriage to the widow of one's elder brother, but amongst the masses of the people of Central and Southern India, apart from the explicable avoidance of half-worn articles when new are to be had and their price is available, a widow of under 20 years of age has a very fair chance of a second husband, and Wellerism is rampant only amongst the very exclusive, or those who wish to be thought so. But we are speaking of the present day, and unfortunately the rise in the standard of living, which has been mentioned more than once in the course of this review as having ensued upon the state of peace and firm government of the last 30 years or so, has wrought a change in the views of those whom it affects, as regards matrimony. It has been said, on the one hand, that amongst the well-to-do classes, such as Bráhmans and Writers, the taste for high living has led to the postponement of marriage amongst the men, because they cannot get enough whilst quite young to support a wife and keep up their standard of luxury, but against this it may be shown, with some reason, that if there be any signs of such postponement, it may be equally attributed to the rise in the price of food, and, in towns, of house rent, both of which hit the recipients of fixed salaries or cash payments, harder than the rest of the community. At all events, the class in question is a very small one, and is by no means backward in letting the public have an opportunity of sympathising if the world does not go quite smoothly with it, so that if the inability to comply with any conventionality that the caste dictates had caused inconvenience, the foundations of the empire would surely have been shaken ere now, in the usual way. But a far more serious development of the Brahmanic system is indicated by some of the Superintendents in their census reports, and that is the strong tendency in the present day of peace and plenty to manifest their prosperity in the way mentioned above, firstly, by prohibiting the marriage of widows, and then by insisting upon carrying out strictly the Brahmanic injunction above quoted, and save themselves from the place to which the law-maker consigns them, by getting all their girls married before they have reached womanhood. Many cases have occurred within recent years to show that any movement amongst the literate classes in the direction of the abrogation of these two precepts is but mouth deep, whilst their heart is with the observance of them to the utmost. *Longum iter per precepta; breve et efficace per exempla*, but when opportunities occur for carrying into practice amongst themselves or their families some of the reforms they have been so strenuously endeavouring to impose upon others, it is remarkable to note what an amount of filial piety and of deference to the feelings of those to whom their respect is due comes into play, to prevent them from becoming martyrs to their principles. On the other hand, amongst the castes below the Bráhman and Rájput, who have no education, and make no pretence of being sensible of any defects in their social system, we find continual attempts to conquer society by proving their claim to recognition through the adoption of these very tokens of high rank which, by the admission of many who observe them, are blots on the social arrangements of the community, which it is the duty of men of light and leading to suppress. Thus, whilst the mouth is proclaiming its enlightenment and progress, the trunk is waddling backwards as fast as the nature of the ground will permit.

Age, in connection with the marriage statistics.

This brings us to another section of our subject, and one which is, perhaps, the most important, namely, the relationship between age and the general system on which marriage is regulated in India. This can be exhibited in two forms. First, to put it tersely, the distribution of each condition by age, and, secondly, that of each age by civil condition. In anticipation of the final compilation of these statistics, and as an aid in the review thereof by the census Superintendents, the information collected at the enumeration of 1881, together with that for a good many foreign countries regarding which statistics bearing on this point were available, was reduced to a uniform proportional basis in the central office, and circulated to the officers concerned. It will be found, accordingly, that in all the Provincial and State reports, use has been made of this resource in dealing with the return for the special tract under review. It is superfluous to reproduce here the figures aforesaid in their entirety, as they cover about 10 pages of closely printed matter, but extracts will be given where relevant to the point immediately under discussion.

It must first be remarked with regard to these statistics, that whereas those for European countries begin at the 16th year, it is necessary to carry back those for India to a far earlier age, for reasons that, if they cannot be surmised from what has already been said in this work, will be abundantly illustrated by the selected proportions given in the margin on next page. Here we have the number in 10,000 of the single, married, and widowed respectively of each sex, who are less than 15

years old. Whilst in the European countries, except in Hungary, less than 60 per cent. of the single of either sex fall within this age, in India more than three-quarters of the males and over 94 per cent. of the females have not attained it. Put otherwise, in India only 23 out of every 100 bachelors, and only six out of the same number of unmarried women are over 15 years old. Then, again, as to the married, we find 5 per cent. of the husbands, and 13½ per cent. of the wives are below the age at which the tables for European countries, except those of Austria and Hungary, begin. The proportions of the widowed, too, are very different in the two series. The male ratio, again, in India, it will be noted, is higher than that of the juvenile widows owing to the more frequent remarriage of the former in riper years.

TABLE C.

Country, &c.	Proportion under 15 Years old of 10,000 in each Condition.					
	Males.			Females.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	7,681	506	167	9,432	1,360	111
„ *without Burma*	*7,712*	*518*	*171*	*9,514*	*1,391*	*113*
Burma	6,752	4	2	7,617	15	4
Scotland	5,802	—	—	5,536	—	—
Ireland	5,299	—	—	5,327	—	—
Germany	5,821	—	—	5,956	—	—
Austria	5,631	—	—	5,783	2	—
Hungary	6,665	—	—	7,476	13	2
Holland	5,718	—	—	5,823	—	—
Italy	5,461	—	—	5,866	—	—
France	4,937	—	—	5,301	—	—
Sweden	5,449	—	—	5,256	—	—
Portugal	5,761	—	—	5,270	2	—

We can look at the figures at this age from another standpoint, namely, the distribution of the people of this age, according to their civil condition, irrespective of the relation they bear to their elders in the same condition. The following table

TABLE D.

Country, &c.	Number in each Condition of 10,000 of each Sex under 15.						Proportion of Females per 1,000 Males in each Condition.		
	Males.			Females.					
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	9,390	590	20	8,247	1,702	51	822	2,703	2,369
„ *without Burma*	*9,373*	*606*	*20*	*8,195*	*1,752*	*52*	*817*	*2,702*	*2,368*
Burma Upper	9,997	3	—	9,989	10	1	1,027	—	—
Burma Lower	9,995	4	1	9,982	17	1	960	—	—
Scotland	10,000	—	—	10,000	—	—	974	—	—
Ireland							968	—	—
Germany							998	—	—
Holland							993	—	—
Sweden							978	—	—
France							989	—	—
Austria				9,998	2	—	1,009	1 : 53	—
Hungary				9,985	14	1	1,006	1 : 55	—
Italy				9,999	1	—	963	—	—
Portugal				9,998	2	—	968	1 : 8	—

shows that comparison with countries in Europe is, in this respect, useless, as at the age excluded from their tables, India returns nearly 6 per cent. of the boys and 17 per cent. of the girls as married, with a certain proportion of widows and widowers. As before, Hungary and Austria show a few girls married and widowed, and Italy still fewer, showing that Juliet and Saint Elizabeth have their successors, but the highest of the numbers returned by these countries is insignificant. The concluding section of the table simply compares the sexes as distributed between the three conditions in India. It shows that to every 10 husbands under 15 there are 27 wives, and to every 10 widowers about 24 widows, whilst the unmarried girls would be less by about one in every five.

The above three series of comparative figures serve to set forth more prominently than those already given earlier in the chapter one of the most remarkable points of difference between the East and West, that is, the prevalence in the former of juvenile marriage, with its complement of early widowhood. There is a second point which is well worth notice here, namely, the prevalence of marriage at all ages, of which mention has been made both here and in a previous chapter. The following table, accordingly, shows the distribution of 10,000 of the unmarried of each sex within and beyond the period of which we have just been treating.

TABLE E.

Age Period.	India.		Scotland.		Germany.		Austria.		Italy.		Hungary.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—9	5,715	8,059	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10—14	1,966	1,373	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total, 0—14	*7,681*	*9,432*	*5,802*	*5,536*	*5,821*	*5,956*	*5,631*	*5,783*	*5,461*	*5,866*	*6,665*	*7,476*
15—39	2,170	510	3,768	3,642	3,834	3,523	3,915	3,538	3,959	3,483	3,169	2,382
40—49	84	28	201	319	159	209	212	288	253	266	90	78
50 and over	65	30	229	503	186	312	242	391	327	385	76	65

The figures speak for themselves. The average proportion of the unmarried males, which falls in Europe within the first 15 years, is contained in India in the first 10. The next period, 15 to 40 years, comprises what is in India the prime of life, corresponding, no doubt, to 20 to 45 in Europe. Allowing for the difference of age in reaching maturity and beginning to decline from it, the discrepancy between the two series is not excessive in this sex, but in the next periods, omitting Hungary, the proportion of bachelors in Europe is remarkably higher than that in India, owing partly, of course, to abstinence from marriage, and partly to the superior "staying power" of the European, after passing the prime of life. But when we look at the female side of the table, the difference is enormous, and no readjustment of the age periods will suffice to obscure the preponderance of married women in India at the reproductive ages, and, after 40 years of age, the almost entire absence, relatively speaking, of women who have never entered that condition. It is worth while, perhaps, to illustrate this fact a little more fully, by making use of a table corresponding to the second of those given above in connection with the population of less than 15 years old. The following statement, then, shows by series at four age periods, the relative number in each of the three conditions, with the average number of females to 1,000 males of the same age and condition.

TABLE F., showing the Number in each Condition of 10,000 at certain Age Periods above 15, and the relative Number of Females therein.

Country, &c.	A.—Between 15 and 25 Years old.								
	Males.			Females.			Number of Females to 1,000 Males.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	4,879	4,948	173	806	8,709	485	167	1,775	2,841
„ *without Burma*	*4,798*	*5,029*	*173*	*662*	*8,849*	*489*	*139*	*1,774*	*2,848*
Scotland	9,275	716	9	8,623	1,360	17	954	1,949	—
Ireland	9,660	334	6	9,107	877	16	989	2,752	—
Germany	9,649	348	3	8,754	1,231	15	929	3,624	5,030
Austria	9,541	456	3	8,202	1,775	23	898	4,064	7,298
Hungary	8,331	1,653	16	5,416	4,461	123	696	2,888	8,341
Italy	9,462	532	4	7,870	2,100	30	849	4,032	4,772
Holland	9,536	460	6	8,942	1,047	10	937	2,271	3,025

B.—Between 25 and 40 Years old.

Country, &c.	Males.			Females.			Number of Females to 1,000 Males.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	1,106	8,407	487	149	8,191	1,660	129	928	3,248
„ *without Burma*	*1,091*	*8,424*	*485*	*134*	*8,189*	*1,677*	*117*	*929*	*3,302*
Scotland	3,431	6,366	203	3,274	6,339	387	1,074	1,120	2,147
Ireland	5,221	4,636	143	3,767	5,832	401	819	1,429	3,191
Germany	3,148	6,735	117	2,411	7,241	348	806	1,131	3,123
Austria	3,230	6,665	105	2,626	7,029	345	860	1,116	3,486
Hungary	1,337	8,501	162	741	8,475	784	563	1,014	4,906
Italy	3,399	6,441	160	2,152	7,457	391	646	1,181	2,485
Holland	3,534	6,329	137	2,978	6,795	227	869	1,108	1,711

C.—Between 40 and 50 Years old.

Country, &c.	Males.			Females.			Number of Females to 1,000 Males.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	410	8,596	994	185	5,612	4,203	228	593	3,916
„ *without Burma*	*408*	*8,595*	*997*	*96*	*5,560*	*4,344*	*214*	*588*	*3,961*
Scotland	1,457	8,016	527	2,001	6,680	1,319	1,626	986	2,963
Ireland	2,095	7,471	434	1,869	6,760	1,371	977	990	3,460
Germany	944	8,712	344	1,134	7,632	1,234	1,287	838	3,838
Austria	1,194	8,516	290	1,484	7,321	1,195	1,338	925	4,437
Hungary	470	9,091	439	375	7,467	2,158	779	802	4,797
Italy	1,366	8,169	465	1,279	7,398	1,323	941	909	2,856
Holland	1,432	8,184	384	1,496	7,693	811	1,070	962	2,164

D.—Fifty Years old and over.

Country, &c.	Males.			Females.			Number of Females to 1,000 Males.		
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
India	306	7,497	2,197	86	2,452	7,462	299	350	3,635
„ *without Burma*	*302*	*7,498*	*2,200*	*76*	*2,387*	*7,537*	*270*	*340*	*3,662*
Scotland	1,140	7,069	1,791	1,961	4,282	3,757	2,236	787	2,726
Ireland	1,388	6,848	1,764	1,514	4,408	4,078	1,174	683	2,490
Germany	765	7,400	1,835	1,092	4,896	4,012	1,634	757	2,501
Austria	962	7,482	1,556	1,388	4,909	3,703	1,584	720	2,613
Hungary	353	7,806	1,841	269	4,750	4,981	767	611	2,716
Italy	1,096	7,144	1,760	1,165	4,938	3,897	1,056	686	2,198
Holland	1,083	7,096	1,821	1,270	5,333	3,397	1,295	830	2,061

The figures in the first period, that of the early prime, bear much the same testimony as those of the preceding one, though in a more striking degree. Half the men are married and nearly 2 per cent. have already lost their wives. The women show nearly 5 per cent. widowed and 87 married. In Europe about 85 per cent. are still single, and not more than 15 per cent. are married. Hungary, of course, is exceptional. To an Indian statist there is always a sense of comfort in reaching this

stepping stone between the primitive figures of the East and the dead level of sweet reasonableness found in the more regular returns of Western Europe. As regards the subsequent periods, it will be seen how the tendency in the case of males is much the same in the West, as in India, though the degree in which it is manifested is far lower. The married men rise in proportion up to 50 years, and then decline in much the same ratio in both hemispheres. The widowers rise gradually to the end of life in India, but in Europe, though the course is the same, the rise, after 50 years, is more marked and more sudden. There is, of course, more divergence in the case of the other sex. The wives begin to decline at 40, and after 50 only a quarter of the women are still mated, and the rest are widows, the proportion never married being negligable. In Europe, on the other hand, the proportion of wives follows that of husbands more closely, and amongst the elders scarcely two-fifths are widows, though the ratio of the unmarried is very much higher than it is in India at any age above 10. The results of the inequality can be appreciated from the sex proportions in the last three columns of each section of the table. We need take little account of the single in connection with the point in question. As to the married, owing to the unions being early amongst both sexes in India, the ratio of wives to husbands, between 15 and 25, is only about 18 to 10, which is far below that prevalent in Europe. In the course of the next period the Indian curves for the two sexes, if the details were set forth by diagram, would be seen to cross between 35 and 40, as many young widowers have remarried, whilst widows are not in demand. In Europe, taking account of later marriages, emigration, and the general tendency from various causes of males to be in defect at these ages, the balance is slightly in favour of the wives, and the proportion of widows is not far below that found in India. Single women, too, are, as in India, at their lowest. We next find a very rapid fall in the latter country between 40 and 50, in the proportion of wives, with a slight one in Europe; and the proportions in the widowed, too, correspond in relative variation, both in direction and degree. Finally, the same distinctions are accentuated in later life, and the divergence in India between the numbers of husbands and wives, widows and widowers respectively, is far greater than in the West, and the unmarried women everywhere, save in Hungary, outnumber the bachelors.

This is all that can be said in the present work about the distinction between the marriage system of Europe and that of India, taking the latter, as a whole. We have now to devote attention to the diversity of practice found in different parts of that country, and, as the subject is one which involves the analysis of a very large amount of detail, far beyond the scope of a general review like this, it is proposed to direct the inquiry chiefly towards the two most important questions only, namely, the relative prevalence of juvenile, or, as it is sometimes termed, infant, marriage, and its complement, the prevalence of widowhood, amongst the two sexes respectively; for, as we have been shown in the tables already given, there is little of the nature of equality between the two. Men, as a rule, marry as early, and remarry, as their circumstances permit. The destiny of the women is regulated by custom, and, more distantly, by ideal conventionality, so that greater variety is found in their circumstances than in those of the other sex. The tendency, however, such as it is, lies in the direction, as has been observed above, of earlier marriage and less widow marriage, according to the greater or less attraction exercised on the multitude by Brahmanic influences. Reviewing the whole field of statistics that is opened to us by the census, it seems to be established that in respect to juvenile marriage, and to an extent but slightly less, to widow marriage, the diversity of practice that appears in not only each Province and large State, but in every large subdivision of such units, is due, in the main, to local, rather than to caste or social, custom. We see, that is to say, the lowest grades of the community in some parts of the country habitually marrying at an age below that of the upper ranks in others not far distant and *vice versâ*. An exception must be made, of course, to this rule in the case of Bráhmans, who, though they may fall in with the local views as to the age at marriage, invariably prohibit, so far as our information is available, the marriage of widows. It will be seen in the comments on each Province, &c. that follow, how far these general tendencies are borne out, but it must be understood beforehand that the age quoted is, as in all cases where this factor enters, only approximately accurate. A few remarks on the territorial diversity at the principal age periods will not be out of place in connection with this part of the subject. The Imperial tables begin with the return of those under five years old. Of these, only a few over 103,000 boys and 258,000 girls are said to be married, and about 7,000 of the one and 14,000 of the other are returned as widowed. The proportion of the married is

abnormally high in Baroda and the Gujaráth States of Bombay, and for this there is the special reason given by the Superintendents in 1881, that in a large local agricultural class it is the rule to contract marriages only once in 12 years or so; every infant, therefore, available at the lucky moment is united to some other, under peculiar regulations, lest the next cycle should begin too late for caste propriety.* In Berar, again, both sexes marry very early, not only in this period but in the next as well. Between 5 and 10 comes the critical time when caste custom is supreme, if the Brahmanical rules be operative. Here Berár comes in an easy winner, with over 35 per cent. of its females wedded, but in the matter of boy husbands Baroda and the Gujaráth States of Bombay are its equals, on account of the continuance of the influence noted above. Haidrabád comes high as regards both sexes, a characteristic, also, of the adjoining tracts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies; and Bengal, though above the average in both sexes, is more remarkable for the number of its young bridegrooms. The period included between 10 and 15 is, perhaps, the most important of all as regards the marriage of females. It is unfortunate, therefore, that it is also that which, as we have seen in the last chapter, probably includes, to adopt an Irish figure of speech, most of the omissions. Taking the returns as they stand, Berar and Baroda again head the list of males, followed by the North-West Provinces and Oudh, which in this respect overtop the average for the first time. Berar and its neighbour, Haidrabád, crown the female ratio with nearly three-fourths of that sex married, Baroda falling back below Bengal, Bombay, and Upper India. The community under 15, as a whole, such as is given in the preceding tables for all India, presents features which are more useful in considering the case of young men than of girls, for it includes far less of the physically adult in the former case than in the latter. Baroda and Berar are far beyond the rest in their proportion of the married in this period, the North-West and Bengal following. It is superfluous to treat of the rest of the age returns in such detail as the above, so we may take, as the period of maturity, the years between 15 and 40. In this, the average proportion of the married is about 67 per cent. of the males and 85 of the females. Berár again heads the roll with 82 and 89 respectively. Oudh exceeds it as to females, but is far below in respect to males. The ratio of married men is high, again, in the Central Provinces, Baroda, Haidrabad, Bombay, Bengal, and the North-West Provinces, and of married women in much the same area, substituting Sindh and the Panjáb for Bengal. It is in connection with this period that the calculation of the fertility of the population is usually made. With the limited *data* in India this can only be a matter of conjecture. In England and Wales it is probably accurately given as 286 births per 1,000 married women of the reproductive ages. In India the Provincial Superintendents who have touched on this point estimate the figure, variously, between 159 and 317†. At all events the general level of the computation indicates that excessive fertility is not a material cause of the increase of the population, so much as the alternative, that is, the high ratio of married couples. It is superfluous, looking at the limitations we have imposed on the treatment of the subject, to review the higher ages, beyond remarking that Madras husbands are the longest in maintaining their hold on this condition, and, omitting Burma and the Central Provinces, where the forest tribes, whose marriage system is very different, turn the scale, Sindh, Oudh, and the Panjáb have the highest proportion of wives alive after 50. This is the more remarkable, as the husbands in these tracts present the lowest ratios in India. Against an average of 350 wives to 1,000 husbands at this age, we have 456 in Oudh, 439 in its neighbour, 393 in Sindh, and 363 in the Panjáb. On the other side, in Haidrabad, only 268 are shown, in Madras, 287, Mysore, 290, and Bengal, 294.

Widowhood.

We must revert awhile to compare with the above figures for the married, those regarding the widowed. Up to the tenth year the ratio follows, of course, closely that of the married, and Bengal, Berar, Baroda, and Bombay lead the way, and the North-West Provinces and Oudh occupy a higher place than they do with respect to juvenile marriage. The same items appear at the head of the next period, 10 to 15, when, in addition to the immature widows, there is probably a considerable sprinkling of those who have been actually married in the European sense of the term. The highest ratio is found in Bengal, where it reaches $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number

* This caste in Baroda returns as married $82\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the boys and $96\frac{3}{4}$ of the girls between 10 and 15, and $51\frac{3}{4}$ and $86\frac{3}{5}$ of those under 10.

† Taking the mean birth-rate at 47·90 per 1,000, and the ratio of married women between the ages of 15 and 40 at 165 per 1,000, the average number of births to each married woman will be 290, or almost identically that of England and Wales, because, against the enormous birth-rate in India, must be set off the remarkable prevalence of marriage.

of girls of this age. In Berar it is 2·13, and Baroda and Upper India fall below Haidrabád. At the riper ages, between 15 and 40, the widow is prevalent in Bengal and Mysore to the extent of 15 per cent. of the women included, and in Madras and Assam to 12½ and 14 per cent. respectively. Widowers, relatively speaking, abound mostly in Berar, and the North-West Provinces and Panjáb. The number of widows to widowers is curiously varied. In Madras it is seven, and in Mysore nearly six times. In Bengal it reaches five, and in Haidrabad and Assam nearly four. Excluding territory much affected by male immigration, the North-West Provinces, Sindh, and the Panjáb show the lowest ratio. It may be presumed that these proportions indicate roughly the inclination towards the marriage of widows in all but Madras, Haidrabád, and Mysore, where the losses of 1876–78 during the famine have not yet been effaced from the return.

It is now proposed to consider the returns territorially, using much the same material as has been set forth in the preceding remarks, but grouped anew for the main provinces, and illustrated by the comments of the local superintendent in cases where his report has been received.

Panjáb.

We will begin with the Panjáb, as a province which differs materially from the rest of India in some features of its marriage system. In the first place, throughout the west of the province and amongst certain classes elsewhere, marriage is contracted on the same basis as in Europe, that is, husband and wife begin to cohabit immediately after the ceremony, and there is no juvenile betrothal in those tracts, as is customary amongst a Brahmanic population. The latter prevails in the east and centre of the province, and it is here that juvenile marriages appear most frequently in the returns. There is here strong confirmation of the view set forth in a former part of this chapter that the prevalence of custom in marriage, except amongst Bráhmans, depends upon considerations, not of caste, but of local example, for in the east of the Panjáb, where Brahmanic influence prevails, even the Músalmáns follow the practice of their Hindu neighbours, and *vice versâ* in the west, as is shown by the marginal table. Here we have two districts, one pervaded by orthodox Brahmanic views, the other under Musalmán influence. In the latter the Musalmáns scarcely marry their girls at all under 10 years of age, and the Hindus but rarely. On the other hand, along the Jamna, both religions show nearly 10 per cent. of that age as married. The custom of *Karéwa*, the Levirate, is found in most parts of the province, except amongst a few castes, such as Bráhmans and certain divisions of Rajputs; the Panjáb, accordingly, returns a smaller proportion of widows than most of the larger provinces of India, but still, as Mr. Maclagan points out, a quarter of the Hindu and a fifth of the Musalmán women of 15 years old and over are widowed. There is no doubt that Brahmanic disapproval of the marriage of this class has had some effect on the other religion, wherever the two are on more or less of numerical equality. But, on the whole, the Panjáb population marries at a maturer age, and is less strict as to widow marriage than most other parts of the country, though there is a great difference in this respect between the frontier and western plains and the more settled tracts of the centre and east. The latter tract resembles the general distribution of the population shown in the returns for the North-West Provinces, where the age at marriage is younger than usual. The examination of the returns for other provinces shows, however, the need of local experience in reviewing them, and as this is not at present available, there is little to be said on the subject. There is a return of marriage by caste for this province, which shows remarkable differences in custom, but it has been furnished only for the province as a whole, and without knowing whether the peculiarities are local or not, it is unsafe to draw any conclusions from them, beyond a general remark that religion, as in the Panjáb, appears to be but an insignificant factor in regard to marriage custom where the caste is subdivided into a Musalmán and a Brahmanic section, though the purely Musalmán communities marry, as a rule, later than the bulk of the Hindu population.

	No. of Married Girls under 10 to 10,000 Girls of that Age.	
	Karnál.	Sháhpúr.
Hindu - -	919	147
Musalmán - -	824	38

N.W. Provinces and Oudh.

Bengal.

We then come to Bengal, where Mr. O'Donnell has treated the subject in an interesting and valuable chapter, affording much food for reflection. As in the Panjáb, we find locality the main factor in determining the age of marriage, but the tendency to conform more and more to Brahmanic orthodoxy in respect to widow marriage is

very marked in this province amongst the castes that are on the borderland of respectability. The enormous population dealt with is subdivided by Mr. O'Donnell into large geographical sections, by which means he shows more clearly how certain customs are purely local, not inherent in the castes that follow them. For example, in respect to the juvenile marriages amongst boys the marginal table gives the proportions in the four great divisions of the province, from which we see how prevalent is this practice in Bihár, as compared to Orissa and Bengal, and how the Brahmanisation of the forest tribes of the Central Belt is making rapid progress. If we take the corresponding return for females, the territorial distinctions are still more marked, and, except in Western Bengal and the two sections of Bihár, the custom of marrying girls below 10 years old is remarkably rare—for India. The contrast between the Brahmanic and the Animistic sections of what is practically a uniform community in Chutia Nágpur is very suggestive, as showing the insidious advance of the former in orthodoxy, as a means of establishing a better social position. But apart from the practical utility of demonstrating how localised is the custom in question, Mr. O'Donnell gives information which must, he considers, overthrow the time-honoured notion of the universality of the prohibition of widow marriage amongst the reputedly orthodox Brahmanic population of the lower Provinces. He finds the proportion of widows to the total female population of between 15 and 40 to be $26\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. amongst Bráhmans, where it is at its maximum so far as the prohibition in question is concerned, so he takes this figure as the standard whereby to measure other sections of the community. By this criterion, it appears that widow marriage is universal amongst the forest tribes of Orissa and Chutia Nágpur, where only from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 per cent. of the women of the reproductive ages are shown as widowed. The Eastern Bengal Musalmáns and the middle class Hindus of Orissa show but a little higher ratio, but amongst the Musalmáns of Western Bengal, where the Hindus show the high figure of 24 per cent. and over, the proportion creeps up. These deductions are certainly worthy of consideration, though it is, perhaps, inadvisable to adopt them without further scrutiny of the details. For example, it is quite possible that the paucity of widows at the age in question in Bihár may be as much due to the early age at which the boys marry as to the remarriage of young women who have lost their first husbands, since the proportion for Musalmáns is higher than that for Hindus, and we have seen above that the former marry later than the latter in the case of both boys and girls, and the difference is greater amongst the boys, thus indicating the earlier loss of the husband. The details by caste which are given in this chapter of the Bengal report are very full and interesting. Mr. O'Donnell finds reason to attribute the earlier marriage of girls of the lower, or outdoor, castes, in some parts of the Province, to the feeling that their life needs protection earlier than that of the upper classes, whose girls are secluded from harm in the zanánah. The difference, however, between the figures for the two classes is scarcely wide enough for the assumption. The distribution of the proportions in various parts of the Province is unequal, and the fact that in most of the more prominent instances the protection of early marriage is extended to the boys as well as the girls is against the hypothesis, whilst the relative paucity of widows is possibly due rather to the existence of the first husband than the acquisition of a second. Mr. Stuart, like Mr. O'Donnell, has made great use of the tabulation of civil condition by caste in reviewing this subject for the Madras Presidency, and from his analysis it appears that the marriage system in the south of India is subject to variations even more locally restricted than those of Bengal and the Panjáb. Taking the Province as a whole, it is chiefly remarkable for its high proportion of the

Madras.

Sub-Province.	Number of married in 10,000 Boys under 10.		
	Hindu.	Musalmán.	Animistic.
Bengal	46	67	—
Bihár	926	323	—
Orissa	42	—	36
Chutia Nagpur	287	—	52

Sub-Province.	Number of married in 10,000 Girls under 10.		
	Hindu.	Musalmán.	Animistic.
N. Bengal	678	764	—
E. Bengal	692	486	—
W. Bengal	1,154	788	—
N. Bihár	1,773	866	—
S. Bihár	1,084	677	—
Orissa	193	—	62
Chutia Nagpur	829	—	118

unmarried of both sexes, for the low ratio of widowers, with a somewhat abnormally high one of widows. The unmarried are not most numerous, relative to the total population, in the tracts where children bear the highest ratio, as might be expected, and the distribution seems to strictly follow local custom. The marginal table shows two extreme instances of this. In Tanjore, with a low ratio of girls there is a high one of unmarried women, whilst in Vizágapatam, and, indeed, throughout the north-east coast tract, the reverse is the case. It might be assumed that to some extent Bengal custom had filtered down south, but the returns that were mentioned just above indicate that the proportion of unmarried in the Orissa castes, except Bráhmans and writers, is remarkably high. The distinction seems to be, to a certain extent, racial, as in Bihár, as well as territorial. Roughly speaking, the Telingána population is more married, if the phrase be permissible, than the Tamil or Malayálam, and the Uriya than the Telingána. In Malabár, as has been already mentioned, not only does polyandry prevail, but divorce is more in fashion, and the tie is generally more lax than in other parts of the Province. The diversity between the north and the south is due, presumably, to the greater influence of Brahmanic ideas amongst the Telanga population than amongst the more conservatively Dravidian Tamil, partly owing to the intercourse between the former and Northern India having been closer and of longer duration than that of the southern peninsula. The statistics regarding the female section of the community are those in which the diversity of practice is most apparent, even Bráhmans varying between a per-centage of 5 of their girls married under 10 in the Tamil country and one of 12 in the South Deccan, and the figures for girl widows oscillating in harmony, between 10 and 35 in 10,000 of the age in question. Then again, the trading caste of the Kómti, who affect great orthodoxy in Telingána, show a ratio of 940 married and 26 widowed in 10,000 girls under 10, whilst the Chetti, the corresponding caste further south, is satisfied with 213 and 8. A still greater difference appears between, say, the Ambattan, or barbers of the Tamilian races, where the corresponding ratios are respectively 183 and 4, and the Mangala, who officiates in the same capacity amongst the more northern people, and follows the local tendency, by marrying off 762 of his daughters in the 10,000 before they are 10 years old, and finding 24 of them widowed by that age. By analysing and regrouping the caste statistics, Mr. Stuart arrives at the conclusion that juvenile marriage, or the marriage of girls at an immature age, is "prevalent amongst 25 per cent. of the population, and fairly common amongst " 15 per cent. more, whilst among the remaining 60 per cent. it is rare for a girl to " be married till she has attained puberty." By the same process of regrouping, the prevalence of widow marriage is summarised as follows:—" Among about 40 per cent. " of the population there is no restriction on the marriage of widows; among about " 30 per cent. the practice is forbidden or rarely followed, while regarding the " remaining 30 per cent. the statistics are not conclusive one way or the other. We " shall not be far wrong if we assume that the marriage of widows is permitted and " practised by about 60 per cent. of the total population." To this may be added the remark that as in Telingána boys marry early as well as girls, the high proportion of widows there indicates how strong is the adherence to Brahmanic precept in respect to remarriage. On the other hand, in the breasts of the men of the Madras Presidency, hope triumphs over experience to a greater extent than in any other Province, for the proportion of widowers is the smallest recorded; but they avoid mates in the same bereaved condition, as to every 1,000 widowers there are 5,702 widows. The losses during the famine must be credited with a good deal of this irregularity between the figures for the two sexes, but more is due to the advance of caste feeling in Brahmanism. Mr. Stuart writes, " In nearly every considerable caste there are " some subdivisions which enforce the marriage of girls before puberty, and prohibit " the marriage of widows, and these subdivisions invariably hold a somewhat higher " position in public estimation on this account. It is easy to see that this encourage- " ment must produce a steady tendency towards the adoption of practices which are " in many respects injurious to the well-being of the people. And there is no " movement in the contrary direction. Once a caste has embraced the marriage " customs of the Bráhmans it never reverts to its former position."

	Per-centage of Females.	
	Under 10.	Unmarried.
Tanjore - -	26·56	36·70
Vizagapatam -	28·73	29·26

It is worth noting, too, that the Bombay Karnátak, which adjoins the Telingána tract of Madras, is also conspicuous for the early marriage of its females, and, to a less marked extent, for that of its males also. But Gujaráth is the division of this Presidency where boy marriages generally prevail, and here, again, from the caste returns prepared by Mr. Drew, it is clear that the custom is local, not governed by social position. In at least one caste the rules as to dower are so stringent that till within a generation or two ago girls were freely sacrificed, either at birth or during infancy, and even now there are grounds for suspecting deliberate neglect, if not worse treatment. In another caste the curious custom mentioned above prevails, according to which an auspicious season for marriage is only allowed by the tutelary goddess once in 10 or 12 years. Such rules are doubtless evaded, as by marriage to a dagger or a bunch of flowers, which are then disposed of down a well, and the youthful widow remarried at a cheaper rate, or the ceremony is gone through with the Pipal tree, which can never claim its marital rights or interfere with subsequent arrangements. But, as a rule, the custom of the upper classes filters through to the lower, and we find the village menials of Gujaráth, for instance, marrying earlier than the landed aristocracy of the Deccan. The figures for Baroda give a very good notion of the special features of the former, especially in the caste returns. The Sindh figures partake of the nature of those for the West Panjáb. The age at marriage is far later than elsewhere, and there are more widowers and fewer widows. The age return is probably more inaccurate than usual, even at an Indian census. Bombay. Sindh.

Crossing India, we have the return for Assam to discuss. Mr. Gait has examined the figures with some minuteness, and gives an interesting review of the marriage system in his Province. It appears that Brahmanic views as to the marriage of widows are confined in the Assam valley to Bráhmans and writers, but in the Súrma valley, which is practically a corner of North-Eastern Bengal, only the lowest castes disregard them, and it is said that even amongst these, widow marriage is annually increasing in disrepute. The same remark applies to the Bráhmapútra tract, though the population there is slower to move. The thin end of the wedge is found, not in the restriction of the permission to the widow of a deceased elder brother, as in Bihár, but in allowing only a virgin widow to remarry. As to the Hill tribes, we find very primitive marriage customs in force. The rule is generally to purchase, with the feint of a form of capture, but there are at least two tribes which do not purchase. The wives are invariably grown up, and so, of course, are the husbands. There are more women than men in most of the tribes, and men marry young, owing to the moderate price demanded for a girl. There appears to be little or no restriction, at present, on divorce or widow marriage, but as girls are plentiful, widows, except whilst young, are not in demand. Assam.

The position of woman in Burma is, as is well known, very much higher than that which she occupies in any Indian province. There is no juvenile marriage; divorce is available to both parties alike, and is apparently more often initiated by the wife than the husband, though reunions of pairs once divorced are frequent enough to show that the process is not a very serious one. Life is easy, and a wife is more often than not a support, instead of being a burden. This being so, the law in Burma, which probably follows at no great distance the popular sentiment, allows the wife a considerable control over the family property, and checks any tendencies towards polygyny, though the latter custom is not technically illegal. In old times, Mr. Eales points out, the Burman was a great slaveholder and polygamist. He seems to have been chastened by experience, but during the term of probation, if the law books are anything more than academic dissertations on what a monk thought ought to be done, man had left to him very little he could call his own. He could possess, if he liked, a head wife and a lesser, and also six concubines, but the law provided for the eight kinds of debts contracted by these without his knowledge, and, moreover, both wives and debts were subdivided into five orders respectively. Even supposing the head of the family had fortified himself by acquiring the knowledge of law requisite to circumvent his female connections in these respects, it appears that he would not be safe from legal clutch unless he also studied what was prescribed in the case of a husband contracting debts without the knowledge of his two wives and six concubines. In these circumstances, no wonder monogyny is the rule amongst the Buddhists of Burma. The general return for the lower division of the Province is disturbed by the large number of immigrants. Those both from the upper division and from India are generally married men without their wives, and amongst the women from India a good many are widows who have to earn their living by labour, along with their male relatives, who bring them across the Burma.

bay. In Upper Burma the Buddhists show a high proportion of widows, which Mr. Eales attributes in part to losses during the operations against the dacoits, and partly to husbands having migrated and died in foreign parts. There is no prohibition of widow marriage, but apparently virgin brides are plentiful, so only the younger widows remarry. The proportion of the married of both sexes is low compared to that ruling in India, not because there is less marriage in Burma amongst adults, but owing to there being no marriage at all before the young people are grown up. To start in life a young Burmese couple, as pointed out by Mr. Eales, wants but his *da* and cooking-pot. The universal bamboo provides the material for his house and furniture, his fuel and his water vessels, and when there is need, part of the family food. It is rare, accordingly, to find a youth of 23 years or thereabouts unmarried.

Mean age of the married.

It is noteworthy, also, that in Burma the difference between the mean age of husband and wife is far less than in India, though it is still considerably above that found to prevail in England. The marginal statement must be taken with the qualification that the ages are inaccurate in detail, but as grouped for the purposes of this computation, not far from the mark on general lines.

TABLE G.

Country or Province.	Mean Age of the Married.		Difference in Years.
	Men.	Women.	
England and Wales -	43·1	40·7	2·4
Upper Burma -	40·6	36·6	4·0
Lower Burma -	38·5	34·2	4·3
Madras - -	39·0	29·0	10·0
Bombay - -	35·2	27·7	7·5
Panjáb - -	31·8	25·8	6·0
Assam - - -	38·8	28·0	10·8
Berar - -	35·1	26·5	8·6
India - - -	35·5	27·6	7·9

In order to show more clearly what is meant above by the influence of local or territorial fashion in regard to marriage, a table is given opposite in which the marriage statistics are worked up by religions, as well as by provinces. This point has been but cursorily mentioned in the foregoing review owing to the lax meaning attached to the term Hindu, when caste has not been tabulated in connection with this subject. In all cases, except in Burma and the Panjáb, it is this form of religion that determines the provincial average, and it is curious to note in what degree the other religions vary from it. Taking the first section of the return, which groups the religions territorially, we find a few features strongly marked throughout. First, the Musalmáns marry off their girls at a far earlier age than their boys and young men, and are by no means in such a hurry to get rid of either as the Hindus or Jains. Then, again, the line between the forest tribes and the orthodox is very distinct in the matter of juvenile marriage, and though there are a good many married girls of less than 15 years old compared to the boy husbands, both sexes show but a small ratio in this respect, compared to that which prevails higher up in the social scale. The same class, too, with one exception, shows the lowest ratio of widows in the prime of life, whether the proportion of wives corresponds, as it usually does, or not. The Parsis are only given for Bombay, as elsewhere they are both few in number and in many cases not thoroughly domesticated where they were enumerated. They show a very low proportion of juvenile marriages, and even in the prime of life abstain from matrimony to a greater extent than any other Indian community west of Burma.

In the second part of the return the religion is shown in its territorial variation, and from the figures here given it can be judged how, with the general qualification as to the Musalmáns and forest tribes just mentioned, the different communities tend to assimilate to themselves the local colouring affected by the Brahmanic section of the population. The best example of this is found amongst the Animistic, who are more accessible than the rest, excepting, of course, the Jains, to the influence of Brahmanic precept, as they wish to rise in the social scale. Many of the Musalmáns, it has been already seen, are but semi-converted Hindus, and change their habits the less as the antagonism between the two creeds is milder. The Christians follow the fashion as to juvenile marriage, especially in the matter of their girls. In Madras, where the men marry late in the tracts where Christian converts are most numerous, there are 704 brides of under 15 to 100 bridegrooms of the same age. In Bengal, where both sexes marry younger, there are only 254. In Bombay, the reverse is the case, and there are more girl wives in this community relative to boy husbands than even amongst the Hindus. It is probable that some of this discrepancy is due to temporary absence on the part of the youths in service, or on board coasting and

TABLE H.—Showing the Marriage System in different Religions, by Provinces.

Province and Religion.	Under 15.			Between 15 and 40.					
	Married per 1,000 of each Sex.		Wives per 1,000 Husbands.	In 1,000 Males.		In 1,000 Females.		Wives per 1,000 Husbands.	Widows per 1,000 Widowers.
	Males.	Females.		Married.	Widowed.	Married.	Widowed.		
SECTION I.									
Madras	15	97	6,369	611	18	806	125	1,628	7,216
Hindu	16	103	6,338	615	17	807	128	1,385	8,022
Musalmán	5	52	10,245	570	13	813	103	1,535	8,325
Christian	5	36	7,043	603	15	794	87	1,411	6,152
Animistic	23	52	2,111	664	39	816	56	1,201	1,405
Bombay	67	235	3,306	757	31	871	101	1,085	3,075
Hindu	70	248	3,310	772	31	873	103	1,079	3,131
Musalmán	42	141	3,125	682	32	872	92	1,171	2,623
Jain	56	227	3,572	644	35	852	139	952	2,817
Pársi	10	32	2,809	507	16	696	52	1,281	2,976
Christian	11	44	3,850	434	16	832	43	1,001	3,104
Animistic	17	65	3,721	763	23	897	42	1,208	1,898
Bengal	73	223	2,891	738	33	824	155	1,162	4,944
Hindu	100	251	2,396	736	38	809	174	1,132	4,744
Musalmán	34	195	5,434	749	23	859	126	1,216	5,727
Christian	16	43	2,536	573	20	762	83	1,199	3,660
Animistic	24	61	2,479	686	24	774	81	—	—
N.-W. Provinces	93	193	1,840	719	51	885	96	1,125	1,712
Hindu	98	200	1,817	702	55	885	99	1,225	1,748
Musalmán	67	151	2,052	714	48	886	74	1,181	1,471
Jain	75	170	1,962	625	79	823	165	1,100	1,741
Oudh	83	165	1,802	724	38	905	71	1,131	1,764
Hindu	88	171	1,750	724	38	906	73	1,172	1,781
Musalmán	47	126	2,466	730	35	904	55	—	—
Panjáb	42	115	2,313	649	53	858	105	1,161	1,723
Musalmán	25	78	2,687	644	47	858	87	1,205	1,694
Hindu	66	171	2,175	665	61	858	129	1,103	1,816
Sikh	55	138	1,817	638	69	866	117	1,153	1,429
Burma, Upper	—	1	—	528	35	587	89	1,191	2,725
Buddhist	—	1	—	529	36	585	89	—	—
Animistic	1	3	—	543	31	712	70	730	1,283
Musalmán	1	5	—	561	33	651	102	480	1,292
Burma, Lower	—	2	—	559	38	680	61	1,023	1,364
Buddhists	—	1	—	520	38	673	61	—	—
Animistic	1	3	—	544	47	692	60	1,141	1,140
Hindu	9	13	—	592	22	850	52	203	334
Christian	—	2	—	495	26	650	49	1,108	1,575
Central Provinces	70	162	2,262	775	36	888	80	1,179	2,247
Hindu	79	182	2,242	792	37	894	81	1,156	2,268
Musalmán	29	100	3,297	671	38	861	98	1,171	2,348
Animistic	30	68	2,258	713	35	864	62	1,333	1,974
Assam	7	85	10,584	597	36	791	139	1,287	3,767
Hindu	7	92	12,160	562	40	764	168	1,275	3,909
Musalmán	7	101	14,443	643	22	860	115	1,312	5,160
Animistic	11	41	3,640	656	44	777	87	1,298	2,174
Haidrabád	65	259	3,814	783	26	869	104	1,090	3,913
Hindu	69	273	3,795	801	27	872	105	1,073	3,879
Musalmán	28	124	4,312	648	21	842	98	1,268	4,483
Animistic	98	216	2,140	850	25	878	43	1,131	1,642
Baroda	135	253	1,732	749	36	888	81	1,076	2,024
Hindu	143	269	1,735	757	36	891	79	1,063	1,966
Musalmán	74	144	1,799	683	36	869	89	1,148	2,317
Jain	82	93	1,074	634	36	843	139	1,205	3,460
Animistic	23	45	1,935	661	25	878	43	1,130	1,466

TABLE H.—Showing the Marriage System in different Religions, by Provinces—*cont.*

Province and Religion.	Under 15.			Between 15 and 40.					
	Married per 1,000 of each Sex.		Wives per 1,000 Husbands.	In 1,000 Males.		In 1,000 Females.		Wives per 1,000 Husbands.	Widows per 1,000 Widowers.
	Males.	Females.		Married.	Widowed.	Married.	Widowed.		
Berár	**121**	**332**	**2,690**	**824**	**43**	**893**	**89**	**1,055**	**1,774**
Hindu	134	365	2,660	845	44	910	80	1,033	1,723
Musalmán	19	97	4,865	629	31	860	93	1,238	2,668
Animistic	38	102	2,683	753	30	892	49	1,287	1,779
Bombay States	**77**	**184**	**2,256**	**731**	**35**	**880**	**81**	**1,136**	**2,207**
Hindu	85	200	2,227	742	35	881	82	1,114	2,196
Animistic	13	23	1,653	730	19	860	32	1,333	1,974
Musalmán	33	86	2,430	664	35	883	67	1,300	1,886
Jain	44	143	3,190	681	33	858	120	1,205	3,435
Panjáb States	**56**	**161**	**2,425**	**656**	**54**	**868**	**113**	**1,121**	**1,788**
Hindu	68	191	2,404	658	55	867	119	1,111	1,834
Musalmán	37	110	2,536	659	53	869	101	1,151	1,644
Sikh	52	154	2,317	636	47	870	114	1,103	1,936
Central Province States	**46**	**83**	**1,733**	**755**	**28**	**869**	**64**	**1,165**	**2,298**
Hindu	54	105	1,882	777	28	878	66	1,138	2,331
Musalmán	46	111	2,473	720	33	842	112	1,081	3,098
Animistic	18	41	2,159	680	26	805	68	1,270	2,156
Mysore	**7**	**93**	**13,866**	**573**	**25**	**791**	**152**	**1,344**	**5,852**
Hindu	7	96	14,005	576	26	798	148	1,416	5,887
Musalmán	5	61	11,465	550	18	845	106	1,377	5,410
SECTION II.									
Sikhs:									
Panjáb	55	138	1,817	638	69	866	117	1,153	1,429
„ States	52	154	2,317	636	47	870	114	1,103	1,936
Jains:									
Bombay	56	227	3,572	644	35	852	139	952	2,817
„ States	44	143	3,190	681	33	868	120	1,205	3,460
Baroda	83	93	1,074	634	36	843	139	1,205	3,435
N.-W. Provinces	75	176	1,962	625	79	823	165	1,100	1,741
Christians:									
Madras	5	36	7,043	603	15	794	87	1,411	6,152
„ States	10	41	4,107	715	13	832	43	1,141	3,336
Bombay	11	44	3,850	434	16	770	87	1,001	3,104
Bengal	16	43	2,536	573	20	762	83	1,199	3,660
Lower Burma	—	2	—	495	26	650	49	1,108	1,575
Animistic:									
Bombay	17	65	3,721	763	23	897	42	1,208	1,898
Baroda	23	45	1,935	661	25	878	43	1,130	1,466
Haidrabád	98	216	2,140	850	25	935	41	1,131	1,642
Central Provinces	30	68	2,258	713	35	864	62	1,333	1,974
„ „ States	18	41	2,159	680	26	841	55	1,270	2,156
Bengal	24	61	2,479	686	24	774	81	1,250	3,666
„ States	17	37	—	695	26	805	68	1,248	2,800
Berar	38	102	2,683	753	30	892	49	1,287	1,779
Madras	23	52	2,111	664	39	816	56	1,201	1,405
Upper Burma	1	3	—	543	31	712	70	730	1,283
Lower „	1	3	—	544	47	692	60	1,141	1,140
Assam	11	41	3,640	656	44	777	87	1,298	2,174
Musalmáns:									
Panjáb	25	78	2,677	644	47	858	87	1,205	1,694
N.-W. Provinces	67	151	2,052	714	48	886	74	1,181	1,471
Bengal	34	195	5,434	749	23	859	126	1,216	5,727
Sindh	12	41	2,685	542	39	859	71	1,328	1,542
Madras	5	52	10,245	570	13	813	103	1,535	8,325
Bombay	42	141	3,125	682	32	872	92	1,171	2,623
Haidrabád	28	124	4,312	648	21	842	98	1,268	4,483

fishing vessels, whilst the paucity of husbands at a later age is explicable by the fact that many Christians come from Goa to make their fortune before returning to marry in their native country. In Lower Burma the Karén converts follow the customs of their Buddhist brethren. There is a good deal more to be made out of this table, but it is so apparent that further comment is, perhaps, superfluous. There is also a great temptation to illustrate the principal topics dealt with in the course of this chapter by copious references to the details of the return of marriage by caste, the preparation of which was left to the option of the local authorities, and which, as compiled by the census Superintendents for Bengal, Madras, the North-West Provinces, Bombay, Baroda, and Mysore, contains an amount of valuable and interesting information which will repay weeks of patient analysis. So far, however, as the general bearings of the subject are concerned, and within the limitations set on their treatment in the early part of this chapter, what has been here set forth will prove, it is hoped, sufficiently explicit.

CHAPTER X.

The Age Distribution of the Population.

"Sad is our youth, for it is ever going,
Crumbling away, beneath our very feet.
Sad is our life, for onward it is flowing
In current unperceived, because so fleet."—*Aubrey de Vere.*

The services that can be rendered by a census are not to be held complete unless the operations include the statement of the population by age; but the statistics on this subject differ from the rest of those then collected by the fact of their value lying not so much in the return itself as in the use made of it in combination with other *data*, independent of the census indeed, but which can best be tested, as a rule, by means of the results of successive synchronous enumerations. The actual figures are not, however, without a special interest of their own, as by them we can measure some of the great social features of the community, the existence of which is already recognised. They show, for instance, how far the population, as it stood at the time of the census, was maintained by the number of births, how far by the viability or "good life," to use the technical term, of those of riper years. They show, again, the extent of the gaps made by war, famine, or emigration, and any abnormal recruitment from outside the territory enumerated, and, finally, through them comparison can be instituted with other countries in the above respects. But the value of the age returns stands out more prominently when the results of an enumeration are applied to those of its predecessor, on the one hand, and to the birth and death registration on the other. From the combination we arrive at the rate of mortality, and at its complement, the proportion of births which maintain the rate of increase found to have prevailed during the decade. From another standpoint the population is regarded as stationary, and all variation in the birth and death rates being eliminated, certain normal factors are deduced of no small value, and which can be ascertained in no other way. Such is the relative mortality at different ages, and, again, the mean after lifetime, or, as it is perhaps better termed, the mean expectation of life, of persons who have attained those ages respectively.

Inaccuracy in the return of age.

Now, as far as the above computations are concerned, it may be said that in very few, if indeed, in any, countries, east or west, is the raw material fit for use as it is dug out of the mine, that is, compiled from the schedules. Even in the countries where literacy is most prevalent, it is found that the return has to be considerably manipulated before it can be presented to the delicate machinery by which the calculation is effected. The normal distribution of a community by age implies a gradual decrease in the number in each year of life, the difference between each year and its predecessor, after early youth, growing wider as the age increases. But apart from abnormal disturbance, such as losses by war or famine, or recruitment or diminution by migration, there are certain tendencies towards erroneous returns which seem inherent in every population. Some instances of this have been already given in previous portions of this review. In England, for instance, the age of women between 25 and 35 is very often understated, whilst that of girls under 16 is returned as above that desirable limit. In India it is alleged that marriageable girls between 10 and 12 are returned in some tracts as below 10, whilst those between 12 and 14 are overstated at 18 or 20. There is no doubt habitual overstatement of age amongst the old of both sexes, especially women, where great age is considered a sort of distinction. Thus, though in every country some allowance has to be made for deliberate error, in India the return is peculiarly liable to be defective. Facts such as creed, language, connubial condition, literacy, and even caste and occupation, are brought home to the persons in question every day of their lives, but when once launched into the busy world, age is to the masses a matter of no importance. Registration of birth, as we have seen, is singularly deficient in accuracy for the most part, and in many tracts, if carried on at all, is only conducted in the most haphazard manner. For the first few years of life the mother is probably able to tell the age of her infant, but when it comes to a question of whether a child is 10 years old or 13, as, for instance, in a factory inspection, recourse has to be had to "mark of mouth," and the teeth are solemnly counted in evidence. In the upper ranks it is otherwise, as the horoscope is usually available. But even the latter, as events have not unfrequently shown, is not unimpeachable testimony in cases where it is to the interest of the producer to make himself out of an age different to what he really is. Then, again, we have, to an exaggerated extent, the usual tendency of an illiterate population accustomed to count by digits, to return their age in multiples of five.

The even multiples are the more favoured, of course, but an exception is made in the case of 25. This habit gave rise to a curious anomaly in the course of the census operations. The general rule in India is to return the age in completed years, but there is no doubt that in many cases the current year is substituted. So much is this the case in the Panjáb, that on the representation of the late census Superintendent, Mr. Ibbetson, the entry prescribed for that province was altered to suit the local practice. But as all the rest of India was enumerated by the completed year, though probably in Madras the Panjáb system would have been more acceptable, it was necessary, of course, to reduce the Panjáb return to uniformity, which was done by shifting back the tabulated results one year. Then it was at once seen that the relative proportions of the quinquennial periods had been entirely thrown into disorder, because, owing to this habit of plumbing on the multiples of five, all the undue excess got shifted back a period. That is, the return of those at 40 years appeared under the heading of 39, and so on. As the inconsistency affected so large a population, it was advisable to correct it, by distributing the excess amongst the periods to which it would belong if due allowance were made for the idiosyncrasies of the people. It is superfluous to enter into the method of adjustment, but the results are as shown in the tables given later on in this chapter. Whilst we are on this subject of preference of particular numbers, it may be noted that in the detailed return given below, which fairly represents the whole of India, there is a curiously uniform sequence of selection. In nearly every single decennium, up to 70, both men and women agree in returning their age in the order noted marginally. The even multiples of 5 head the list easily, except in the case of 25, which, as we have said above, is a special favourite. The uneven multiples follow, except in the second decade, where 12 and 18 are preferred to 15. The third place is taken by 2, very regularly, and the fourth by 8. The least favoured are 1 and 9, the numbers respectively preceding and following the even and most favoured multiple. For instance, we find, out of 100,000 males, 472 returning 29, 301 returning 31, with 5,850 between them. The neighbourhood of 50 and 60 is still more remarkable for its depopulation by those numbers. The same feature, though to a less striking extent, is found in the return of the coloured population of the Southern States across the Atlantic, and is not by any means absent in the returns for most European countries, especially where they are published in their original irregularity. Table A. summarises in a proportional

Order of years.	Order of preference.
0	1
1	8
2	3
3	7
4	6
5	2
6	5
7	9
8	4
9	10

TABLE A.—Showing the Age Return of 100,000 of each Sex.

Age.	Males.	Females.	Age.	Males.	Females.	Age.	Males.	Females.
0	3,209	3,300	35	3,977	3,463	70	681	879
1	1,780	1,934	36	805	678	71	33	39
2	2,951	3,256	37	335	289	72	51	41
3	3,136	3,613	38	798	706	73	15	14
4	3,021	3,134	39	322	254	74	19	19
5	3,202	3,253	40	5,240	5,210	75	180	228
6	2,923	2,913	41	216	193	76	16	18
7	2,712	2,872	42	684	549	77	24	8
8	3,082	3,008	43	207	170	78	32	17
9	1,857	1,818	44	259	209	79	27	16
10	3,567	3,148	45	2,659	2,339	80	286	389
11	1,112	1,104	46	283	258	81	9	11
12	3,459	2,617	47	194	152	82	9	11
13	1,168	1,006	48	444	391	83	3	2
14	1,656	1,405	49	131	118	84	4	2
15	2,206	1,935	50	3,647	3,865	85	34	37
16	2,151	2,045	51	128	116	86	4	4
17	737	861	52	321	278	87	4	3
18	2,328	2,397	53	106	90	88	3	3
19	668	636	54	135	131	89	3	3
20	4,014	5,052	55	1,142	1,066	90	52	57
21	531	536	56	173	181	91	3	2
22	1,857	1,907	57	105	83	92	3	1
23	639	639	58	210	179	93	—	—
24	998	975	59	98	102	94	1	1
25	5,200	5,657	60	2,269	2,811	95	10	8
26	1,018	951	61	107	112	96	2	1
27	693	629	62	148	152	97	1	1
28	1,560	1,504	63	65	52	98	2	2
29	472	425	64	72	71	99	1	1
30	5,850	6,243	65	493	546	100	12	12
31	301	300	66	59	54	101	1	—
32	1,504	1,346	67	44	47	102 and over.	3	1
33	406	332	68	66	65			
34	532	400	69	28	38			

form the age distribution of about 540,000 people of each sex, taken at random from the schedules of all the main provinces and States, except Rájputána, Central India, and Kashmér. Owing to the comparatively small numbers involved, the irregularities are all the more apparent. In the Imperial returns, which include all but some 583,000 of the population, the law of great numbers asserts itself, and much of the irregularity is obliterated. A summary of the latter is therefore given below, in Table B., with

TABLE B.—Showing the Distribution by Age of 10,000 of each Sex.

1.—MALES.

Age Period.	India.		England and Wales.	France.	Germany.	Austria.	Hungary.	Italy.
	1881.	1891.						
0–4	1,318	1,409	1,391	930	1,318	1,339	1,425	1,228
5–9	1,432	1,428	1,241	901	1,210	1,117	1,102	1,373
10–14	1,214	1,139	1,109	890	1,088	1,007	1,044	970
15–19	811	809	1,003	848	961	944	919	912
20–24	799	803	880	922	850	879	779	851
25–29	896	861	776	732	757	740	809	736
30–34	885	859	665	690	659	686	726	711
35–39	587	599	589	675	603	646	680	621
40–44	642	657	533	631	555	593	651	626
45–49	344	354	433	591	488	497	495	485
50–54	436	431	385	531	408	430	416	507
55–59	161	165	302	474	338	369	315	378
60 and over	475	486	693	1,185	765	753	639	902
Mean age	24·51	24·48	25·31	30·69	26·57	27·05	26·33	28·66

2.—FEMALES.

Age Period.	India.		England and Wales.	France.	Germany.	Austria.	Hungary.	Italy.
	1881.	1891.						
0–4	1,420	1,527	1,322	910	1,257	1,294	1,383	1,190
5–9	1,383	1,396	1,184	891	1,159	1,071	1,073	1,042
10–14	1,006	946	1,048	871	1,044	973	1,025	935
15–19	779	782	959	841	934	940	1,002	940
20–24	905	897	912	968	844	878	887	869
25–29	925	892	800	696	760	744	791	760
30–34	881	869	679	675	661	700	737	734
35–39	527	537	597	666	613	651	631	627
40–44	645	651	545	618	567	612	632	636
45–49	317	309	453	588	504	510	450	485
50–54	464	451	402	542	429	471	443	520
55–59	157	155	319	478	369	389	306	374
60 and over	591	588	780	1,256	859	767	634	888
Mean age	25·16	24·84	25·86	31·19	27·53	27·59	26·81	28·60

the corresponding reduction of the returns of some European countries, and the Indian return of the preceding census. The mean age of the living, which is entered at the foot of each column, is for purposes of comparison only, and does not pretend to be mathematically accurate. It shows, on broad lines, the comparative growth of the Indian population, and the remarkable distinction in this respect between France and the rest of the countries selected for the table. In every case except Italy the mean age of the females is higher than that of the other sex, and the proportion under 15 much lower. But it is noteworthy that in India alone, the proportion under five is higher than amongst the males, whilst that of girls between 10 and 14, on which comment was made in the chapter on Sex, is lower in India than in any country, except in France, where the whole juvenile population is sparse, and in Italy, where the distribution partakes of the irregularity of that in the Indian table. Then, again, towards the higher ages, Italy and Hungary have the peculiarity of a smaller proportion of women than of men, in striking contrast to the other European countries, as well as to India.

But the latter country indicates the shorter life of its population in the ratio of its people of 60 years old and over, both men and women. At the opposite end of the scale we find France, with more than double the proportion at this age. On the whole, we may sum up the main features of the age distribution of the Indian population as consisting in the exceptionally high proportion of the young, with a very small proportion of those past 50 or 55. In connection with a later part of the subject, it will appear that this is due to a remarkably high birth-rate, accompanied by great mortality amongst infants and those past the prime of life. It is also to be noticed that the proportion of each sex falling within what may be taken as the best working ages of population, namely, between 15 and 45, is higher in India than elsewhere, Hungary alone approaching it. It is also remarkable that this proportion is higher in the case of females than amongst the males, except in France, Germany, and Holland, and in this respect, India, as a whole lies between Austria and England. The extremes are occupied by Ireland, on the side of an excess in the ratio of females, and France, with a far smaller divergence in the opposite direction.

Territorial variation in India.

We may now take up the figures for the different parts of India. In Table C., on the next page, will be found the distribution in each of the main territorial divisions reduced to the uniform radix of 10,000 of each sex, so that comparison is easy. The statement is based on the returns as compiled from the actual schedule, and only in the case of the Panjáb, where uniformity was in question, has any adjustment been made by computation. In various provincial reports, such as those for Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, in particular, the large population dealt with has enabled the Superintendent to bring down the crude results to something like the correct graduation, but as the methods employed have not been the same in all cases, it is preferable to discuss in a general review, like that in hand, the raw material itself, in which the defects are probably much the same in every part of the country. One of these general errors, in addition to those mentioned already, should be noticed here. The great difference in all the items, except in the States of Haidrabád and Mysore, between the number of those less than one year old and those who have entered the second year of life cannot fail to attract attention. It is admittedly not all due to the astonishing mortality during the earlier months, though this accounts for a great deal of it; but the remainder is attributable to confusion of terms. In 1881 it was found that the instruction to "enter the age of an infant of less than one year old in months, "adding the word *month* to the figure," resulted in the abstraction of the said figure as years, owing partly to hurry, partly to misreading, and partly to the omission of the word prescribed to prevent such misunderstanding. On this occasion the authorities consulted, who had all experienced the above difficulty, proposed the rule that all children of less than a year old should be entered as *infants*, without specifying the number of months it had lived. Unfortunately, however, the term suggested applies, in nearly all the vernacular tongues, to any unweaned child, and as the period during which the latter is kept at the breast is far longer in India than in more temperate climates, the second year of life was largely absorbed by the first, and the last state of the return was worse than the first. Passing on to the rest of the annual periods in the first quinquennium, it will be seen that there is absolutely no regularity of sequence in the return. The marginal table shows the order in which the years appear in the total of males for all India, and in the next column is given the number out of 17 items in which the same order, in each case, is found. There is unanimity about despoiling the second year, and the first and third seem also selected with some deliberation, but in the case of the two others, only a third of the territorial divisions agree in the results with the aggregate. The birth registers, if analysed in territorial detail less than the mere province, would possibly show how far such eccentric deviations are based on the variations of harvest in the season preceding the birth, an influence to which the Indian population is undoubtedly more sensitive than that of Europe. There is in the irregularity in question none of those manifestations of deliberate choice which have just been described as prevalent in the return at later periods of life, so it is not unreasonable to attribute them, in part, to some better foundation than caprice or ignorance. In the first place, the return for 1881, except in the Panjáb, materially differs from that under review in

Years.	Serial Order in India, Total.	Number of Provinces, out of 17, in which the Serial Order was observed.
0	1	9
1	5	All.
2	4	8
3	2	5
4	3	5

TABLE C.—Showing territorially the Distribution by Age of 10,000 of each Sex.

Province or State.	Under 1.		1.		2.		3.		4.		Under 5.		5–9.		10–14.		15–19.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Madras	330	338	171	178	315	327	352	365	314	316	1,482	1,524	1,391	1,346	1,084	923	828	783
Bombay	341	365	169	189	301	340	300	344	304	323	1,415	1,561	1,362	1,350	1,074	898	816	792
Sindh	384	430	106	132	297	369	378	442	408	443	1,573	1,816	1,573	1,543	962	754	682	603
Bengal	319	335	141	151	293	323	334	372	307	317	1,394	1,498	1,551	1,466	1,214	969	818	838
N.-W. Provinces	330	346	144	161	241	278	289	332	277	296	1,281	1,413	1,325	1,294	1,187	961	857	757
Oudh	374	392	160	176	262	291	310	344	227	294	1,383	1,497	1,334	1,280	1,108	888	784	664
Panjáb	469	465	291	319	301	335	302	320	328	332	1,632	1,771	1,406	1,391	1,040	898	701	655
Central Provinces	286	290	194	210	310	342	338	382	322	339	1,450	1,563	1,578	1,546	1,203	1,001	690	656
Assam	339	368	182	203	324	366	339	383	332	364	1,516	1,684	1,506	1,564	1,140	969	747	852
Haidrabad	268	298	220	251	332	374	298	342	311	328	1,429	1,593	1,331	1,325	1,078	890	724	779
Mysore	239	255	191	208	316	338	329	351	309	320	1,384	1,472	1,364	1,414	921	835	867	792
Central India	275	296	142	161	235	272	280	340	293	322	1,225	1,391	1,449	1,453	1,188	939	798	720
Rajputána	328	370	147	159	245	268	286	327	329	340	1,335	1,464	1,387	1,364	1,134	958	858	754
Baroda	314	344	163	186	273	316	282	340	289	324	1,321	1,510	1,424	1,407	1,108	933	865	772
Berar	310	333	177	201	283	328	276	334	264	292	1,310	1,488	1,319	1,434	1,105	962	626	695
Upper Burma	325	335	208	199	252	240	310	295	232	219	1,327	1,288	1,229	1,168	1,199	1,105	887	954
Lower „	255	293	212	245	280	319	314	349	265	302	1,326	1,508	1,259	1,381	1,190	1,179	927	1,070
INDIA	326	347	173	188	287	319	318	354	305	319	1,409	1,527	1,428	1,396	1,139	946	809	782

Province or State.	20–24.		25–29.		30–34.		35–39.		40–44.		45–49.		50–54.		55–59.		60 and over.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Madras	820	973	821	865	828	885	591	505	670	661	365	305	427	460	177	157	516	613
Bombay	844	939	958	931	862	851	641	572	629	626	383	342	416	435	180	165	420	538
Sindh	785	875	900	928	968	964	562	461	612	640	305	276	439	450	132	111	507	580
Bengal	702	828	841	895	807	818	648	568	624	608	369	322	394	410	169	170	469	610
N.-W. Provinces	878	918	868	889	902	916	570	550	713	724	338	317	470	507	144	145	467	609
Oudh	802	848	869	919	864	891	550	528	674	718	351	330	519	545	173	161	589	731
Panjáb	927	948	752	816	874	936	465	436	596	675	338	295	458	522	182	142	629	515
Central Provinces	707	833	840	911	923	904	526	498	755	674	280	236	464	446	95	100	489	632
Assam	757	928	882	928	865	835	672	505	623	557	324	242	390	352	136	109	442	475
Haidrabad	807	983	970	916	914	932	558	441	738	702	323	236	496	495	119	92	513	616
Mysore	850	943	901	904	829	825	700	613	656	601	439	378	418	442	220	213	451	568
Central India	799	892	893	946	1,008	993	622	581	764	738	321	277	433	455	115	112	385	502
Rajputána	786	850	882	855	924	936	569	534	703	749	338	308	472	504	171	158	441	566
Baroda	921	995	916	909	806	850	609	559	649	674	327	300	465	480	141	127	388	484
Berar	694	881	911	910	950	893	670	545	763	668	380	288	539	480	155	122	578	634
Upper Burma	859	844	789	766	728	708	684	626	568	567	410	386	378	414	230	244	712	930
Lower „	939	956	931	833	839	667	607	477	545	477	378	338	358	379	218	223	483	512
INDIA	803	897	861	892	859	869	599	537	657	651	354	309	481	451	165	155	486	588

the order of sequence. Then, again, the return for the other sex is by no means uniform with that for males, as will be seen from the marginal statement, and it is the number of this sex, if there be any truth in the well-supported hypothesis started in a previous chapter of this work, that is influenced more than that of males by physical circumstances preceding birth. The second, third, and fifth years alone of the girls agree in their sequence with those of the boys. There is no doubt that in some parts of India the year 1888–89 was a hard one for the masses, which might account for a paucity of births in 1889–90, but it seems scarcely probable that plenty was so abnormally distributed in 1886–87 as to affect the ratio of the sexes in the births of the ensuing year. It is reasonable, therefore, to attribute but a portion of the irregularity to actual variations in the number of births during the five years in question, and the rest must, it is feared, be relegated to the unknown.

Age.	Serial Order in India, Total.	Number of Provinces in which the same Order is observed.
0	2	5
1	5	All.
2	4	6
3	1	9
4	3	8

Comparing the total falling within the above period, in the different parts of the country, we find the highest proportion of children in the Panjáb, Sind, and Assam. All three are very fertile tracts, on the whole, and as the two first named support a considerable burden of old people there is reason to suppose that the relatively high standard of living has something to do with the maintenance of the stream of population at its two extremes. In Assam life seems shorter, and the mean age is but 23·7 and 22·7 years in the case of the two sexes. The shortcoming of the female average is probably due partly to the number of the forest tribes, who work their women to death at a comparatively early age, and in part to deficient returns, as there is a great difference, far more than usual, in the results of the two enumerations in this province, and whilst the old men have proportionately increased, their mates have considerably declined. On the whole, however, this result may be due to better enumeration at more important periods of life. As regards the aged, Upper Burma almost reaches European proportions, whilst the Lower division of the province is slightly below the average. This result is due in some degree, of course, to immigration, as it is in Upper Burma to the loss of men in the prime of life. Oudh and Berár both come high in the list in this respect, probably on the same grounds as Sindh and the Panjáb.

We have next to consider the period we have selected as indicating the prime of life, namely, between 15 and 45. In the case of Indian women it might be held advisable to place the higher limit nearly 10 years lower, but looking at the important part played by widows in the domestic economy of the majority, it is not incorrect to stretch the period so as to include a large section of this class. The working period for men, too, begins lower than it would be correct to place its limit in Europe, and ends earlier, but we are dealing with the prime of life only. Making allowance for these qualifications, the marginal table, which gives the proportion of this period to 10,000 of each sex, shows the generally high ratio throughout India. The adjustment of the tables in the Panjáb has undoubtedly depressed the figure for that province below its due in the case of females, and to some extent in that of males, though there is no doubt a good deal of emigration on the part of the natives of this province, and the ratio of the adjacent State of Kashmér shows that a high proportion is not to be expected.

Province, &c.	15–44. M.	15–44. F.	Province, &c.	15–44. M.	15–44. F.
Madras	4,558	4,672	Central India	4,400	4,595
Bombay	4,749	4,710	Upper Burma	4,515	4,465
Sindh	4,509	4,471	Lower Burma	4,788	4,480
Bengal	4,440	4,555			
N.-W. Prov.	4,788	4,754	**India**	**4,588**	**4,628**
Oudh	4,543	4,568			
Panjáb	4,315	4,466	England and Wales	4,446	4,492
Cent. Prov.	4,441	4,476	Scotland	4,413	4,451
Assam	4,546	4,605	Ireland	4,207	4,408
Berar	4,614	4,592	France	4,498	4,464
Haidrabad	4,711	4,753	Germany	4,385	4,379
Baroda	4,826	4,759	Austria	4,488	4,525
Mysore	4,803	4,678	Hungary	4,564	4,680
Kashmér	4,400	4,595	Italy	4,457	4,566
Rajputána	4,722	4,678	Holland	4,282	4,255

As regards the comparision with the corresponding return for 1881, is must be borne in mind that we are dealing with very imperfect materials, so the deductions drawn can be but very general. The population, as a whole, is, no doubt, younger, owing to its replenishment by natural growth during the period of normal circumstances since it was last enumerated. Excluding the Panjáb, where the difference, as returned, is enormous, we find the greatest increase in Madras, which contains the worst of the famine-stricken tracts. Next comes Bombay, where the circumstances are similar. Oudh follows in much the same conditions, and Sindh is not far behind. Taking the whole of India, there are in every 10,000 males 91 more boys under five than there were in 1881, and in the same number of females, 107 more girls. It is curious that the ratio should have fallen in the Central Provinces, where there is no special cause for it, but as it was abnormally high in 1881, and the circumstances of the population have since been prosperous, probably the difference must be sought for in the enumeration. In Bengal the decrease in the proportion is but slight. In Assam it is very large and must be classed with that in the Central Provinces. If we look at the other end of the table, we find the gradual recovery from famine marked in Madras and Bombay by the considerably increased proportion of the aged of both sexes. Sindh, Assam, and the Panjáb, for some reason not immediately apparent, accompany an increased ratio of old men by a decreased one of the other sex. Bengal shows a small decrease, and both Oudh and the North-West Provinces an increase. On the whole, India is very much where it was 10 years ago in this respect. In the period between 10 and 15 our interest centres on the famine tracts. Mr. Stuart gives a useful table comparing these tracts with those better situated. An extract is given marginally for the period in question and needs no comment. For Bombay, too, a similar table is available, which is subjoined to that for Madras. The conclusions to be drawn from them are the same in both cases, and the selections are fairly parallel in point of prosperity and the severity of famine respectively. Even in so large an aggregate as the provincial total, the difference is very perceptible. The great increase in the ratio of the young children in these tracts has been already described in the third chapter of this review.

	District.	1881.	1891.
	Madras.		
M.	Godávari (non-Famine)	1,356	1,338
M.	Cuddapah (Famine)	1,504	832
F.	Godavari	1,077	1,075
F.	Cuddapah	1,366	728
	Bombay.		
M.	Khándesh (non-Famine)	1,207	1,180
M.	Bijápúr (Famine)	1,622	768
F.	Khandesh	1,035	1,028
F.	Bijápúr	1,409	651

There is little that need be said here regarding the age distribution of the different religious communities. In the provincial volumes for Madras, the Panjáb, and Bengal, especially the last, the subject is discussed, but no conclusions of more than local application are derivable from the analysis of the figures. As a rule, the differences, where there are any, are due not to distinctions of religion but of locality, such as climate and food supply. In the case of Bengal, however, Mr. O'Donnell shows strong ground for holding the distinction between Musalmáns and Hindus in Eastern Bengal in the matter of fecundity and length of life, to be due to social habits consequent upon change of creed. His analysis of the returns of age by caste is interesting and suggestive. In one point his remarks are certainly applicable beyond the limits of his charge, namely, as regards the fecundity and shortness of life of the forest tribes, though it is open to question whether the latter is not partly due to the inability of such tribes to specify with accuracy any age over a certain number. It is not unusual for them to recognise nothing under a score, after about 35 or 40 years of age. The women of such tribes, on the other hand, undoubtedly die off very fast after all they go through in the course of their ordinary domestic duties and in childbirth.

Computations based on the age-returns.

We must now pass from the statistics actually collected at the census to those which are merely based on them, supplemented by information derived from other sources, and by computation from the two combined. The object in view is to get the approximate value of life in different parts of India, so that it may be compared with that ascertained with greater accuracy in the case of the population of England and Wales. The first point to be investigated on these lines is the mortality-rate in

the community, and from it, with the normal rate of increase, can be deduced the birth-rate, and again, assuming a stationary population, the expectation of life at the different ages. If implicit trust could be placed in the census data, all that would be necessary would be to compare the numbers returned at each age period at the last enumeration with those returned as ten years older on the present occasion, and, by adjusting what we have seen to be the minute influence of emigration, to deduce the rate of mortality within the decade. Unfortunately, however, that simple expedient is not within our reach. We have therefore to work on the mean population at each period as the base, and to go to other sources for the rate of mortality. Luckily, there are two communities amongst whom the registration of births and deaths is conducted with special care.

Selected registration.

In the population at large, as mentioned in the third chapter of this work, the omissions of both births and deaths is very prevalent. But in towns there is, as is to be expected, much greater accuracy than in rural circles. The difficulty, then, is to find a town of which the component elements are not largely foreign and abnormal, which would provide a population sufficiently numerous to form the groundwork of calculations applicable to any considerable portion of the population outside its limits. Bombay and Calcutta, for instance, are out of the question, since, as we have seen at page 82, more than two-thirds of their inhabitants are recruited from outside. But Madras stands on altogether a different footing. Nearly three-fourths of its population was returned as home-born, and it is well known that this city, from its comparative want of manufacturing and shipping industry, does not attract the adult population of the surrounding country to anything like the same degree that its two sisters do. As the supervision of registration of vital statistics may be assumed to be equally efficient in all three towns, the results in Madras are obviously nearer those for a normal Indian community than those in either Bombay or Calcutta. We thus have in the birth and death returns for Madras the basis for computation of life-values applicable to the greater part of Southern India, and on them Messrs. G. and H. Stuart have worked out the very interesting and instructive results that find a place in the Census Report for that Presidency. But lest the marked climatic and social distinctions between the south of India and the north, which have been insisted upon throughout this review, may have their effect on the age-values of the respective populations, it was advisable to seek for some data as nearly as possible corresponding to those for Madras in their approximate accuracy. These have been found in the returns collected in the North-West Provinces in connection with the supervision of the communities suspected of female infanticide. The registration of births and deaths among the youthful population of the tribes thus placed under inspection is remarkably good. The population is, no doubt, a special one, and from the very fact of being included in the scheme, must be, presumably, abnormal in its customs. But, on the other hand, the number of individuals in question is large and scattered, and the returns show that the practice of which they are suspected is only perceptible with difficulty and over a very small area. Thus the data are, on the whole, fairly representative of a far larger population than that from which they are collected, and, in any case, they are clearly much more accurate than any procurable from other sources. It is also in their favour that they correspond on the whole very fairly with the figures obtained from the Madras registers, and are now available for a series of years that gives them a high value from a statistical point of view. The report on the Census of 1881 contained a valuable and suggestive chapter wherein the above *data*, so far as they were then available, were passed through the sieve of actuarial experience. On the present occasion the same course was adopted, for to whatever extent may be carried the analysis of an amateur in such matters, the results are certain to be inferior, in both matter and arrangement, to those obtained by the professional hand working on the same material. The information bearing on the subject was therefore made over, in its entirety, to Mr. Hardy, F.I.A., whose experience in 1881 could thus be extended over a wider field. Unfortunately for the completeness of this review, though probably Mr. Hardy looks at it from a different standpoint, he is no longer able to devote his full time to the reduction of the figures and the calculation of the required values, so it has been found impossible to include his note in the present volume. It will be found, however, at the end of the second volume of the general returns.*

* It must be mentioned, however, that when the computations were all but complete, and Mr. Hardy brought them to me in consultation, a considerable delay was caused by a suggestion I made regarding a re-adjustment of a portion of the figures for the Panjáb, the early ages of which appeared to me to require such emendation. This put back, of course, the process of combination for the General Table.—J.A.B.

The Life-tables drawn up by Mr. Hardy are based, like the most recent of those for England, on the results of the two last enumerations. That is, as the period between 1881 and 1891 in India may be considered to have been, on the whole, a normal one, unaffected by famine or excessive prevalence of epidemic disease, it is probably more accurate and useful to take it into consideration than to attempt to find a "mean" which the comparatively frequent occurrence of disturbing factors is likely to render of no more than academic value. For the details of construction and of the results, the reader must be referred to the note itself, and it will suffice for the present purpose to mention a few of the more prominent features brought out in the investigation, both by Mr. Hardy and by Professor Stuart.* In the comparison with the English tables, the most striking point in the Indian is the low expectation of life. The male Englishman is likely at birth to have an after life of 41·35 years, but his fellow-subject in India cannot count on more than 25. The corresponding figures for the other sex are 44·62, and just under 26. The expectation is at its best in the one country in the fifth year, where it rises to 51 in the case of males, and to 53 amongst the females. In the East the zenith is attained a year later, and the chance is there of a little under 40 years for a male, and of 37 only for his mate. Not to enter into further detail, the life probabilities in India of a male who has weathered his first decade are, up to the age of 50, about 25 per cent. below those of an Englishman, and about 33 per cent. after that age. There is far more irregularity, as is to be expected, in the corresponding figures for women. Between 10 and 35 years old, they are from 40 to 35 per cent. worse off in this respect than their English sisters. The nearest approach is at 35, where the deterioration is but 32 per cent., and towards the end of life, that is at 65, the difference rises to over one half, or, relatively, double that of the other sex. At birth the difference between the two countries is, as may be seen from the figures quoted above, enormous, and amounts to nearly 70 per cent. amongst males, and nearly 80 amongst females. As the proportion drops in the next year to 43 and 55 respectively, it is to the year of birth that we must look for the explanation of the remarkable difference in the expectation as a whole. It is found in the rate of mortality which in England is about 17·04 per cent. for boys and 13·54 for girls, in the first year of life. In India, however, the corresponding rates are nearer 29 and 26 per cent. The better life of the girl is a feature in both countries. But, again, to sustain a population with such a tendency to drop off young, at even its present level, implies very high birth-rates, and we find that between 1881 and the next enumeration they must have approximated to 48 per mille of the population. The lowest rate is in the North-West Provinces, 44 per mille, and here the growth of the population is but $3\frac{1}{4}$, normal, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ (including Oudh) during these last 10 years. Madras, Bengal, and Bombay all approximate to 50. In Madras and Bombay there has been, as already mentioned, a special stimulus to increase during the decade, owing to the depletion of large tracts by famine just before the last census. But the normal rate of growth is considerably less than that now indicated, and does not amount to one-half the rate in the former, and to little over two-thirds in the latter, including Sindh. The death-rate is lowest in Bombay, though both Madras and the Panjáb are very near it. Roughly speaking, it may be taken as just under 39 per mille. It must be remembered, however, that the rate of increase thus implied is not likely to be maintained, and that after so many years of average seasons, previous experience in India warrants the expectation of a check to the growth of population such as that which occurred between 1861 and 1871, and 1871 and 1881. The measures to prevent the loss of life that have been briefly touched upon in Chapter III. will, no doubt, mitigate the severity with which this check is applied, so far as its direct action is in question, but, nevertheless, it will not be surprising to those who have even glanced at these statistics, if there be not in 1911, if not 10 years sooner, a considerable readjustment of the age-distribution at the beginning and end of the tables. As life becomes harder, the proportion of those best adapted to provide for themselves will rise, and in spite of a probable relative decrease of infant mortality, the struggle will be keener for those who have escaped the perils of the first few years, as for those, at the other extreme of life, who have lived to be dependent on the exertions of others.

* The expectation figures are those, as a rule, of Madras, and the mortality and birth-rates those for India.—J. A. B.

Conclusion.

This review of the results of the census may fittingly close with a few lines on the administration of the operations. As in 1881, the whole control was placed in the hands of a single officer, but acting on the advice of the Commissioner for the preceding census, the Government of India appointed the officer in question at a considerably earlier date than on the former occasion, in order that the general scheme of operations and the details that had to be uniformly observed throughout the country might be matured in anticipation of the beginning of actual preparations in the provinces and States. To aid the Commissioner in this task, the Superintendents of the 1881 census held a conference at Agra in December 1889, at which the rules for the guidance of the enumerators, the subjects to be entered in the schedule, and the tabular forms in which the results were to be exhibited, with many other matters of minor detail, were discussed. The conclusions reached were then submitted for the approval of the Government of India. On the main points in question the views of the local authorities in different parts of the country were obtained, and it is gratifying to those concerned in the organisation of so large and varied a scheme to think that so little was proposed for reconsideration. The subsequent labours of the Commissioner, who attended the conference in his capacity of former Superintendent of the Bombay operations, were so materially lightened by the help thus rendered to him by his colleagues, that he feels that this opportunity must not be lost of thanking them collectively, and more especially Messrs. White, Ibbetson, and Kitts, for all their valuable suggestions.

About 10 months before the census, Superintendents were appointed to direct the operations in each province and large State or Agency. By this time, the standard rules, framed as above, had been finally sanctioned and circulated, so that the local officers could at once start on the work of translation and printing. From Chapter V. of this review some notion can be gathered of the work involved in the former task, but apart from a small issue of schedules in dialects specially confined to a few Hill tracts, 17 languages were all that were found necessary. In the meantime, the local Superintendent, in his turn, was issuing his general instructions, and the District and State officers were mapping out their charges for the purpose of enumeration, and, what always is a trouble in India, estimating the number of schedules required for use in each subdivision, specifying the languages and even the character in which each indent should be printed, and arranging for their circulation throughout the subdivision from the nearest railway station. Frequent and minute inspection of the progress of these preliminaries was made during the four months preceding the census. In illustration of the magnitude of the task, it may be mentioned that, speaking in round numbers, about 290 tons of paper were used for the schedules, and just under a million men and boys were employed as enumerators. In a country where only about 11 males in the hundred can read and write at all, and the standard of that accomplishment is, as we have seen in Chapter VI., by no means a high one, the difficulty of finding enough competent men was got over by the adoption of a plan tried with success in 1881, and mentioned in Chapter I. above, namely, that of entering beforehand in the schedules the whole of the domiciled population of a place, and merely bringing it up to date on the night of the enumeration. If this course had not been adopted, what with an average population of 300 in each enumerator's block, and the general ignorance of the head of a household as to what was required of him, it would have been impossible to take a census in a single night at all. The preliminary record, too, gave an excellent opportunity of scrutiny by superior agency to that engaged in the enumeration, and in this way much error was detected and rectified. The above remarks refer merely to the ordinary or stationary population, but in India, the long through lines of rail, the practice of making night journeys by cart or on foot, the large boating population on the great rivers, the regimental community residing beyond the pale of civil rule, ports and so on, all had to receive special attention and be enumerated under special rules. There is no doubt that the care taken on this occasion to provide for the census of such unusual cases resulted in a considerable increase in the numbers returned, as compared with the corresponding tale of 10 years back, when the matter was in its tentative stage. In fact, such were the precautions, that it is on record that one distinguished military officer on his way from the east to the north of India found that he had been returned three times in the course of about 15 hours. On the other hand, several others whom the census officers would gladly have seen in their Calcutta returns, were driven to publish the fact of their omission. It is superfluous to comment on the actual taking of the check, as above described, on

the prescribed night, so we may pass on to the subsequent operations. In the introductory chapter it is mentioned that the results were published within five weeks of the enumeration, a "record" in compilation, considering that nearly a million persons were collected by tens at local centres, and had to make up totals, check them and get them to the District or State headquarters as soon as possible. The Superintendent of the North-West Provinces, Mr. Baillie, and Mr. Drew, his Bombay colleague, ran neck and neck in the race, each getting in their totals, the one of 46, and the other of 18 millions, in 10 days from the census.

The next operation was the abstraction in more detail than by sexes, which was all that was asked for in the preliminary totaling. The rules issued by the Census Commissioner had been in the hands of the Superintendents for some time previously, and in most cases the necessary forms had been printed, so that establishments could be set to work as fast as the trained supervisors could instruct them into proper efficiency. The system followed was practically uniform throughout the country, though the distribution of the work varied. In tracts where the supply of literates was small a central office was organised. Where more favourable conditions ruled, the work was decentralised, sometimes by divisions, as in the Panjáb, sometimes by districts, as in Bengal, Bombay, and the North-West Provinces, and again, by linguistic centres, as in Madras. The decision in this matter was left to the local Superintendent, and the only stipulation by the Commissioner was that the standard rules should be strictly observed in respect to the forms used and the tests taken of all work sent up by the abstractors. The tabulation of the abstracted work by subdivisions was ordered to follow closely on the former part of the operations, but owing to the varying supply of efficient men, and to the fact that tabulation is always found to be beyond the capacity of most of the ruck who can scrape along very fairly in a semi-mechanical task like abstraction, there was much diversity of practice, leading, in some instances, to serious delay when the results came up for final compilation. As each District was completed in any of the tables, or rather in any set of tables, for the series was subdivided for this purpose, the totals were passed by the provincial Superintendent and sent to the central office in Simla. On the completion of a Province or State for the above sets respectively, the compiled results were interchanged by the Superintendent and the Commissioner, so as to ensure agreement. The Panjáb came in an easy winner in this part of the work, and Mr. Maclagan sent in his first 15 tables by the beginning of August, five months after starting. It must be stated, too, in his favour, that no alterations were afterwards found necessary in his results. The same may be said of Messrs. Gait and Drew, who followed in six and seven months respectively. By the beginning of January, or 10 months after the enumeration, all the above 15 tables were ready, with a few exceptions, which came in a month later. But here begin the sorrows of the census, over which the reader will not be surprised if a veil be drawn. In two large Provinces errors in tabulation were discovered, which threw out all the Imperial tables printed between January and March, necessitating their reprint in England, a task which was not completed till November 1892. Then, again, the two last tables, those concerning caste and occupation, were found to entail more labour and scrutiny in their final compilation by the provincial officers than the whole of what had gone before. Messrs. Drew and Narsinghaiangar were the first to finish them, and all but the two unlucky Provinces aforesaid, and one other, followed within a few weeks. The last of the caste statements, however, did not reach the Commissioner till the 11th of May 1893, and until its arrival he was unable to close and send to press the general tables on this subject; nor, of course, could he take up the review of statistics that were not before him in their final and completed shape. In fact, the whole of the delay in finishing off the census work, whether in the provinces or in the central office, can be truly set down to the exceedingly heavy labour involved in the compilation, classification and printing of so vast an array of figures as those collected in connection with these two topics. Most of the Superintendents were able, in spite of the above obstacle, to complete their reviews within 15 months of the enumeration, but unfortunately the difficulties varied with the population and the number of subordinate offices established, so that the three largest provinces were necessarily the most handicapped, especially as they all undertook the complicated, but highly interesting return of marriage by age and caste, which was left optional with the local authorities. On the present occasion, probably, the maximum of detail was attempted that it is safe to undertake with the agency of the quality now available in India, and though part of the same field may easily be covered by simpler or more restricted means, the results seem to those who have had to consider them to be such as it will be unnecessary to secure at intervals so short as

10 years. It will be enough, according to this view of the circumstances, to take stock, as it were, of the prevailing variations from the general average in the matter of caste in relation to education and marriage, at every other census, even if not once only in a generation of 30 years. This, however, is a matter alien to the present subject.

The cursory account of the operations given above will serve to explain how it happened that so long an interval has taken place between the remarkably prompt publication of the preliminary statement of the results of the census and the issue of the final review. There is still to be considered the cost of the whole of the operations. As this review is written in England, so that explanations or supplementary information cannot be obtained without a delay of a couple of months, the statement given on the next page is admittedly not final, and revision of the figures quoted will no doubt be made on audit of the accounts of the last and current year by the Indian Government. It is, however, believed to be approximately correct. In connection with it, one of the first points to bring to notice is, that though India has peculiar difficulties and complications of its own, above those of European countries, in the way of taking a census, it is not without its compensating advantages. The village system provides the greater part of the continent with a supply of men trained in the interpretation of rules, and with a certain and very useful amount of acquaintance with arithmetic. This forms the nucleus of the census staff. Next, and of still more importance, there comes the administrative experience of the District officer, which it is impossible to value too highly when special arrangements, such as those for the enumeration, have to be organised and carried into practice. Then, too, in addition to the village accountant staff, there is the large supply of subordinate clerical agency in the offices of the State and local bodies, all of which is placed at the disposal of the census officers for a day or so, as far as is not incompatible with the fulfilment of the more emergent duties occurring in the routine of business. It is necessary, too, not to omit the great help gratuitously rendered by the literate residents of a place who come forward as either enumerators or supervisors; and, finally, in the not inconsiderable array of the unemployed members of the professional classes, a cheap and fairly efficient supply of clerical labour is obtained for the abstraction establishments.

TABLE A.—Showing the Imperial Charges on account of the Census.

Province, &c.	Actual Charges during the Year.					Grand Total.
	1889–90.	1890–91.	1891–92.	1892–93.	1893–94.	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Madras	244	72,405	3,51,527	35,917	—	4,60,093
Bombay	—	66,509	1,11,408	8,476	—	1,86,393
Bengal	—	1,08,952	5,52,110	43,083	—	7,04,145
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	—	92,967	3,64,041	20,264	—	4,77,272
Panjáb	—	69,015	1,22,270	2,381	—	1,93,666
Burma	—	34,154	87,085	26,091	—	1,47,330
Central Provinces	—	24,914	75,715	9,628	—	1,10,257
Assam	—	23,143	47,367	3,117	—	73,627
A.—Total, Provinces	**244**	**4,92,059**	**17,11,523**	**1,48,957**	—	**23,52,783**
Ajmér	—	2,582	6,648	1,000	—	10,230
Coorg and Bangalore	—	229	2,809	833	—	3,871
Quettah and Andamans	—	645	165	—	—	810
Rajputána	—	9,649	6,476	1,813	—	17,938
Central India	—	15,836	22,914	2,779	—	41,529
B.—Total, Minor Tracts	—	**28,941**	**39,012**	**6,425**	—	**74,378**
C.—Census Commissioner, &c.	**17,576**	**42,753**	**47,785**	**41,886**	**20,000**	**170,000**
GRAND TOTAL	**17,820**	**5,63,753**	**17,98,320**	**1,97,268**	**20,000**	**25,97,161**

TABLE B.—Comparison of the Imperial Charges of 1891 with those of 1881.

Province, &c.	Population enumerated (in Thousands).		Charges in 1881.	Per-centage of Increase in		Mean Charge per 1,000 Persons.	
	1891.	1881.		Population.	Charge.	1891.	1881.
			Rs.			Rs.	Rs.
Madras	35,630	30,827	5,00,000	15·6	—8·0	12·91	16·22
Bombay	18,901	16,506	1,69,903*	14·5	9·7*	9·86	10·29
Bengal	71,347	66,691	8,55,647	6·9	—17·7	9·87	12·83
N.-W. Provinces, &c.	46,905	44,108	2,80,145	6·3	70·3	10·18	6·35
Panjáb	20,867	18,843	1,56,000	10·7	24·1	9·28	8·28
Burma	7,605	3,737	76,645†	103·5	92·2†	19·37	20·51
Central Provinces	10,784	9,839	1,67,983	9·6	—52·3	10·22	17·07
Assam	5,477	4,881	39,082	12·2	88·3	13·44	8·01
Total, Provinces	**217,516**	**195,432**	**22,45,405**	**11·3**	**4·8**	**10·81**	**11·49**
Other Heads of Account	—	—	1,78,118	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	**281,615**	**253,793**	**24,23,523**	**11·0**	**7·2**	—	—

* Provincial contribution is excluded.
† The printing in Burma in 1881 is reported to have been only partially debited to the census grant.

Owing to the above advantages, the census in India is taken at a cost to the Imperial Government of only Rs. 10.81, or something a little under 15*s.* per 1,000 persons, in the provinces. Elsewhere, as in the States, the cost was defrayed for the most part by the Chiefs themselves, and the Imperial Government only supplied forms where required, and, in the case of the less wealthy and smaller tracts, undertook the compilation as well. The incidence on the whole country therefore, cannot be ascertained correctly. In British territory, the range per 1,000 was from Rs. 9.28 in the Panjáb to Rs. 19.37 in Burma, where clerical labour is alien to the habits of the native, and has to be paid, accordingly, at fancy rates. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Panjáb did not undertake the more elaborate of the caste tables, so that, looking at the amount of work done, the cheapest rate is found in Bengal and Bombay, and the dearest, as is to be expected, in Assam, where much of the staff of writers has to be imported from its neighbour. It is hardly of much use to compare the above rates with that of the census in England, as the standard of work and wages is so different, but it may be mentioned that in the latter country, the cost in 1881 was about 4*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* per 1,000, or, at the rate of exchange taken above, nearly Rs. 72, not far, that is, from five times the rate in India. There is considerable difficulty in comparing the cost in India of the last two enumerations, since in several instances it seems that large items, such as printing, were debited in 1881 to one of the ordinary heads of account, whereas on this occasion as much care as possible has been taken to ensure that the whole cost has been properly shown against the census grant. In Assam, Ajmér and Burmah this is particularly noticeable; but making no allowance for the discrepancy, Table B. shows that whilst the population comparable has increased by over 11 per cent., the cost exceeds that of 1881 by no more than 4·8, and the rate per 1,000 persons has fallen from Rs. 11.49 to Rs. 10.81. The most striking difference is in the Central Provinces, where from Rs. 17.07, the rate has receded to 10.22. Next comes Madras, the accounts of which for 1881 are not quite clear. Taking the amount as set forth in the Imperial and Provincial Reports, the difference is between Rs. 16.22 and 12.91. Bengal, again, is a most difficult province to enumerate, owing, in part, to the general absence of village staff, and the lack of information available as to boundaries, area, and so on. Then, too, the system of abstraction in district offices was tried for the first time, necessitating more preparation and supervision than in other circumstances. It is very much therefore to the credit of Mr. O'Donnell that in spite of the above hindrances and the additional statistics prepared by him, he has managed to reduce the expenditure by more than 17 per cent.,

whilst the population he had to deal with was nearly 7 per cent. larger than that of his predecessor, and he had to cope with an amount of fudging in a few of his offices almost as phenomenally ingenious as that mentioned in Chapter VI. above, as characterising the dealings of the Bengali Squeers with the State inspector of education. The rise in the Assam charges is attributed in great measure to omission from the return in 1881, as well as to the employment of agency already in State service but whose pay was not debited to the census for the period of their deputation on abstraction. In the Panjáb the work was mostly done by the village accountants, who were most efficient. Their scale of pay, however, has been raised since 1881, and the allowances for extra work may have been either more liberal or more generally earned; at any rate, the cost of the operations was raised somewhat above that of 1881. The accounts of the latter, however, do not seem to have been finally recorded, so part of the excess may be nominal only. In the North-West Provinces, with the lowest rate of increase of population of any of the provinces, the charges have risen in nearly the same proportion as those in Assam, which have been explained above, or Burma, where the relative incidence has been considerably reduced. The causes of this unsatisfactory anomaly have formed the subject of a separate correspondence, so they do not require comment here. Berar, where the same disproportion occurred, has been omitted from the return because the charge is not Imperial. Similarly, the contributions from provincial funds for special tabulation prescribed for local purposes have not been taken into account. In regard to the charges on account of the Census Commissioner and his establishment, which show a decided increase over the corresponding items in 1881, it must be remembered that owing to the unforeseen delays above mentioned in the submission of reports and tables, the central office has had thrown upon it the burden of working out all the proportional reduction of the returns, which was probably being worked out simultaneously by the local Superintendent, though his results were not available for use in the former. This entailed the maintenance of a larger staff than would otherwise have been required, and for a longer period. Then, again, the cost of reprinting all the tables that had been rejected for the reasons stated above, was an unexpected addition to the charges, and, finally, under this head are included certain items not connected with the Commissioner's office otherwise than by a sanction issuing from it. The personal charges show a decrease, as compared with those of 10 years back, except in the matter of travelling expenses. These were heavier in 1891, and the increase is not to be regretted, as the means of supervision were thereby much enlarged, and an acquaintance gained by the controlling authority with men and their doings that could not have been obtained by any amount of study and correspondence.'

Here this review must end. The census of India is the heaviest enterprise of the kind that has ever been undertaken, especially as the final enumeration of over 250 millions of people was carried out within four hours. It has been shown to have been conducted economically, and considering the unusual variety of the information collected, and looking at the time spent over the census in other countries, the results cannot be fairly said to have been unduly delayed in publication. As to their accuracy, all that need be said is that in this work there has been no attempt to withhold any criticism of them merely because it might show up their statistical defects, and, to put it comparatively, the evidence is strongly in favour of a great improvement in this respect on the work of 1881. As this is due to the increased confidence of the people in the honesty of the purpose of the State in making inquiries of this sort, it is equally indisputable that for many years to come each census will be more accurate than its predecessor, until we get the return of women nearly up to that of men, and education may induce the lieges to admit that in returning their ages there are other numbers available than those indicated by the natural provision of fingers and toes. In the very opening of this review it was stated that the main standpoint was the diversity, not the unity, of the conditions that had to be dealt with, and that India could not be statistically treated as a single whole, so throughout the work it has been ever an object to avoid as much as possible the use of the Indian total otherwise than as a blank wall on which to chalk the differences of the various parts of that country. By this means it has been possible, no doubt, to collect certain similarities into something of the nature of a general average, though not one that can be circumscribed within the crisp conciseness of an arithmetical expression. The most that can be claimed for it is that it represents a point from which the divergencies on each side are probably the least. It is scarcely necessary,

therefore, to add that in the eyes of the reviewer, one of the recommendations of this view, and not one of the least, is the chance that it may induce readers interested in the subjects of which it treats to extend their studies to the Provincial volumes published by his colleagues, on which so much of the present work is based.

JERVOISE ATHELSTANE BAINES,

Census Commissioner for India.

India Office, London,
10th July 1893.

APPENDIX.*

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* For the Parliamentary edition only.

SUMMARY TABLES.

I.—General Statement.

	INDIA.	British Provinces.	Native States.
Area in square miles	1,560,160	964,993	595,167
Towns and villages	717,549	537,901	179,648
(a) *Towns*	2,035	1,416	619
(b) *Villages*	715,514	536,485	179,029
Occupied houses	52,932,102	40,463,963	12,468,139
(a) *In Towns*	5,128,395	3,745,408	1,382,987
(b) *In Villages*	47,803,707	36,718,555	11,085,152
Total population	287,223,431	221,172,952	66,050,479
(a) *In Towns*	27,251,176	20,391,129	6,860,047
(b) *In Villages*	259,972,255	200,781,823	59,190,432
Males	146,727,296	112,542,739	34,184,557
(a) *In Towns*	14,446,160	10,895,997	3,550,163
(b) *In Villages*	132,281,136	101,646,742	30,634,394
Females	140,496,135	108,630,213	31,865,922
(a) *In Towns*	12,805,016	9,495,132	3,309,884
(b) *In Villages*	127,691,119	99,135,081	28,556,038

II.—Variation in Population.

			INDIA.	Provinces.	States.
A. Tracts enumerated in both 1881 and 1891.	Total Population	1891	281,614,934	218,155,115	63,459,819
		1881	253,793,514	198,860,606	54,932,908
		Variation	+ 27,821,420	+ 19,294,509	+ 8,526,911
	Males	1891	143,887,849	111,082,159	32,805,690
		1881	129,899,318	101,324,656	28,574,662
		Variation	+ 13,988,531	+ 9,757,503	+ 4,231,028
	Females	1891	137,727,085	107,072,956	30,654,129
		1881	123,894,196	97,535,950	26,358,246
		Variation	+ 13,832,889	+ 9,537,006	+ 4,295,883
B. Total, including territorail additions since 1881.	Total Population*	1891	287,179,715	221,172,952	66,006,763
		1881	253,793,514	198,860,606	54,932,908
		Variation	+ 33,386,201	+ 22,312,346	+ 11,073,855
	Males	1891	146,704,540	112,542,739	34,161,801
		1881	129,899,318	101,324,656	28,574,662
		Variation	+ 16,805,222	+ 11,218,083	+ 5,587,139
	Females	1891	140,475,175	108,630,213	31,844,962
		1881	123,894,196	97,535,950	26,358,246
		Variation	+ 16,580,979	+ 11,094,263	+ 5,486,716

* The difference of 43,716 between the population of 1891, shown here, and that given in Table I. is due to the exclusion of certain Bhíl tracts in Rajputána, not fully enumerated on either occasion.

III.—Towns and Villages classified by Population.

Class and Population.	INDIA.		PROVINCES.		STATES.	
	No.	Population.	No.	Population.	No.	Population.
1. 1—199	343,052	32,625,858	248,564	24,279,022	94,488	8,346,836
2. 200—	222,996	71,180,018	171,938	54,872,157	51,058	16,307,861
3. 500—	97,846	67,475,109	76,338	52,690,492	21,508	14,784,617
4. 1,000—	38,128	51,349,338	30,260	40,741,875	7,868	10,607,463
5. 2,000—	7,906	19,113,616	6,282	15,178,077	1,624	3,935,539
6. 3,000—	3,770	14,059,089	2,977	11,100,332	793	2,958,757
7. 5,000—	1,502	10,048,838	1,050	6,924,151	452	3,124,687
8. 10,000—	366	4,402,062	220	2,659,579	146	1,742,483
9. 15,000—	150	2,541,135	94	1,602,500	56	938,635
10. 20,000—	168	4,925,158	118	3,548,264	50	1,376,894
11. 50,000—	76	9,309,434	60	7,550,172	16	1,759,262
Unclassed { a. *Travellers, &c.*	—	56,334	—	26,331	—	30,003
Unclassed { b. *Not registered*	1,589	137,442	—	—	1,589	137,442
Total	717,549	287,223.431	537,901	221,172,952	179,648	66,050,979

Note.—The last item refers to the Bengal State of Hill Tipperah, where the villages were not classified. The number of towns of 50,000, and over, is less by two here than in the next table, because the two suburbs of Calcutta are there shown in the population of the city though retaining their distinct numbering, whilst in this table they appear in Class 10.

IV.—The Urban Population classified by Towns.

Towns containing a Population of—	INDIA.		PROVINCES.		STATES.	
	No.	Population.	No.	Population.	No.	Population.
1. 100,000 and over	30	6,173,123	24	5,079,350	6	1,093,773
2. 50,000—	48	3,255,175	38	2,589,686	10	665,489
3. 20,000—	149	4,492,113	112	3,417,347	37	1,074,766
4. 10,000—	407	5,487,983	297	4,044,174	110	1,443,809
5. 5,000—	896	6,164,900	577	4,023,339	319	2,141,561
6. 3,000—	301	1,204,767	238	950,605	63	254,162
7. Under 2,000	204	437,259	130	279,999	74	157,260
Unclassed (*Travellers, &c.*)	—	35,856	—	6,629	—	29,227
Total Urban	2,035	27,251,176	1,416	20,391,129	619	6,860,047

V.—Variation in Population of Chief Towns.

	TOWN.	Population. 1891.	Population. 1881.	Variation.
1.	Bombay*	821,764	773,196	+ 48,568
2.	Calcutta City*	681,560	433,219	+284,341
	„ Suburbs	59,584	251,439	−191,855
	N. Suburban Municipality.	34,278	29,982	+ 4,296
	S. Suburban Municipality.	69,642	51,658	+ 17,984
	Howrah	116,606	105,206	+ 11,400
	Bálli	16,700	7,037	+ 9,663
	Total Calcutta and Suburbs	978,370	878,541	+99,829
3.	Madras*	452,518	405,848	+ 46,670
4.	*Hyderábád (Deccan)**	415,039	354,962	+ 60,077
5.	Lucknow*	273,028	261,303	+ 11,725
6.	Benares*	219,467	214,758	+ 4,709
7.	Delhi*	192,579	173,393	+ 19,186
8.	Mandalay*†	188,815	—	—
9.	Cawnpore*	188,712	151,444	+ 37,268
10.	*Bangalore**	180,366	155,857	+ 24,509
11.	Rangoon*	180,324	134,176	+ 46,148
12.	Lahore*	176,854	157,287	+ 19,567
13.	Allahábád*	175,246	160,118	+ 15,128
14.	Agra*	168,662	160,203	+ 8,459
15.	Patna	165,192	170,654	− 5,462
16.	Poona*	161,390	129,751	+ 31,639
17.	*Jaipur*	158,905	142,578	+ 16,327
18.	Ahmedábád*	148,412	127,621	+ 20,791
19.	Amritsar*	136,766	151,896	− 15,130
20.	Baréli*	121,039	113,417	+ 7,622
21.	Meerut*	119,390	99,565	+ 19,825
22.	Srinagar*†	118,960	—	—
23.	Nágpur*	117,014	98,299	+ 18,715
24.	Baroda*	116,420	106,512	+ 9,908
25.	Súrat*	109,229	109,844	− 615
26.	Karáchi*	105,199	73,560	+ 31,639
27.	Gwalior*	104,083	88,066	+ 16,017
28.	*Indore**	92,329	83,091	+ 9,238
29.	Trichinopoly*	90,609	84,449	+ 6,160
30.	Madura	87,428	76,847	+ 10,581
31.	Jabalpur*	84,481	75,705	+ 8,776
32.	Pesháwar*	84,191	79,982	+ 4,209
33.	Mirzápur	84,130	85,362	− 1,232
34.	Dacca	82,321	79,076	+ 3,245
35.	Gaya	80,383	76,415	+ 3,968
36.	Ambála*	79,294	67,463	+ 11,831
37.	Faizábád*	78,921	71,405	+ 7,516
38.	Sháhjehánpur*	78,522	77,404	+ 1,118
39.	Farakhábád*	78,032	79,761	− 1,729
40.	*Rámpur**	76,733	74,250	+ 2,483
41.	Multán*	74,562	68,674	+ 5,888
42.	*Mysore**	74,048	60,292	+ 13,756
43.	Ráwalpindi*	73,795	52,975	+ 20,820
44.	Darbhanga	73,561	65,955	+ 7,606
45.	Morádábád*	72,921	69,352	+ 3,569
46.	*Bhopál*	70,338	55,402	+ 14,936
47.	Bhágalpur	69,106	68,238	+ 868
48.	Ajmér	68,843	48,735	+ 20,108
49.	*Bharatpur*	68,033	66,163	+ 1,870
50.	Salem	67,710	59,631	+ 8,079
51.	Jálandhar*	66,202	52,119	+ 14,083
52.	Calicut	66,078	57,085	+ 8,993
53.	Gorakhpur*	63,620	59,908	+ 3,712
54.	Saháranpur	63,194	59,194	+ 4,000
55.	Sholápur	61,915	59,890	+ 2,025
56.	*Jodhpur*	61,849	57,211	+ 4,638
57.	Aligarh (Koil)	61,485	62,443	− 958
58.	Mattra*	61,195	57,724	+ 3,471
59.	Belláry	59,467	53,460	+ 6,007
60.	Negapatam	59,221	53,855	+ 5,366
61.	Hyderábád (Sindh)*	58,048	48,153	+ 9,895
62.	*Bhaunagar*	57,653	47,792	+ 9,861
63.	Chapra	56,352	51,670	+ 5,682
64.	Monghyr	57,077	55,372	+ 1,705
65.	*Bikanér*	56,252	43,283	+ 12,969
66.	*Patiála*	55,856	53,629	+ 2,227
67.	Maulmain	55,785	53,107	+ 2,678
68.	Sialkot*	55,087	45,762	+ 9,325
69.	Tanjore	54,390	74,745	− 355
70.	Kambakonam	54,807	50,098	+ 4,209
71.	Jhánsi*†	53,779	—	—
72.	Hubli	52,595	36,677	+ 15,918
73.	*Alwar*	52,398	49,867	+ 2,531
74.	Ferozpur*	50,437	39,570	+ 10,867

* Including Cantonments and Military Lines.

† Figures for 1881 not available.

VI.—Religion.

Religion.	INDIA.	PROVINCES.	STATES.
Hindu (*Brahmanic*)	207,688,724	155,129,941	52,558,783
„ *Arya*	39,952	39,014	938
„ *Brahmo*	3,051	2,988	63
TOTAL HINDU	207,731,727	155,171,943	52,559,784
Sikh	1,907,833	1,407,968	499,865
Jain	1,416,638	495,001	921,637
Buddhist	7,131,361	7,095,398	35,963
Zoroastrian	89,904	76,952	12,952
Musalman	57,321,164	49,550,491	7,770,673
Christian	2,284,380	1,491,662	792,718
Jew	17,194	14,669	2,525
Animistic	9,280,467	5,848,427	3,432,040
Minor Religions	185	163	22
Religion not returned	42,578	20,278	22,300
Total	**287,223,431**	**221,172,952**	**66,050,479**

VII.—Age.

Age.	INDIA.		PROVINCES.		STATES.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0	4,772,871	4,868,171	3,757,485	3,827,244	1,015,386	1,040,927
1	2,536,430	2,633,714	1,915,249	1,989,643	621,181	644,071
2	4,203,315	4,468,349	3,239,481	3,455,796	963,834	1,012,553
3	4,650,886	4,968,439	3,612,038	3,858,675	1,038,848	1,109,764
4	4,467,878	4,471,446	3,409,284	3,424,241	1,058,594	1,047,205
0—4	20,631,380	21,410,119	15,933,537	16,555,599	4,697,843	4,854,520
5—9	20,908,467	19,578,667	16,121,870	15,131,827	4,786,597	4,446,840
10—14	16,680,428	13,265,378	12,882,349	10,295,331	3,798,089	2,970,047
15—19	12,229,892	11,376,709	9,406,350	8,869,857	2,823,542	2,506,852
20—24	11,743,796	12,577,424	8,961,462	9,669,199	2,782,334	2,908,225
25—29	12,828,365	12,680,985	9,742,243	9,776,490	3,086,122	2,904,495
30—34	12,319,747	11,855,489	9,303,660	9,044,517	3,016,087	2,810,972
35—39	8,980,902	7,783,755	6,898,962	6,039,898	2,081,940	1,743,857
40—44	9,338,636	8,782,207	7,041,292	6,689,990	2,297,344	2,092,217
45—49	5,355,522	4,527,071	4,154,570	3,567,288	1,200,952	959,783
50—54	6,015,467	5,970,618	4,551,100	4,574,183	1,464,367	1,396,435
55—59	2,618,702	2,378,652	2,061,145	1,900,719	557,557	477,933
60—	6,769,435	8,032,448	5,282,917	6,332,328	1,486,518	1,700,120
Age not returned	306,547	276,613	201,282	182,987	105,265	93,626
Total	**146,727,296**	**140,496,135**	**112,542,739**	**108,630,213**	**34,184,557**	**31,865,922**

VIII.—Civil Condition.

Age and Condition.		INDIA.		PROVINCES.		STATES.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0–4	Unmarried	18,805,099	19,419,383	15,851,537	16,351,766	2,953,562	3,067,617
	Married	103,069	258,760	76,428	192,009	26,641	66,751
	Widowed	6,945	13,878	5,572	11,824	1,373	2,054
	Total	**18,915,113**	**19,692,021**	**15,933,537**	**16,555,599**	**2,981,576**	**3,136,422**
5–9	Unmarried	18,344,180	15,663,196	15,509,159	13,254,376	2,835,021	2,408,820
	Married	690,803	2,201,404	588,526	1,821,308	102,277	380,096
	Widowed	28,139	64,040	24,185	56,143	3,954	7,897
	Total	**19,063,122**	**17,928,640**	**16,121,870**	**15,131,827**	**2,941,252**	**2,796,813**
10–14	Unmarried	12,778,801	5,977,301	10,802,316	5,003,591	1,976,485	973,710
	Married	2,342,433	6,016,759	2,017,614	5,137,870	324,819	878,889
	Widowed	71,471	174,532	62,419	153,870	9,052	20,662
	Total	**15,192,705**	**12,168,592**	**12,882,349**	**10,295,331**	**2,310,356**	**1,873,261**
15–34	Unmarried	13,622,958	2,133,452	11,455,088	1,738,832	2,167,870	394,620
	Married	29,683,040	38,144,713	24,795,495	32,013,813	4,887,545	6,130,900
	Widowed	1,350,699	4,160,548	1,163,132	3,607,418	187,567	553,130
	Total	**44,656,697**	**44,438,713**	**37,413,715**	**37,360,063**	**7,242,982**	**7,078,650**
35–49	Unmarried	1,025,383	209,539	864,551	158,647	160,832	50,892
	Married	18,649,824	12,034,052	15,656,068	10,155,572	2,993,756	1,878,480
	Widowed	1,858,073	6,996,592	1,574,205	5,982,957	283,868	1,013,635
	Total	**21,533,280**	**19,240,183**	**18,094,824**	**16,297,176**	**3,438,456**	**2,943,007**
50 and over	Unmarried	430,603	128,749	362,724	97,503	67,879	31,246
	Married	10,537,733	3,688,667	8,922,138	3,134,434	1,615,595	554,233
	Widowed	3,087,748	11,224,933	2,610,300	9,575,293	477,448	1,649,640
	Total	**14,056,084**	**15,042,349**	**11,895,162**	**12,807,230**	**2,160,922**	**2,235,119**
Age not returned.	Unmarried	129,405	100,413	92,052	71,841	37,353	28,572
	Married	113,398	104,591	81,860	75,023	31,538	29,568
	Widowed	9,408	22,906	6,703	15,200	2,705	7,706
	Total	**252,211**	**227,910**	**180,615**	**162,064**	**71,596**	**65,846**
Total returning Civil condition.	Unmarried	65,136,429	43,632,033	54,937,427	36,676,556	10,199,002	6,955,477
	Married	62,120,300	62,448,946	52,138,129	52,530,029	9,982,171	9,918,917
	Widowed	6,412,483	22,657,429	5,446,516	19,402,705	965,967	3,254,724
	Total	**133,669,212**	**128,738,408**	**112,522,072**	**108,609,290**	**21,147,140**	**20,129,118**
Not enumerated by Civil Condition.*		**13,058,084**	**11,757,727**	**20,667**	**20,923**	**13,037,417**	**11,736,804**
Total Population		**146,727,296**	**140,496,135**	**112,542,739**	**108,630,213**	**34,184,557**	**31,865,922**
*A. Assam (N. Lushai)		—	—	20,667	20,923	—	—
B. Kashmér		—	—	—	—	1,353,160	1,190,653
B. Rajputána		—	—	—	—	6,342,407	5,656,979
B. Central India		—	—	—	—	5,331,271	4,880,515
B. Mahi Kántha (Bombay)		—	—	—	—	10,579	8,657
Total States		—	—	—	—	13,037,417	11,736,804
INDIA		**13,058,084**	**11,757,727**	—	—	—	—

IX.—Instruction.

		INDIA.			PROVINCES.		STATES.	
		Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
All Ages.	Under Instruction	3,195,220	2,997,558	197,662	2,593,887	162,248	403,671	35,4
	Literate	12,097,530	11,554,035	543,495	9,903,664	447,924	1,650,371	95,5
	Illiterate	246,546,176	118,819,408	127,726,768	99,797,906	107,794,481	19,021,502	19,932,2
	Total returning Instruction.	**261,838,926**	**133,371,001**	**128,467,925**	**112,295,457**	**108,404,653**	**21,075,544**	**20,063,2**
Under Fifteen.	Under Instruction	2,695,792	2,518,240	177,552	2,170,695	145,756	347,545	31,7
	Literate	763,120	675,357	87,763	580,210	72,588	95,147	15,1
	Illiterate	99,468,421	49,960,163	49,508,258	42,169,671	41,748,733	7,790,492	7,759,5
	Total	**102,927,333**	**53,153,760**	**49,773,573**	**44,920,576**	**41,967,077**	**8,233,184**	**7,806,4**
15—24.	Under Instruction	441,224	427,595	13,629	379,023	11,484	48,572	24
	Literate	3,052,787	2,864,980	187,807	2,460,633	157,797	404,347	30,0
	Illiterate	40,426,673	18,574,208	21,852,470	15,518,799	18,359,483	3,055,404	3,492,9
	Total	**43,920,684**	**21,866,778**	**22,053,906**	**18,358,455**	**18,528,764**	**3,508,323**	**3,525,1**
25 and over.	Under Instruction	58,204	51,723	6,481	44,169	5,008	7,554	1,4
	Literate	8,281,623	8,013,698	267,925	6,862,821	217,539	1,150,877	50,3
	Illiterate	106,651,082	50,285,042	56,366,040	42,109,436	47,686,265	8,175,606	8,679,7
	Total	**114,990,909**	**58,350,463**	**56,640,446**	**49,016,426**	**47,908,812**	**9,334,037**	**8,731,6**
	Not enumerated by education.*	**25,384,505**	**13,356,295**	**12,028,210**	**247,282**	**225,560**	**13,109,013**	**11,802,6**
	Total Population	**287,223,431**	**146,727,296**	**140,496,135**	**112,542,739**	**108,630,213**	**34,184,557**	**31,865,9**
*A.	Assam (*N. Lushai*)	—	—	—	20,667	20,923	—	—
	Bengal (*Chittagong Hills*)	—	—	—	59,566	47,720	—	—
	Madras (*Vizagapatam Agency*)	—	—	—	167,049	156,917	—	—
	Total, Provinces	—	—	—	247,282	225,560	—	—
*B.	Kashmér	—	—	—	—	—	1,353,160	1,190,
	Rajputána	—	—	—	—	—	6,342,407	5,656,
	Central India	—	—	—	—	—	5,331,271	4,880,
	Hill Tipperah (Bengal)	—	—	—	—	—	71,596	65,
	Mahi Kántha (Bombay)	—	—	—	—	—	10,579	8,
	Total, States	—	—	—	—	—	13,109,013	11,802,6
	INDIA	**25,384,505**	**13,356,295**	**12,028,210**	—	—	—	—

X.—Parent Tongue.

(a) Languages by Linguistic groups.		Population returning.
FAMILY	A. Aryo-Indic	195,463,807
	B. Dravidian	52,964,620
	C. Kolarian	2,959,006
	D. Gipsy Dialects	401,125
	E. Khási	178,637
	F. Tibeto Burman	7,293,928
	G. Môn Annam	229,342
	H. Taic, or Shán	178,447
	J. Maylayan	4,084
	K. Sinitic	713,350
	L. Japanese	93
	M. Aryo-Eranic	1,329,428
	N. Semitic	55,534
	O. Turanic	659
	P. Aryo-European	245,745
	Q. Basque	1
	R. Hamitic or Negro	9,612
Language unrecognisable		363
Return left blank		19,659
Total enumerated by Parent Tongue		262,047,440
Population not enumerated by Parent Tongue		25,175,991
TOTAL		287,223,431

(b) Languages, in order of prevalence in the tracts enumerated.	Population returning.
(1) 1,000,000 and over each.	
1. Hindi—A.	85,675,373
2. Bengáli—A.	41,343,762
3. Telugu—B.	19,885,137
4. Maráthi—A.	18,892,875
5. Panjábi—A.	17,724,610
6. Tamil—B.	15,229,759
7. Gujaráthi—A.	10,619,789
8. Kanarese—B.	9,751,885
9. Uriya—A.	9,010,957
10. Burmese—F.	5,926,864
11. Malayálam—B.	5,428,250
12. Urdu (*Masalmáni*)*—A.	3,669,390
13. Sindhi—A.	2,592,341
14. Santhál—C.	1,709,680
15. Western Pahári (Panjab)—A.	1,523,098
16. Assamese—A.	1,435,820
17. Gond—B.	1,379,580
18. Central Pahári (Garhwáli, &c.)—A.	1,153,384
19. Márwádi—A.	1,147,480
20. Pashtu—M.	1,080,931
(2) 100,000 to 1,000,000.	
21. Karên—K.	674,846
22. Múndá (Kól)—C.	654,507
23. Túlu—B.	491,728
24. Kachhi—A.	439,697
25. Gypsy dialects (Lambáni, &c.)—D.	401,125
26. Oraon—B.	368,222
27. Khand (Khónd)—B.	320,071
28. English—P.	238,499
29. Môn (Talaing)—G.	226,495
30. Balôch—M.	219,475

Languages, in order of prevalence in the tracts enumerated—continued.	Population returning.
31. Kachári (Bódo)—F.	198,705
32. Nipali Hill dialects—F.	195,866
33. Kôrwa (Kúr)—C.	185,775
34. Khási—E.	178,637
35. Shán—H.	174,871
36. Bhil—C.	148,596
37. Gáro—F.	145,425
38. Halbi—A.	143,720
39. Khyîn—F.	126,915
40. Tipperah—F.	121,864
41. Nága dialects—F.	102,908
42. Sáwara—C.	102,039
(3) 10,000 to 100,000.	
43. Méch—F.	90,796
44. Mikir—F.	90,236
45. Kathé (Manipuri)—F.	88,911
46. Kharria—C.	67,772
47. Arabic—N.	53,351
48. Baiga—C.	48,883
49. Lushai—F.	41,926
50. Lálúng—F.	40,204
51. Chinese—K.	38,504
52. Goanese and Portuguese—A.	37,738
53. Kodagu (Coorgi)—B.	37,218
54. Abor (Miri)—F.	35,703
55. Mal-Pahádia—B.	30,838
56. Gadaba—C.	29,789
57. Kashméri—A.	29,276
58. Brahui—B.	28,990
59. Persian—M.	28,189
60. Eastern Pahári (Nipáli, &c.)—A.	24,262
61. Tibetan—F.	20,544
62. Kuki—F.	18,828
63. Minor Kolárian dialects (6)—C.	11,965
64. Lepcha—F.	10,125
(4) 1,000 to 10,000.	
65. Bhutáni—F.	9,470
66. Negro dialects—R.	9,612
67. Kanáwari—F.	9,265
68. Kôch—F.	8,107
69. Minor Dravidian dialects (3) —B.	7,651
70. Kakhyîn—F.	5,669
71. Minor Bodo dialects (4)—F.	4,314
72. Máhl—B.	3,167
73. Khámti—H.	2,945
74. Palaung—G.	2,847
75. Malay—J.	2,437
76. German—P.	2,215
77. French—P.	2,171
78. Hebrew (Israeli)—N.	2,171
79. Kôta and Tôda—B.	1,937
80. Salôn—J.	1,628
81. Minor North-East Frontier dialects (3) —F.	1,282
(5) Under 1,000.	
Indian languages (5)	513
Other Asiatic languages (8)	2,195
European languages (23)	2,913

*Urdû is returned as a separate dialect in Southern, Western, and Central India only.

XI.—Birthplace.

Province or State.	Enumerated in the Province or State.				Born in the Province or State.		
	TOTAL enumerated.	Born in the Province or State.	Born in contiguous Territory.	Born elsewhere.	TOTAL.	Enumerated in contiguous Territory.	Enumerated elsewhere in India.
Ajmér-Mérwára	542,358	433,664	83,447	25,247	490,221	52,720	3,837
Assam	5,476,833	4,961,324	419,562	95,947	5,017,019	53,417	2,278
Bengal*	71,345,947	70,597,656	508,805	239,486	71,838,732	1,191,123	49,953
Berar	2,897,491	2,446,576	387,198	63,717	2,561,430	113,498	1,356
*Bombay**	15,978,463	14,882,954	805,302	290,207	15,985,829	905,540	197,335
*Sindh**	2,871,303	2,665,691	171,254	34,358	2,692,973	18,940	8,342
Burma*	7,602,429	7,273,817	150,649	177,963	7,282,348	2,416	6,115
Central Provinces	10,784,294	10,289,405	420,239	74,650	11,313,422	946,870	77,147
Coorg*	173,010	120,110	51,628	1,272	122,772	2,413	249
Madras and Laccadives*	35,326,412	35,029,729	272,398	24,285	35,646,453	412,669	204,055
North-West Provinces*	34,249,210	33,100,077	1,118,045	31,088	34,768,181	1,459,124	208,980
Oudh*	12,649,049	12,179,130	444,645	25,274	12,705,441	389,665	136,646
Punjab*	20,866,787	19,780,050	1,008,424	78,313	20,608,421	729,504	98,867
Provinces	**220,763,586**	**213,760,183**	**5,841,596**	**1,161,807**	**221,033,242**	**6,277,899**	**995,160**
Hyderabad*	11,535,480	11,151,767	301,544	82,169	11,539,750	375,405	12,578
Baroda*	2,415,197	2,103,474	289,852	21,871	2,355,870	246,757	5,639
Mysore*	4,941,882	4,746,084	183,652	12,146	4,889,617	136,694	6,839
Kashmér*	2,527,056	2,457,799	66,346	2,911	2,548,726	87,545	3,382
Rajputána	11,986,196	11,578,814	370,832	36,550	12,478,431	745,607	154,010
Central India*	10,317,242	9,564,629	680,467	72,146	10,146,485	558,197	23,659
Bombay States*	8,058,299	7,347,901	609,115	101,283	7,950,357	480,184	122,272
Madras States*	3,700,369	3,596,784	98,910	4,675	3,629,824	32,338	702
Central Province States	2,160,511	1,554,211	572,069	34,231	1,579,582	25,264	107
Bengal States*	3,296,125	2,767,707	513,840	14,578	2,878,968	12,118	99,143
North-Western Province States.	792,491	724,327	65,149	3,015	788,135	59,437	4,371
Panjáb States*	4,263,192	3,761,338	480,375	21,479	4,206,065	443,425	1,302
States	**65,994,040**	**61,354,835**	**4,232,151**	**407,054**	**64,991,810**	**3,202,971**	**434,004**
Total returning birthplace.	**286,757,626**	**275,115,018**	**10,073,747**	**1,568,861**	**286,025,052†**	**9,480,870**	**1,429,164**
Aden, Quetta, &c. excluded	89,921	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not enumerated by birthplace.	375,884	—	—	—	—	—	—
INDIA	**287,223,431**	—	—	—	—	—	—

* Those not returning birthplace are here excluded.

† The total number of persons not born in India, including the French and Portuguese possessions, was 661,637. Of these 478,656 returned as their birthplace countries contiguous to India; 60,519 countries in Asia remote from India, including, however, China; 100,551 the United Kingdom; 10,095 other European, American, and Australasian countries; whilst 11,816 were born in Africa, &c., or at sea.

XII.—Infirmities.

A.—INDIA.

Age.	Insane.		Deaf Mute.		Blind.		Lepers.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4	774	522	5,452	4,057	9,426	6,368	426	285
5—9	2,673	1,617	17,086	10,969	14,836	9,521	843	607
10—14	3,728	2,338	15,758	8,787	14,842	9,437	2,285	1,305
15—19	4,293	2,758	12,968	7,845	13,458	9,388	3,857	1,934
20—24	4,791	2,884	11,660	7,263	13,911	10,292	5,569	2,277
25—29	5,599	2,823	10,814	6,569	14,472	11,860	8,342	2,867
30—34	5,741	3,145	9,914	6,123	15,156	14,217	11,431	3,678
35—39	4,333	2,461	7,282	4,175	12,816	12,276	11,495	3,090
40—44	4,482	2,770	7,498	4,803	15,985	17,274	14,474	4,014
45—49	2,543	1,688	4,552	2,793	12,914	13,394	9,488	2,403
50—54	2,557	2,050	5,487	3,698	17,163	20,378	11,065	3,068
55—59	1,264	903	2,953	1,909	14,269	16,003	4,687	1,415
60 and over	2,673	2,558	8,873	7,250	59,772	78,999	11,131	4,023
Age not returned	188	123	200	123	233	208	125	60
Total	**45,639**	**28,650**	**120,497**	**76,364**	**229,253**	**229,615**	**95,218**	**31,026**

B.—PROVINCES.

Age.	Insane.		Deaf Mute.		Blind.		Lepers.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4	633	412	4,871	3,547	7,860	5,118	371	216
5—9	2,103	1,292	15,407	9,745	11,773	7,451	706	484
10—14	3,005	1,916	14,036	7,755	11,917	7,598	1,971	1,069
15—19	3,520	2,273	11,412	6,880	10,941	7,605	3,346	1,615
20—24	3,983	2,398	10,292	6,397	11,208	8,254	4,786	1,973
25—29	4,699	2,427	9,565	5,776	11,668	9,443	7,306	2,480
30—34	4,845	2,689	8,770	5,387	12,202	11,319	10,086	3,181
35—39	3,714	2,149	6,417	3,654	10,362	9,874	10,143	2,656
40—44	3,790	2,378	6,611	4,179	12,761	13,454	12,683	3,465
45—49	2,183	1,475	3,988	2,466	10,404	10,904	8,331	2,115
50—54	2,139	1,764	4,821	3,252	13,532	15,839	9,825	2,709
55—59	1,094	797	2,574	1,692	11,535	12,972	4,143	1,247
60 and over	2,288	2,212	7,774	6,417	47,899	62,416	9,915	3,580
Age not returned	107	91	79	56	108	133	71	36
Total	**38,103**	**24,283**	**106,617**	**67,203**	**184,170**	**182,380**	**83,683**	**26,826**

C.—STATES.

Age.	Insane.		Deaf Mute.		Blind.		Lepers.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—4	141	110	581	510	1,566	1,250	55	69
5—9	570	325	1,679	1,224	3,063	2,070	137	123
10—24	723	422	1,722	1,032	2,925	1,839	314	236
15—19	773	485	1,556	965	2,517	1,783	511	319
20—24	808	486	1,368	866	2,703	2,038	783	304
25—29	900	396	1,249	793	2,804	2,417	1,036	387
30—34	896	456	1,144	736	2,954	2,898	1,345	497
35—39	619	312	865	521	2,454	2,402	1,352	434
40—44	692	392	887	624	3,224	3,820	1,791	549
45—49	360	213	564	327	2,510	2,490	1,157	288
50—54	418	286	666	446	3,631	4,539	1,240	359
55—59	170	106	379	217	2,734	3,031	544	168
60 and over	385	346	1,099	833	11,873	16,583	1,216	443
Age not returned	81	32	121	67	125	75	54	24
Total	**7,536**	**4,367**	**13,880**	**9,161**	**45,083**	**47,235**	**11,535**	**4,200**

XIII.—Occupation.

Order of Occupation or Means of Livelihood.	Number of Persons supported by each Order.		
	India.	Provinces.	States.
I. Administration by State or by Local Bodies -	5,600,153	3,839,643	1,760,510
II. Defence, Military and Naval - - -	664,422	334,193	330,229
III. Service of Foreign States † - - -	500,030	38,179	461,851
IV. Provision and care of Cattle - - -	3,645,849	2,472,872	1,172,977
V. Agricultural - - - - -	171,735,390	135,504,696	36,230,694
VI. Personal, Household, or Sanitary Services -	11,220,072	8,505,420	2,714,652
VII. Provision of Food and Drink - - -	14,575,593	12,120,669	2,454,924
VIII. Provision of Light, Firing, and Forage - -	3,522,257	2,887,525	634,732
IX. Construction of Buildings - - -	1,437,739	1,113,633	324,106
X. Construction of Vehicles and Vessels - -	146,508	135,627	10,881
XI. Provision of Supplementary Requirements -	1,155,267	991,334	163,933
XII. Provision of Textile Fabrics and Dress - -	12,611,267	9,655,213	2,956,054
XIII. Provision of Metals and Precious Stones -	3,821,433	2,897,046	924,387
XIV. Provision of Glass, Pottery, and Stoneware -	2,360,623	1,669,019	691,604
XV. Provision of Wood, Cane, Mats, &c. - -	4,293,012	3,319,170	973,842
XVI. Provision of Drugs, Dyes, and Gums - -	391,575	319,981	71,594
XVII. Provision of Leather Hides, and Horns - -	3,285,307	2,224,604	1,060,703
XVIII. Commerce - - - - -	4,685,579	3,093,056	1,592,523
XIX. Transport and Storage - - -	3,952,993	3,242,281	710,712
XX. Learned and Artistic Professions - -	5,672,191	4,386,725	1,285,466
XXI. Sport and Amusements - - - -	141,180	98,485	42,695
XXII. Earthwork and General Labour - -	25,468,017	18,414,315	7,053,702
XXIII. Undefined and Disreputable Means of Livelihood‡	1,562,981	704,801	858,180
XXIV. Means of Livelihood independent of Work -	4,773,993	3,204,465	1,569,528
Total - - -	**287,223,431**	**221,172,952**	**66,050,479**

* In this return no distinction is drawn between those who work and those whom they support by their work. The whole population depending upon the occupation is included, in order to indicate the respective sustaining power of the different orders.

† Order III. is intended to refer solely to those not in the employ of the State making the return, but it is probable that in some cases the servants of the State itself have been included.

‡ Order XXIII. includes those not enumerated by occupation in certain wild tracts of Rajputána, Kashmér, and the Bombay States.

TABLE A.

GENERAL STATEMENT.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

In addition to the population shown in this table, which was dealt with in connection with the Census, the following tracts were roughly enumerated under a system of family or tribal registration during the years 1890–91, but the results being approximate only, have not been included in the Census tables. Other tracts on the Upper Burma frontier were duly enumerated, but, as in Manipur, the returns were destroyed in the subsequent disturbances. The population, however, save in Manipur, was roughly totalled at the time of Census, so the results are entered below :—

Tracts.	Approximate Population.
1. Upper Burma Frontier (in Bhámô and Kathá)	42,217
2. British Balôchistán, excluding Quetta and Railways, &c.	145,417
3. Burma Frontier returns, since destroyed	74,276
Total, British	261,910
4. Sikkim	30,458
5. Shán States	372,969
6. Rajputána (Bhils, &c.)	204,241
Total, States	607,668
Total excluded	**869,578**

2. Amongst the tracts included in this table are several which were not enumerated at the Census in full detail. The population of such tracts will be found excluded from the returns for which the information concerning it is not available, the necessary explanation being given on the title page of the table in question.

TABLE A.

PROVINCE.	AREA in Square Miles.	TOWNS.	VILLAGES.	OCCUPIED HOUSES.		
				TOTAL.	In Towns.	In Villages.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Ajmér Mérwára	2,711	4	741	101,654	25,787	75,867
2. Assam	49,004	18	17,142	1,118,885	22,399	1,096,486
3. Bengal	151,543	146	227,019	13,592,154	656,130	12,936,024
4. Berár	17,718	37	5,785	591,008	79,805	511,203
5. Bombay (*Presidency*)	125,144	216	24,988	3,380,640	594,508	2,786,132
(a) *Bombay*	77,275	192	21,261	2,857,212	522,296	2,334,916
(b) *Sindh*	47,789	23	3,927	516,020	64,804	451,216
(c) *Aden*	80	1	—	7,408	7,408	—
6. Burma (*Total*)	171,430	60	28,709	1,423,604	181,338	1,242,266
(a) *Upper*	83,473	24	10,957	554,472	80,264	474,208
(b) *Lower*	87,957	36	17,752	869,132	101,074	768,058
7. Central Provinces	86,501	52	34,303	2,158,668	162,073	1,996,595
8. Coorg	1,583	5	492	26,806	3,174	23,632
9. Madras	141,189	214	56,867	6,709,990	608,122	6,101,868
10. N.-W. Provinces	107,503	484	105,716	8,225,191	1,013,547	7,211,644
(a) *N.-W. Provinces*	83,286	399	81,437	5,944,230	822,781	5,121,449
(b) *Oudh*	24,217	85	24,279	2,280,961	190,766	2,090,195
11. Panjáb	110,667	178	34,664	3,127,823	393,982	2,733,841
12. Quettah, &c.	—	2	—	4,543	4,543	—
13. Andamans	—	—	59	2,997	—	2,997
Total, Provinces	**964,993**	**1,416**	**536,485**	**40,463,963**	**3,745,408**	**36,718,555**
STATE OR AGENCY.						
14. Haiderabád	82,698	76	20,011	2,283,787	235,426	2,048,361
15. Baroda	8,226	40	3,003	538,967	123,300	415,667
16. Mysore	27,936	98	16,784	894,446	114,182	780,264
17. Kashmér	80,900	8	8,310	447,993	36,252	411,741
18. Rajputána	130,268	124	30,299	2,177,425	293,806	1,883,619
19. Central India	77,808	66	32,415	1,961,771	202,999	1,758,772
20. Bombay States	69,045	119	15,332	1,596,132	244,680	1,351,452
21. Madras States	9,609	14	1,293	726,966	32,826	694,140
22. Central Prov. States	29,435	6	10,401	409,096	8,761	400,335
23. Bengal States	35,834	2	18,804	584,912	3,523	581,389
24. N.-W. Prov. States	5,109	6	2,312	132,815	5,067	127,748
25. Panjáb States	38,299	60	20,055	713,735	82,165	631,570
26. Shán States (Fort Steadman)	—	—	10	94	—	94
Total, States	**595,167**	**619**	**179,029**	**12,468,139**	**1,382,987**	**11,085,152**
INDIA	**1,560,160**	**2,035**	**715,514**	**52,932,102**	**5,128,395**	**47,803,707**

TABLE A.

POPULATION.

Both Sexes.			Males.			Females.		
TOTAL.	Urban.	Rural.	TOTAL.	Urban.	Rural.	TOTAL.	Urban.	Rural.
8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
542,358	118,631	423,727	288,325	64,466	223,859	254,033	54,165	199,868
5,476,833	102,074	5,374,759	2,819,575	63,495	2,756,080	2,657,258	38,579	2,618,679
71,346,987	3,443,876	67,903,111	35,563,299	1,905,224	33,658,075	35,783,688	1,538,652	34,245,036
2,897,491	360,711	2,536,780	1,491,826	187,965	1,303,861	1,405,665	172,746	1,232,919
18,901,123	3,502,678	15,398,445	9,793,981	1,913,082	7,880,899	9,107,142	1,589,596	7,517,546
15,985,270	3,116,304	12,868,966	8,194,477	1,691,583	6,502,894	7,790,793	1,424,721	6,366,072
2,871,774	342,295	2,529,479	1,568,590	190,585	1,378,005	1,303,184	151,710	1,151,474
44,079	44,079	—	30,914	30,914	—	13,165	13,165	—
7,605,560	946,649	6,658,911	3,876,301	536,797	3,339,504	3,729,259	409,852	3,319,407
2,946,933	371,404	2,575,529	1,414,005	186,371	1,227,634	1,532,928	185,033	1,347,895
4,658,627	575,245	4,083,382	2,462,296	350,426	2,111,870	2,196,331	224,819	1,971,512
10,784,294	739,592	10,044,702	5,397,304	379,728	5,017,576	5,386,990	359,864	5,027,126
173,055	15,511	157,544	95,907	8,630	87,277	77,148	6,811	70,267
35,630,440	3,406,105	32,224,335	17,619,395	1,663,790	15,955,605	18,011,045	1,742,315	16,268,730
46,905,085	5,314,328	41,590,757	24,303,601	2,792,279	21,511,322	22,601,484	2,522,049	20,079,435
34,254,254	4,352,573	29,901,681	17,812,850	2,286,339	15,526,511	16,441,404	2,066,234	14,375,170
12,650,831	961,755	11,689,076	6,490,751	505,940	5,984,811	6,160,080	455,815	5,704,265
20,866,847	2,413,704	18,453,143	11,255,986	1,356,677	9,899,309	9,610,861	1,057,027	8,553,834
27,270	27,270	—	23,864	23,864	—	3,406	3,406	—
15,609	—	15,609	13,375	—	13,375	2,234	—	2,234
221,172,952	**20,391,129**	**200,781,823**	**112,542,739**	**10,895,997**	**101,646,742**	**108,630,213**	**9,495,132**	**99,135,081**
11,537,040	1,090,129	10,446,911	5,873,129	557,071	5,316,058	5,663,911	533,058	5,130,853
2,415,396	483,515	1,931,881	1,252,983	248,643	1,004,340	1,162,413	234,872	927,541
4,943,604	626,558	4,317,046	2,483,451	311,664	2,171,787	2,460,153	314,894	2,145,259
2,543,952	197,743	2,346,209	1,353,229	109,552	1,243,677	1,190,723	88,191	1,102,532
12,016,102	1,530,087	10,486,015	6,353,488	791,514	5,561,974	5,662,614	738,573	4,924,041
10,318,812	964,538	9,354,274	5,395,536	514,289	4,881,247	4,923,276	450,249	4,473,027
8,059,298	1,177,422	6,881,876	4,120,125	592,865	3,527,260	3,939,173	584,557	3,354,616
3,700,622	175,125	3,525,497	1,853,976	88,678	1,765,298	1,846,646	86,447	1,760,199
2,160,511	38,656	2,121,855	1,089,011	20,166	1,068,845	1,071,500	18,490	1,053,010
3,296,379	16,542	3,279,837	1,673,186	9,771	1,663,415	1,623,193	6,771	1,616,422
792,491	103,188	689,303	409,470	54,478	354,992	383,021	48,710	334,311
4,263,280	456,544	3,806,736	2,324,091	251,472	2,072,619	1,939,139	205,072	1,734,117
2,992	—	2,992	2,882	—	2,882	110	—	110
66,050,479	**6,860,047**	**59,190,432**	**34,184,557**	**3,550,163**	**30,634,394**	**31,865,922**	**3,309,884**	**28,556,038**
287,223,431	**27,251,176**	**259,972,255**	**146,727,296**	**14,446,160**	**132,281,136**	**140,496,135**	**12,805,016**	**127,691,119**

TABLE B.

VARIATION IN POPULATION SINCE 1881.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

In this return a distinction is drawn in the case of both Provinces and States between the tracts included in the Census of 1881 and those now brought under the operations for the first time. The total population for 1891, as here given, falls short of that returned in Table I. by 43,716 persons, belonging to tracts in Rajputána not enumerated on the former occasion. Similarly, in order to get the full total of 1881, 309,380 persons must be added, representing the Rajputána Bhil tracts not enumerated in 1891; and 221,070 representing the then population of Manipur, the returns for which at the present Census were destroyed during the disturbances of March 1891. The Bombay Provincial total for 1881 is increased by 1,908, the population of an alienated village, the return for which seems to have escaped compilation on that occasion, as it was believed to have been included in one of the Deccan States. A small transfer of 105 persons from Madras to Bengal, and another of 66,315 persons from the Orissa Kandh Maháls to the same Province, have been taken into consideration here. The 1881 population of the Jhánsi territory, ceded by Gwalior since that year, has been deducted from Central India and added to the North-West Provinces. The Chomehla parganah of Jhálawár, which is partly under Central India, has nevertheless been included in Rajputána with the rest of the State; but the Tonk parganahs in Central India, being wholly detached from Rajputána, are taken as part of the former agency. Similarly, in Table A., the detached parganahs of Gwalior and Indore in Meywár are included in Rajputána, though, as the 1881 population is not separately recorded, it has been omitted from Table B. as well as that for 1891.

TABLE B.

PROVINCE.	BOTH SEXES.			MALES.			FEMALES.		
	1891.	1881.	Difference.	1891.	1881.	Difference.	1891.	1881.	Difference.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Ajmér-Merwára	542,358	460,722	+ 81,636	288,325	248,844	+ 39,481	254,033	211,878	+ 42,155
2. Assam	5,433,199	4,881,426	+ 551,773	2,796,864	2,503,703	+ 293,161	2,636,335	2,377,723	+ 258,612
3. Bengal	71,346,987	66,750,520	+ 4,596,467	35,563,299	33,204,733	+ 2,358,566	35,783,688	33,545,787	+ 2,237,901
4. Berár	2,897,491	2,672,673	+ 224,818	1,491,826	1,380,492	+ 111,334	1,405,665	1,292,181	+ 113,484
5. Bombay (*Presidency*)	18,901,123	16,505,967	+ 2,395,156	9,793,981	8,529,316	+ 1,264,665	9,107,142	7,976,651	+ 1,130,491
(a) *Bombay*	15,985,270	14,057,284	+ 1,927,986	8,194,477	7,189,751	+ 1,004,726	7,790,793	6,867,533	+ 923,260
(b) *Sindh*	2,871,774	2,413,823	+ 457,951	1,568,590	1,316,830	+ 251,760	1,303,184	1,096,993	+ 206,191
(c) *Aden*	44,079	34,860	+ 9,219	30,914	22,735	+ 8,179	13,165	12,125	+ 1,040
6 (*b*). Lower Burmah	4,658,627	3,736,771	+ 921,856	2,462,296	1,991,005	+ 471,291	2,196,331	1,745,766	+ 450,565
7. Central Provinces	10,784,294	9,838,791	+ 945,503	5,397,304	4,959,435	+ 437,869	5,386,990	4,879,356	+ 507,634
8. Coorg	173,055	178,302	− 5,247	95,907	100,439	− 4,532	77,148	77,863	− 715
9. Madras	35,630,440	30,827,113	+ 4,803,327	17,619,395	15,257,401	+ 2,361,994	18,011,045	15,569,712	+ 2,441,333
10. North-West Provinces	46,905,085	44,150,507	+ 2,754,578	24,303,601	22,934,051	+ 1,369,550	22,601,484	21,216,456	+ 1,385,028
(a) *North-West Provinces*	34,254,254	32,762,766	+ 1,491,488	17,812,850	17,082,396	+ 730,454	16,441,404	15,680,370	+ 761,034
(b) *Oudh*	12,650,831	11,387,741	+ 1,263,090	6,490,751	5,851,655	+ 639,096	6,160,080	5,536,086	+ 623,994
11. Panjáb	20,866,847	18,843,186	+ 2,023,661	11,255,986	10,202,597	+ 1,053,389	9,610,861	8,640,589	+ 970,272
13. Andamans	15,609	14,628	+ 981	13,375	12,640	+ 735	2,234	1,988	+ 246
Nett Variation since 1881	**218,155,115**	**198,860,606**	**+ 19,294,509**	**111,082,159**	**101,324,656**	**+ 9,757,503**	**107,072,956**	**97,535,950**	**+ 9,537,006**

Additions. 2. *North Lushai*	43,634	—		22,711	—		20,923	—	—
Additions. 6 (*a*). *Upper Burmah*	2,946,933	—	—	1,414,005	—	—	1,532,928	—	—
Additions. 12. *Quettah, &c.*	27,270	—	—	23,864	—		3,406	—	—
Total Variation (*Provinces*)	**221,172,952**	**198,860,606**	**+22,312,346**	**112,542,739**	**101,324,656**	**+11,218,083**	**108,630,213**	**97,535,950**	**+11,094,263**
STATE OR AGENCY.									
14. HYDERABÁD	11,537,040	9,845,594	+ 1,691,446	5,873,129	5,002,137	+ 870,992	5,663,911	4,843,457	+ 820,454
15. BARODA	2,415,396	2,185,005	+ 230,391	1,252,983	1,139,512	+ 113,471	1,162,413	1,045,493	+ 116,920
16. MYSORE	4,943,604	4,186,188	+ 757,416	2,483,451	2,085,842	+ 397,609	2,460,153	2,100,346	+ 359,807
18. RAJPUTÁNA	11,972,386	9,959,012	+ 2,013,374	6,330,732	5,385,175	+ 945,557	5,641,654	4,573,837	+ 1,067,817
19. CENTRAL INDIA	10,318,812	9,387,119	+ 931,693	5,395,536	4,949,941	+ 445,595	4,923,276	4,437,178	+ 486,098
20. BOMBAY STATES	8,059,298	6,926,464	+ 1,132,834	4,120,125	3,564,441	+ 555,684	3,939,173	3,362,023	+ 577,150
21. MADRAS STATES	3,700,622	3,344,849	+ 355,773	1,853,976	1,662,540	+ 191,436	1,846,646	1,682,309	+ 164,337
22. CENTRAL PROVINCE STATES	2,160,511	1,709,720	+ 450,791	1,089,011	867,687	+ 221,324	1,071,500	842,033	+ 229,467
23. BENGAL STATES	3,296,379	2,786,446	+ 509,933	1,673,186	1,420,909	+ 252,277	1,623,193	1,365,537	+ 257,656
24. NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE STATES	792,491	741,750	+ 50,741	409,470	384,699	+ 24,771	383,021	357,051	+ 25,970
25. PANJÁB STATES	4,263,280	3,860,761	+ 402,519	2,324,091	2,111,779	+ 212,312	1,939,189	1,748,982	+ 190,207
Nett Variation since 1881	**63,459,819**	**54,932,908**	**+ 8,526,911**	**32,805,690**	**28,574,662**	**+ 4,231,028**	**30,654,129**	**26,358,246**	**+ 4,295,883**
Additions. 17. *Kashmér*	2,543,952	—	—	1,353,229	—	—	1,190,723	—	—
Additions. 26. *Shán States* (*Outposts only*)	2,992	—	—	2,882	—	—	110	—	—
Total Variation (*States*)	**66,006,763**	**54,932,908**	**+11,073,855**	**34,161,801**	**28,574,662**	**+ 5,587,139**	**31,844,962**	**26,358,246**	**+ 5,486,716**
INDIA Nett	**281,614,934**	**253,793,514**	**+27,821,420**	**143,887,849**	**129,899,318**	**+13,988,531**	**137,727,085**	**123,894,196**	**+13,832,889**
INDIA Total	**287,179,715**	—	**+33,386,201**	**146,704,540**	—	**+16,805,222**	**140,475,175**	—	**+16,580,979**

TABLE C.

THE POPULATION BY RELIGION.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The number of persons either not required to return their religion, or who neglected to give the information when asked for it, was only 42,578 out of the whole population. In parts of the Madras Agency tracts and in the Gilgit division of Kashmir religion was not called for. The omissions were chiefly in Bengal.

For the returns by age, civil condition and education, the term Hindu has been held to include the Brahmo or Áryá Somáj as well as the comparatively recently introduced title of Áryá, which was returned (*a*) as a separate religion, (*b*) as a sect of Hinduism, (*c*) of the Vedic religion, and also (*d*) of the Sikh form of faith. In the returns above-mentioned, too, the few cases of Theism, Atheism, Agnosticism, Deism, Positivism, and Unitarianism, have all been included under the title of Minor religions, which also comprises those distinctly stating that they are of no religion, as distinguished from those who were not returned by religion at all. The full number of these cases, however, is not shown under this head, as in Calcutta, 7 Unitarians, 2 Agnostics, a Positivist, a Freethinker, a Specialist, and 23 persons returning themselves as of no religion, have been included amongst Christains in the local return and shown as such in the age, civil condition, and education tables.

The term Animistic has been adopted comprehensively for the religions of Forest tribes who do not accept the Hindu system, and have not been converted to Christianity or Islám. The distinction between some of these tribal forms of faith and Hinduism was, however, by no means clearly drawn at the enumeration, and the caste returns of Rajputána, for example, will be found to show many Bhils as of the Hindu religion, though that tribe is elsewhere generally entered under Animistic.

TABLE C.

Province.	Total Population.	I.—Aryan—		
		(*a*) Hindu (*Brahmanic*).	(*b*) Hindu (*Aryá*).	(*c*) Hindu (*Bráhmo*).
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Ajmér	542,358	436,831	1,157	—
2. Assam	5,476,833	2,996,833		239
3. Bengal	71,346,987	45,217,618	—	2,506
4. Berár	2,897,491	2,531,791		—
5. Bombay (*Presidency*)	18,901,123	14,659,892	—	34
(a) *Bombay*	15,985,270	14,089,643	—	31
(b) *Sindh*	2,871,774	567,536	—	3
(c) *Aden*	44,079	2,713	—	—
6. Burma	7,605,560	171,577	—	—
(a) *Upper*	2,946,933	29,055	—	—
(b) *Lower*	4,658,627	142,522	—	—
7. Central Provinces	10,784,294	8,831,199	265	3
8. Coorg	173,055	156,845	—	—
9. Madras	35,630,440	31,998,245	—	64
10. North-West Provinces	46,905,085	40,380,168	22,053	14
(a) *North-West Provinces*	34,254,254	29,364,955	21,063	8
(b) *Oudh*	12,650,831	11,015,231	990	6
11. Punjáb	20,866,847	7,727,810	15,539	128
12. Quettah, &c.	27,270	11,699	—	—
13. Andamans	15,609	9,433	—	—
Total, Provinces	**221,172,952**	**155,129,941**	**39,014**	**2,988**
STATE OR AGENCY.				
14. Hyderabád	11,537,040	10,315,249	—	—
15. Baroda	2,415,396	2,137,562	6	—
16. Mysore	4,943,604	4,639,104	—	23
17. Kashmir	2,543,952	691,800	—	—
18. Rajputána	12,016,102	10,192,458	371	—
19. Central India	10,318,812	7,735,246	—	—
20. Bombay States	8,059,298	6,781,065	—	—
21. Madras States	3,700,622	2,759,211	—	—
22. Central Province States	2,160,511	1,658,143	10	—
23. Bengal States	3,296,379	2,603,850	—	40
24. N.-W. Province States	792,491	549,545	23	—
25. Punjáb States	4,263,280	2,493,695	528	—
26. Shán States (*Outposts*)	2,992	1,855	—	—
Total, States	**66,050,479**	**52,558,783**	**938**	**63**
INDIA	**287,223,431**	**207,688,724**	**39,952**	**3,051**

TABLE C.

INDIAN.			II.—ARYAN—NON-INDIAN.		III.—SEMITIC.	
Total, Hindu.	**Sikh.**	**Jain.**	**Buddhist.**	**Zoroastrian (*Parsi*).**	**Muṣalmán.**	**Christian.**
6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
437,988	213	26,939	—	198	74,265	2,683
2,997,072	83	1,368	7,697	—	1,483,974	16,844
45,220,124	412	7,042	189,122	179	23,437,591	190,829
2,531,791	177	18,952	4	412	207,681	1,359
14,659,926	818	240,436	697	74,263	3,537,103	161,770
14,089,674	98	239,513	671	72,411	1,286,763	151,001
567,539	720	923	2	1534	2,215,147	7,764
2,713	—	—	24	318	35,193	3,005
171,577	3,164	—	6,888,075	96	253,031	120,768
29,055	2,591	—	2,844,569	9	42,382	8,786
142,522	573	—	4,043,506	87	210,649	111,982
8,831,467	172	48,644	322	781	297,604	12,970
156,845	—	114	—	39	12,665	3,392
31,998,309	128	27,425	1,036	246	2,250,386	865,528
40,402,235	11,343	84,601	1,387	342	6,346,651	58,441
29,386,026	9,740	82,134	1,191	268	4,725,721	49,129
11,016,209	1,603	2,467	196	74	1,620,930	9,312
7,743,477	1,389,934	39,477	5,768	357	11,634,192	53,587
11,699	1,129	—	—	39	11,368	3,008
9,433	395	3	1,290	—	3,980	483
155,171,943	**1,407,968**	**495,001**	**7,095,398**	**76,952**	**49,550,491**	**1,491,662**
10,315,249	4,637	27,845	—	1,058	1,138,666	20,429
2,137,568	11	50,332	1	8,206	188,740	646
4,639,127	29	13,278	5	35	252,973	38,135
691,800	11,399	593	29,608	9	1,793,710	218
10,192,829	1,116	417,618	—	238	991,351	1,855
7,735,246	1,825	89,984	—	837	568,640	5,999
6,781,065	94	314,773	1	2,511	853,892	8,239
2,759,211	—	10	—	1	225,478	714,651
1,658,153	1	568	3	—	11,875	338
2,603,890	5	228	5,595	—	220,756	1,655
549,568	5	202	107	—	242,532	77
2,494,223	480,547	6,206	468	55	1,281,451	322
1,855	196	—	175	2	609	154
52,559,784	**499,865**	**921,637**	**35,963**	**12,952**	**7,770,673**	**792,718**
207,731,727	**1,907,833**	**1,416,638**	**7,131,361**	**89,904**	**57,321,164**	**2,284,380**

TABLE C.—*continued.*

Province.	III.—Semitic—*concluded.*	IV.—Animistic Religions.	V.—Minor		
	Jew.	Forest Tribes, &c.	Minor Religions.	(*a*) Unitarians.	(*b*) Theists.
1.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
1. Ajmér	71	—	1	—	—
2. Assam	5	969,765	25	—	13
3. Bengal	1,447	2,294,506	17	—	6
4. Berár	2	137,108	3	—	—
5. Bombay (*Presidency*)	12,465	213,618	27	—	—
(a) *Bombay*	9,429	135,683	27	—	—
(b) *Sindh*	210	77,935	—	—	—
(c) *Aden*	2,826	—	—	—	—
6. Burma	351	168,449	18	—	—
(a) *Upper*	83	19,428	—	—	—
(b) *Lower*	268	149,021	18	—	—
7. Central Provinces	176	1,592,149	9	—	—
8. Coorg	—	—	—	—	—
9. Madras	42	472,808	29	—	4
10. N.-W. Provinces	60	—	3	—	—
(a) *North-West Provinces*	35	—	—	—	—
(b) *Oudh*	25	—	3	—	—
11. Panjáb	27	—	28	5	6
12. Quettah, &c.	23	—	2	—	—
13. Andamans	—	24	1	—	1
Total, Provinces	**14,669**	**5,848,427**	**163**	**5**	**30**
STATE OR AGENCY.					
14. Hyderabád	26	29,130	—	—	—
15. Baroda	36	29,854	—	—	—
16. Mysore	21	—	1	—	1
17. Kashmér	—	—	—	—	—
18. Rajputana	15	411,078	2	—	—
19. Central India	72	1,916,209	—	—	—
20. Bombay States	1,082	97,641	—	—	—
21. Madras States	1,267	—	2	—	—
22. Central Province States	—	489,572	1	—	—
23. Bengal States	—	458,555	16	—	16
24. N.-W. Province States	—	—	—	—	—
25. Panjáb States	6	—	—	—	—
26. Shán States (*Outposts*)	—	1	—	—	—
Total, States	**2,525**	**3,432,040**	**22**	**—**	**17**
INDIA	**17,194**	**9,280,467**	**185**	**5**	**47**

TABLE C.—*concluded.*

AND INDEFINITE CREEDS.

(*c*) Deists.	(*d*) Atheists.	(*e*) Free-thinkers.	(*f*) Agnostics.	(*g*) Positivists.	(*h*) No Religion.	Religion not Returned.
18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.
—	—	—	—	—	1	—
2	—	—	10	—	—	—
—	4	—	6	1	—	5,718
1	—	—	1	1	—	2
—	—	—	27	—	—	—
—	—	—	27	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	18	—	—	—	—	31
—	—	—	—	—	—	30
—	18	—	—	—	—	1
—	—	—	9	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	5	—	12	—	4	14,503
3	—	—	—	—	—	22
—	—	—	—	—	—	10
3	—	—	—	—	—	12
2	—	3	3	—	9	—
—	—	2	—	—	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12	**27**	**5**	**68**	**2**	**14**	**20,278**
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	16,615
—	—	—	—	—	2	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	2	2
—	—	—	1	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	5,679
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	1	—	4	22,300
12	**27**	**5**	**69**	**2**	**18**	**42,578**

TABLE D.

THE POPULATION BY LITERACY.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The enumerators' instructions, of which this return shows the results, were that each individual should be entered under one of the three titles, learning, literate, or illiterate; the first applies to those under instruction, whether they know how to read and write or not, but children only learning texts or the multiplication table, by rote, were probably excluded. Those who are able to read and write, but are not under instruction of any sort, come into the second category, whilst the last includes all who are neither under instruction nor able to both read and write.

The return was called for from all Provinces and States except those mentioned below, so that the population dealt with amounts to 261,838,926, and 25,384,505 is excluded :—

A.—TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION.			B.—RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION.		
Province or State.	Males.	Females.	Religion.	Males.	Females.
Assam (*N. Lushai Land*) -	20,667	20,923	B. Hindu - -	9,918,541	8,864,506
Bengal (*Chittagong Hills*) -	59,566	47,720	C. Sikh - -	7,326	5,784
Madras (*Vizagapatam*) (*part*) -	167,049	156,917	D. Jain - - -	253,197	253,726
			E. Buddhist - -	56,409	52,061
Total, Provinces - -	**247,282**	**225,560**	F. Pársi - -	197	136
Kashmér - - - -	1,353,160	1,190,653	G. Músalmán - -	1,781,189	1,585,672
Rajputána - -	6,342,407	5,656,979	H. Christian - -	775	612
Central India - - -	5,331,271	4,880,515	J. Jew - -	2	1
Bengal (*Hill Tipperah*) -	71,596	65,846	K. Animistic - -	1,318,693	1,249,897
Bombay (*Mahi Kantha*) (*part*)	10,579	8,657	L. Minor - -	—	—
			M. Not returned - -	19,966	15,815
Total, States - -	**13,109,013**	**11,802,650**			
Total excluded -	**13,356,295**	**12,028,210**	**Total - -**	**13,356,295**	**12,028,210**

TABLE D.

A. PROVINCE.	Total returning Literacy.		Under Instruction.		Not under Instruction, but can Read and Write.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Ajmér-Mérwára	288,325	254,033	6,179	470	32,114	1,540
2. Assam	2,798,908	2,636,335	49,111	3,427	162,553	5,761
3. Bengal	35,503,733	35,735,968	883,250	34,130	2,948,794	109,684
4. Berár	1,491,826	1,405,665	38,502	976	87,128	1,722
5. Bombay (*Presidency*)	9,793,981	9,107,142	334,770	24,981	952,172	54,699
(a) *Bombay*	8,194,477	7,790,793	304,176	22,401	843,055	49,976
(b) *Sindh*	1,568,590	1,303,184	29,639	2,489	102,970	4,362
(c) *Aden*	30,914	13,165	955	91	6,147	361
6. Burma (*Total*)	3,876,301	3,729,259	227,498	18,225	1,515,083	89,376
(a) *Upper*	1,414,005	1,532,928	99,229	3,372	553,733	20,093
(b) *Lower*	2,462,296	2,196,331	128,269	14,853	961,350	69,283
7. Central Provinces	5,397,304	5,386,990	76,306	3,901	230,592	6,982
8. Coorg	95,907	77,148	4,192	610	10,747	676
9. Madras	17,452,346	17,854,128	576,079	59,127	2,021,289	120,324
10. N.-W. Provinces	24,303,601	22,601,484	238,440	8,404	1,257,150	38,466
(a) *N.-W. Provinces*	17,812,850	16,441,404	183,737	7,001	937,430	30,610
(b) *Oudh*	6,490,751	6,160,080	54,703	1,403	319,720	7,856
11. Panjáb	11,255,986	9,610,861	158,849	7,834	675,941	18,206
12. Quetfah	23,864	3,406	367	86	7,312	383
13. Andamans	13,375	2,234	344	77	2,789	105
Total, Provinces	**112,295,457**	**108,404,653**	**2,593,887**	**162,248**	**9,903,664**	**447,924**
B. STATE OR AGENCY.						
14. Hyderabád	5,873,129	5,663,911	76,522	3,238	343,566	11,066
15. Baroda	1,252,983	1,162,413	39,290	2,256	136,364	4,552
16. Mysore	2,483,451	2,460,153	61,076	6,415	200,495	11,499
17. Kashmér	69	70	8	6	53	51
18. Rajputána	11,081	5,635	465	123	2,951	483
19. Central India	64,265	42,761	2,291	273	15,532	1,148
20. Bombay States	4,109,546	3,930,516	105,545	5,855	362,644	13,404
21. Madras States	1,853,976	1,846,646	82,318	16,160	360,746	48,380
22. Central Province States	1,089,011	1,071,500	4,991	171	18,710	627
23. Bengal States	1,601,590	1,557,347	15,792	503	72,642	2,026
24. N.-W. Province States	409,470	383,021	1,969	38	12,211	318
25. Panjáb States	2,324,091	1,939,189	13,404	375	123,236	2,000
26. Shan States (*Outposts*)	2,882	110	—	1	1,221	17
Total, States	**21,075,544**	**20,063,272**	**403,671**	**35,414**	**1,650,371**	**95,571**
INDIA	**133,371,001**	**128,467,925**	**2,997,558**	**197,662**	**11,554,035**	**543,495**

TABLE E.

THE POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

This return was obtained from all Provinces and States, except a portion of the Madras Agency, Tracts of Rajputána, and from the Gilgit division of Kashmír, containing in all an included population of 350,508. There were also 25,376 persons in the rest of India who failed to fill up the return correctly, so that the net population dealt with amounts to 286,847,547.

The demand made was for the entry of the District and State of birth, if in India, and of the Country, if born elsewhere. In some instances a village which could not be identified was substituted for the former, whilst the required detail was omitted for the latter. Thus Roumania and Bulgaria were entered as Turkey: Europe, America, and the United Kingdom, instead of the country, and so on. The term "India," without further detail, may be taken, as a rule, to mean Hindustán, that is, the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

TABLE E.

Birthplace.	TOTAL.	Males.	Females.
1.	2.	3.	4.
(*a*) In India :—			
1. Ajmér-Mérwara	490,221	259,007	231,214
2. Assam and N. Lushai	5,017,919	2,552,409	2,464,610
3. Bengal	71,838,732	35,763,212	36,075,520
4. Berár	2,561,430	1,299,530	1,261,900
5. Bombay	15,985,829	8,130,650	7,855,179
6. Sindh	2,692,973	1,461,150	1,231,823
7. Burma	7,282,348	3,609,127	3,673,221
8. Central Provinces	11,313,422	5,639,959	5,673,463
9. Coorg	122,772	62,836	59,936
10. Madras	35,646,068	17,679,522	17,966,546
11. N.-W. Provinces	34,768,181	18,197,223	16,570,958
12. Oudh	12,705,441	6,572,501	6,132,940
13. Panjáb	20,608,421	11,152,531	9,455,890
14. Quettah	3	2	1
15. Aden	11,713	5,810	5,903
16. Andamans	1,909	1,523	386
17. Laccadives	385	364	21
Total, Provinces	**221,046,867**	**112,387,356**	**108,659,511**
18. Hydrabád (*Deccan*)	11,539,750	5,854,734	5,685,016
19. Baroda	2,355,870	1,221,524	1,134,346
20. Mysore and Bangalore	4,889,617	2,445,278	2,444,339
21. Kashmér and Jammu	2,548,726	1,350,722	1,198,004
22. Rajputána	12,478,431	6,626,158	5,852,273
23. Central India	10,146,485	5,283,139	5,863,346
24. Bombay States	7,950,357	4,089,804	3,860,553
25. Madras States	3,629,824	1,820,108	1,809,716
26. Central Province States	1,579,582	796,879	782,703
27. Bengal States and Sikkim	2,878,968	1,454,697	1,424,271
28. N.-W. Province States	788,135	407,433	380,702
29. Panjáb States	4,206,065	2,278,294	1,927,771
30. Manipur	5,829	3,503	2,326
31. Shán States and Karenni	8,160	5,031	3,129
32. French Settlements	23,113	9,325	13,788
33. Portuguese Settlements	54,333	34,557	19,776
Total States, &c.	65,083,245	33,681,186	31,402,059
34. India, *unspecified*	55,798	31,490	24,308
Total, India	**286,185,910**	**146,100,032**	**140,085,878**

TABLE E.—*continued.*

Birthplace.	TOTAL.	Males.	Females.
1.	2.	3.	4.
(*b*) Countries adjacent to India :—			
35. Beluchistán	61,445	34,205	27,240
36. Afghanistán	84,963	55,860	29,103
37. Yághestán	74,671	44,738	29,933
38. Turkestan	816	559	257
39. Tibet	1,641	1,262	379
40. Nipál	236,398	130,354	106,044
41. Bhután	4,353	2,432	1,921
42. Ceylon	5,612	3,622	1,990
43. Straits Settlements, &c.	1,697	1,140	557
44. Siam	7,060	4,160	2,900
Total, adjacent Countries	**478,656**	**278,332**	**200,324**
(*c*) Other Asiatic Countries :—			
45. China	25,563	22,470	3,093
46. Mongolia (*Tartary*)	172	122	50
47. Japan	125	50	75
48. Hong Kong	8	6	2
49. Macao, Manilla, &c.	42	33	9
50. Jáva and Sumátra	100	59	41
51. Persia	4,411	3,351	1,060
52. Levant and Armenia	1,874	1,337	53
53. Arabia and Bághdád	28,092	22,829	5,263
54. Russian Turkestán	52	45	7
55. Asia, *unspecified*	80	47	33
Total, other Asiatic Countries	**60,519**	**50,349**	**10,170**
(*d*) Europe :—			
56. England and Wales	79,172	70,113	9,059
57. Scotland	8,530	7,309	1,221
58. Ireland	12,706	10,587	2,119
59. Channel Islands	141	105	36
60. United Kingdom, *unspecified*	2	1	1
Total, United Kingdom	100,551	88,115	12,436
61. Gibraltar	104	73	31
62. Malta	199	137	62
63. Cyprus	1	—	1
64. France	1,258	800	458
65. Belgium	214	128	86
66. Holland	123	115	8

TABLE E.—*continued.*

Birthplace.	TOTAL.	Males.	Females.
1.	2.	3.	4.
(*d*) Europe—*continued.*			
67. Denmark and Iceland	142	96	46
68. Norway	212	196	16
69. Sweden	188	171	17
70. Germany	1,458	1,096	362
71. Austria	418	288	130
72. Russia in Europe	262	178	84
73. Roumánia	40	35	5
74. Greece	236	208	28
75. Italy	881	684	197
76. Spain	210	162	48
77. Portugal	168	125	43
78. Switzerland	218	153	65
79. Turkey in Europe	256	106	150
80. Europe, *unspecified*	633	486	147
Total, Europe	**107,772**	**93,352**	**14,420**
(*e*) America and West Indies:—			
81. United States	836	540	296
82. Canada, &c.	274	191	83
83. West Indies	287	176	111
84. South and Central America	418	209	209
85. America, *unspecified*	553	348	205
Total, America	**2,368**	**1,464**	**904**
(*f*) Africa:—			
86. Cape Colony, &c.	77	56	21
87. Natal	186	95	91
88. West Africa, St. Helena, &c.	25	13	12
89. Mozambique	6	4	2
90. Zanzibár	1,311	732	579
91. Somáli Land	6,501	4,231	2,270
92. Abyssinia	456	236	220
93. Egypt	220	152	68
94. Mauritius	1,295	697	598
95. Africa, *unspecified*	1,491	986	505
Total, Africa	**11,568**	**7,202**	**4,366**
(*g*) Australasia:—			
96. Australia	428	291	137
97. Tasmania	8	5	3
98. New Zealand	70	43	27
Total, Australasia	**506**	**339**	**167**
(*h*) Born at Sea	248	151	97
TOTAL, RETURNED	**286,847,547**	**146,531,221**	**140,316,326**
Birthplace unspecified or unrecognisable	25,376	14,106	11,270
Not enumerated by birthplace	350,508	181,969	168,539
TOTAL, POPULATION	**287,223,431**	**146,727,296**	**140,496,135**

TABLE F.

INFIRMITIES.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The return was called for of persons who were (*a*) of unsound mind; (*b*) Congenitally deaf mutes; (*c*) Totally blind; and (*d*) Lepers. Special instructions were issued to exclude from the second group those who were not both deaf and dumb from birth; from the third, the one-eyed, and from the fourth those suffering from leukoderma, which is sometimes called, by misapprehension, white leprosy.

The population dealt with is only 274,323,929, as the return was not required from Kashmér, the Central India States, a portion of Rajputána and of the Mahi Kántha States under Bombay, and North Lushai land, under Assam. Deaf-mutes, too, were not returned in the Rajputána States, so that in the case of this infirmity the population dealt with on that agency is, as for all the four tables in Central India, that of the cantonments and railways only. The following statement shows the scope of the return:—

PROVINCE OR STATE.	TOTAL.	Males.	Females.
Included in Tables*	274,373,929	139,993,379	134,380,550
Excluded:—			
Assam (*N. Lushai land*)	41,590	20,667	20,923
Kashmér	2,543,952	1,353,229	1,190,723
Central India States	10,219,126	5,336,397	4,882,729
Rajputána (*Meywár Bhils, &c.*)	25,598	13,045	12,553
Bombay States (*Mahi Kántha Bhils*)	19,236	10,579	8,657
Total Excluded	12,849,502	6,733,917	6,115,585
Total Population	287,223,431	146,727,296	140,496,135

* In the case of deaf-mutes the total dealt with is only 262,383,425 (133,652,936 males and 128,730,489 females).

TABLE F.

A. PROVINCE.	TOTAL RETURNING INFIRMITIES.				
	TOTAL POPULATION.	Number of			
		Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
AJMÉR-MÉRWÁRA	542,358	87	175	1,053	27
ASSAM	5,435,243	3,022	4,681	5,832	6,727
BENGAL	71,346,987	24,165	66,937	70,056	43,986
BERÁR	2,897,491	478	530	6,768	3,698
BOMBAY	18,901,123	6,296	11,624	28,099	10,187
Bombay	15,985,270	3,843	8,614	21,899	9,977
Sindh	2,871,774	2,443	2,994	6,155	209
Aden	44,079	10	16	45	1
BURMA	7,605,560	6,883	3,904	15,234	6,464
Upper	2,946,933	3,708	2,131	10,860	3,504
Lower	4,658,627	3,175	1,773	4,374	2,960
CENTRAL PROVINCES	10,784,294	1,758	5,463	18,567	5,355
COORG	173,055	44	126	86	23
MADRAS	35,630,440	7,687	26,983	36,424	12,617
N.-W. PROVINCES	46,905,085	5,640	33,147	111,039	17,071
N.-W. Provinces	34,254,254	4,102	23,228	75,316	11,768
Oudh	12,650,831	1,538	9,919	35,723	5,303
PANJÁB	20,866,847	6,312	20,240	73,385	4,351
QUETTAH	27,270	4	9	6	2
ANDAMANS	15,609	—	1	1	1
Total, Provinces	**221,131,362**	**62,376**	**173,820**	**366,550**	**110,509**
B. STATE OR AGENCY.					
HAIDERABÁD	11,537,040	1,584	4,419	10,632	2,977
BARODA	2,415,396	845	918	4,751	569
MYSORE	4,943,604	1,075	3,418	5,194	802
KASHMÉR	—	—	—	—	—
RAJPUTÁNA	11,990,504	3,097	*2	38,280	1,708
CENTRAL INDIA (*Railways and Cantonments*).	99,686	*69	*49	*431	80
BOMBAY STATES	8,040,062	1,994	4,697	13,028	2,554
MADRAS STATES	3,700,622	677	1,557	2,309	1,439
CENTRAL PROVINCE STATES	2,160,511	276	977	1,903	1,259
BENGAL STATES	3,296,379	1,053	2,482	2,934	2,048
N.-W. PROVINCE STATES	792,491	157	393	1,024	379
PANJÁB STATES	4,263,280	1,076	4,129	11,832	1,920
SHAN STATES (*Outposts*)	2,992	—	—	—	—
Total, States	**53,242,567**	**11,903**	***23,041**	**92,318**	**15,735**
INDIA	**274,373,929**	**74,289**	***196,861**	**458,868**	**126,244**

* *See* the Explanatory Note

TABLE F.

MALES.					FEMALES.				
Total Males.	Number of				Total Females.	Number of			
	Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.		Insane.	Deaf Mutes.	Blind.	Lepers.
7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
288,325	64	113	523	20	254,033	23	62	530	7
2,798,908	1,737	2,683	3,031	5,128	2,636,335	1,285	1,998	2,801	1,599
35,563,299	14,357	41,373	35,614	32,957	35,783,688	9,808	25,564	34,442	11,029
1,491,826	280	317	3,380	2,886	1,405,665	198	213	3,388	812
9,793,981	4,130	7,149	14,640	7,684	9,107,142	2,166	4,475	13,459	2,503
8,194,477	2,515	5,132	11,340	7,558	7,790,793	1,328	3,482	10,559	2,419
1,568,590	1,608	2,008	3,277	125	1,303,184	835	986	2,878	84
30,914	7	9	23	1	13,165	3	7	22	—
3,876,301	3,795	2,150	6,681	4,543	3,729,259	3,088	1,754	8,53	1,921
1,414,005	1,753	1,115	4,477	2,263	1,532,928	1,955	1,016	6,383	1,242
2,462,296	2,042	1,035	2,204	2,281	2,196,331	1,133	738	2,170	679
5,397,304	1,127	3,159	8,444	3,575	5,386,990	631	2,304	10,123	1,780
95,907	25	77	47	12	77,148	19	49	39	11
17,619,395	4,463	15,274	17,715	9,439	18,011,045	3,224	11,709	18,709	3,178
24,303,601	3,886	21,384	56,058	14,114	22,601,484	1,754	11,763	54,981	2,957
17,812,850	2,830	14,981	38,466	9,574	16,441,404	1,272	8,247	36,850	2,194
6,490,751	1,056	6,403	17,592	4,540	6,160,080	482	3,516	18,131	763
11,255,986	4,235	12,928	38,034	3,322	9,610,861	2,077	7,312	35,351	1,029
23,864	4	9	3	2	3,406	—	—	3	—
13,375	—	1	—	1	2,234	—	—	1	—
112,522,072	**38,103**	**106,617**	**184,170**	**83,683**	**108,609,290**	**24,273**	**67,203**	**182,380**	**26,826**
5,873,129	1,036	2,729	5,892	2,261	5,663,911	548	1,690	4,740	716
1,252,983	535	568	2,017	397	1,162,413	310	350	2,734	172
2,483,451	618	1,908	2,644	536	2,460,153	457	1,510	2,550	266
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6,340,443	2,024	—	17,276	1,314	5,650,061	1,073	*2	21,004	394
59,139	*40	*26	*245	*59	40,547	*29	*23	*186	21
4,109,546	1,224	2,801	6,104	1,911	3,930,516	770	1,896	6,924	643
1,853,976	402	875	1,271	1,013	1,846,646	275	682	1,038	426
1,089,011	167	570	923	799	1,071,500	109	407	980	460
1,673,186	663	1,572	1,463	1,471	1,623,193	390	910	1,471	577
409,470	111	245	543	312	383,021	46	148	481	67
2,324,091	716	2,586	6,705	1,462	1,939,189	360	1,543	5,127	458
2,882	—	—	—	—	110	—	—	—	—
27,471,307	**7,536**	***13,880**	**45,083**	**11,535**	**25,771,260**	**4,367**	***9,161**	**47,235**	**4,200**
139,993,379	**45,639**	***120,497**	**229,253**	**95,218**	**134,380,550**	**28,650**	***76,364**	**229,615**	**31,026**

preceding this Table.

TABLE G.

THE CHRISTIAN POPULATION BY RACE AND DENOMINATION.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

In the instructions accompanying the schedule all Christians were asked to return their denomination, whilst as regards other religions this detail was left optional with the local administration. In order to secure as complete a return of Christian sub-divisions as possible the various missionary bodies were addressed with a view to the issue of instructions from their different centres as to the correct entry to be made by their congregations. In most cases the entry was printed in the vernacular on a card which was to be shown to and copied by the enumerator, but the return makes it plain that this precaution was to a considerable extent disregarded.

TABLE G.

Denomination.	Total Returned.	Distribution by Race.		
		European.	Eurasian.	Native and African.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Abyssinian	41	—	—	41
Armenian	817	366	247	204
Syrian (*Jacobite*)	200,467	15	3	200,449
Roman	1,315,263	35,645	36,089	1,243,529
Greek	400	360	28	12
Church of England	295,016	101,872	29,116	164,028
„ India	6	—	—	6
Anglican Church	3	2	1	—
"Episcopalian"	1,919	220	205	1,494
"Evangelical"	11	5	—	6
Evangelic Union	3	2	—	1
"Evangelist Church"	199	31	1	167
"Reformed"	1	1	—	—
London Mission	20	2	10	8
St. James' Church	6	—	—	6
St. Paul's „	2	1	1	—
Church of Ireland	55	39	—	16
„ Scotland	4,176	1,751	1,293	1,132
„ America	1,014	12	—	1,002
Free Church	145	—	—	145
„ of Scotland	1,010	305	44	661
Presbyterian	40,407	8,418	1,074	30,915
United Presbyterian	82	82	—	—
Reformed Presbyterian	53	—	—	53
American „	454	24	29	401
Irish „	2	2	—	—
Irish Mission	22	—	—	22
Independent	191	45	1	145
Congregationalist	7,703	228	129	7,346
Methodist	9,957	1,036	900	8,021
Methodist Episcopalian	14,503	449	642	13,412
Primitive Methodist	4	4	—	—
Wesleyan	6,388	3,129	684	2,575
Wesleyan Methodist	1,269	743	122	404
Baptist	191,746	2,907	2,352	186,487
Anabaptist	2	—	2	—

TABLE G.

Denomination.	Total Returned.	Distribution by Race.		
		European.	Eurasian.	Native and African.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Plymouth Brethren	32	21	—	11
"Open" Brethren	1	—	1	—
Bible Christian	2	1	1	—
"Nonconformist"	127	26	38	63
"Dissenter"	428	204	142	82
Puritan	2	—	—	2
Society of Friends	4	4	—	—
Quaker	108	28	—	80
"Protestant"	60,713	6,238	5,252	49,223
Calvinist	3	3	—	—
Welsh Calvinist	8	6	—	2
Lutheran	65,376	939	194	64,243
German Church	6	1	—	5
German Mission	1	—	—	1
Swedish Church	1	1	—	—
Reformed Dutch	4	4	—	—
Zwinglian	1	1	—	—
Moravian	2	—	—	2
Catholic Apostolic	6	5	1	—
Salvationist	1,286	114	34	1,138
"Unsectarian"*	2,343	927	347	1,069
"Heathen" (Convert)	3	—	1	2
Swedenborgian	5	5	—	—
New Jerusalem	1	1	—	—
Unitarian (*sic*)	202	69	48	85
Sarweswara Mathá (Unitarian)	3	—	—	3
Theist (*sic*)	1	1	—	—
Agnostic (*sic*)	2	2	—	—
Denomination not returned*	60,352	1,703	758	57,891
Total Christians	**2,284,380**	**168,000**	**79,790**	**2,036,590**

* The entry of "Unsectarian" is here distinguished from the cases where the column for denomination was left blank, since the former is an assertion, the latter may be due to neglect or ignorance.

DESPATCH

FROM THE

SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

Dated 22nd June 1893,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

HOLDING OF SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS FOR THE CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA IN ENGLAND AND INDIA;

AND

MINUTES RECORDED BY MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA UNDER 21 & 22 VICT. c. 106. s. 23.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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EAST INDIA (CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS).

No. 1.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL, dated 22nd June 1893, No. 61 (Public).

My Lord Marquis,

I transmit herewith to your Excellency copy of a Resolution passed by the House of Commons as to the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India, for the Indian Civil Services; and I request that your Government will give a prompt and careful examination to the subject, and that you will inform me in what mode, in your opinion, and under what conditions and limitations this Resolution could be carried into effect.

2. I need scarcely add that in asking to be furnished with the opinion of your Government, it is not my desire to fetter in any way their discretion as to the observations they may think fit to make on the Resolution.

3. I will only point out that it is indispensable that an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service shall always be Europeans, and that no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil that essential condition.

I have, &c.,
KIMBERLEY.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Resolution of the House of Commons, 2nd June 1893.

Resolved—That all open competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations in both countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit.

No. 2.

Minute by Sir P. LUMSDEN.

I desire that my opinion on the question of the extension of the competitive system, by holding open competitive examinations, for the Civil Service of India, in India as well as in England, as stated at the meeting of the Council, on Tuesday the 20th June, may be entered in the minutes of the proceedings.

I entirely agree in the objections already so fully set forth by the experienced members of the Indian Civil Service, and by General Sir Donald Stewart, as to the policy embodied in the Resolution passed by a small majority of the House of Commons on the 2nd instant.

I regard with grave misgiving the proposal to extend the competitive system by holding open competitive examinations for the Civil Service of India in India as well as in England, and I deprecate the language used in the first paragraph of the Secretary of State's despatch, calling upon the Government of India to report in what mode, and under what conditions and limitations, that Resolution could be carried into effect.

P. S. LUMSDEN,
General.

22nd June 1893.

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No. 3.

Minute by Sir J. STRACHEY.

In accordance with the provisions of section 23 of the "Act for the better government of India," I desire to record my dissent from the decision by which the Secretary of State has this day resolved, in opposition to the majority of the Council, to send to the Government of India a Despatch on the subject of holding simultaneous examinations in England and in India for admission to the Indian Civil Service.

My opinion, and the reasons for it, were stated at the meeting of the Council to the following effect:—

Although during the time in which I have been a member of this Council no subject more important than the present has come before us, there is very little that the Council can now usefully discuss. We have been given to understand that it has already been finally decided by Her Majesty's Government that this Despatch shall be sent to India without alteration in its present form. Our opinion has not been invited, and all that members of this Council who think with me can now do is to record, in the manner authorised by the law, their dissent from the course that has been adopted. I shall therefore enter into no details of my objections, and it is the less necessary to do so because those objections are in all essential respects the same as those which have already been stated by Sir James Peile and Sir Alfred Lyall. A measure has been suddenly taken which promises to revolutionise in its most essential condition the policy under which India has hitherto been governed. The public administration in India is already mainly entrusted to the natives of the country. There are no judicial offices from which they are excluded, and not many executive offices, except the most important of all, which they do not or may not fill. The facilities which they enjoy for obtaining high and honourable employment in India are really greater than those open to Englishmen who for the most part can only enter the public service through the narrow door of competition in England, and the number of Englishmen employed in, as we used to call it, the Covenanted Civil Service, has been reduced so greatly that there are hardly enough of them to fill the posts which Englishmen must necessarily hold. Hitherto, however, whatever changes have been made in the machinery of Indian Government, there has never been any doubt that for the highest executive officers of the State, on whom, in case of necessity, we shall have to depend for the maintenance of our dominion, we shall always have a sufficient number of Englishmen. It is now proposed to adopt measures which will probably, or, as their advocates anticipate, will certainly take away from our countrymen a large proportion of their power and responsibility. And to whom is this power and responsibility to be transferred? Not, to use the words of the Act of 1870, to natives of India of proved merit and ability, to whom, whatever may have happened in former times, we now entrust an ample and increasing share in the public administration, and who deserve our high respect and sympathy, but to men chosen from a class infinitesimally small in proportion to the population, a class intellectually acute but composed almost entirely of the very feeblest element of the people of the vast continent of India, of men who are looked upon by the more vigorous and politically important races as being as much foreigners as we are ourselves. And, as a climax of absurdity, for it is nothing else, these men are to be selected from that class by literary examination only. For those who, like myself and many of my colleagues, have passed a great portion of our lives in India, who ought to know, if any can know, what India is, and who through a long course of years have taken no small part in its actual government, it is difficult to speak with patience of a measure which it is not denied may have as one of its results the attempt to govern strong and martial communities, Sikhs and Rajputs and Pathans, by men drawn from a race which they regard as feeble and effeminate, and therefore unworthy of respect.

According to the ordinary interpretation of the English language this Despatch, as the Judicial and Public Committee of the Council have observed, can only be construed by the Government of India as an instruction to give practical effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons. Nor does it appear to me that this interpretation is at all affected by the latter part of the despatch which gives full discretion to the Government of India to make any observations upon the Resolution that they desire. They may make observations and suggest conditions and limitations, but they are instructed to find the mode in which the Resolution is to be carried out.

I had expected that the terms of the Despatch would, in this respect, have been different. In the discussion which took place in the House of Lords on the 14th June, the Secretary of State informed the House that "it would be open to the Government

" of India to say that they were not able to find any way of carrying the Resolution " into effect," and his explanation of the intention of Her Majesty's Government was subsequently stated by the Prime Minister to be identical with his own. It gave, in my opinion, a very much wider and more complete discretion to the Government of India than that given in this Despatch.

Although it is, I think, greatly to be regretted that this explanation has not been repeated, no modification of the language of the Despatch would, in my opinion, remove the objections to the course that has been followed. The Despatch will be sent to the Government of India, but I trust that it will be sent under the strongest protests which the members of this Council can record.

JOHN STRACHEY.

20th June 1893.

No. 4.

Minute by Sir D. STEWART, Bart.

As I understand the Secretary of State is not prepared to modify the terms of the draft Despatch to the Government of India on the subject of the Resolution of the House of Commons, dated the 2nd instant, I am reluctantly compelled to record my dissent from it.

The draft as it stands appears to me to impose upon the Government of India an impossible task.

That Government is required in the first place to devise a scheme for the purpose of giving effect to the Resolution, and then by way of caution the Viceroy in Council is reminded that a proportion of European civilians is essential to the maintenance of good government in India.

The conditions thus laid down for the guidance of the Government of India seem to me to be irreconcileable.

I do not propose here to deal with the merits of the Resolution, as that side of the question has been fully discussed by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot and other members of the Council.

D. M. STEWART.

23rd June 1893.

No. 5.

Minute by Sir A. ARBUTHNOT.

I dissent from the Despatch which the Secretary of State has decided to address to the Government of India, transmitting to that Government the Resolution passed by the House of Commons on the 2nd instant, whereby a small majority of members in a very thin House resolved that " all open competitive examinations heretofore held in " England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be " held simultaneously both in India and England," &c. &c.

The main object of this Resolution is evidently to provide the natives of India with additional facilities for entering what has been hitherto called the Covenanted Civil Service of India; but its terms would also include all other competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services which are held in England, such as the examination for the Forest Department, the newly instituted examination for the Indian Police and the examinations for admission to Coopers Hill College in connection with the Public Works and Telegraph Departments. I will only observe on this latter point that the departments in question are, and have always been, open to Natives when properly qualified, and that the statutes which have limited certain appointments to the Covenanted Civil Service have never had any application to them. The object of the examinations held in England for these departments is to provide for them such a proportion of European employees as is deemed necessary. To hold simultaneous examinations in India for the departments in question, in which Natives of India would be encouraged to compete, would tend to defeat the object with which the examinations in this country were instituted, and from the point of view of the framers of the Resolution, and indeed from every other point of view, is quite unnecessary, inasmuch as under the present system there is no hindrance to the employment in those

departments of such a number of the Natives of India as may be deemed to be compatible with the efficiency of the departments.

It is clear, however, that it is the Civil Service of India properly so-called, in contradistinction to the Provincial Services and to the departments above referred to, that the framers of the Resolution have mainly in view, and it is to this point that I shall direct the remarks I am about to offer.

I regard the proposal embodied in the Resolution of the House of Commons as most dangerous, and as one which, if it were carried out, would be fatal to the efficiency of Indian administration. I consider it very questionable whether an open competitive examination, even when conducted in England only, furnishes the best method of selecting natives of India for employment in the higher posts in the Indian Service, and for this reason I opposed the recent raising of the age for admission to the open competitive examination annually held in London on the ground that it might tend to the appointment of an unduly large proportion of Natives. There can be no doubt that this risk will be enormously increased if open competitive examinations are to be simultaneously held in India, and if the appointments are to be given on the combined results of the examinations thus held in London and in India. It has long been an axiom of Indian administration that the Civil Service of India must be mainly and essentially English, and that an adequate number of the members of that service shall always be Europeans, and this principle is emphatically affirmed in the concluding paragraph of the present Despatch, but the assertion of the principle is preceded in the Despatch by language which will not unnaturally be regarded by the Government of India as an instruction to give practical shape to a policy which is absolutely incompatible with the maintenance of that principle. In fact the Despatch imposes upon the Government of India what my honourable and gallant colleague, Sir Donald Stewart, justly characterised in the debate in Council as an impossibility. The Government of India are to consider and report "in what mode in their opinion, and under what "conditions and limitations, this Resolution could be carried into effect," and at the same "time they are told that "no scheme would be admissible which does not fulfil the "essential condition" that "an adequate number of the members of the Civil Service "shall always be Europeans." How under a system of competitive examinations to be held simultaneously in India and in England, and open to all subjects of the Queen-Empress, of whatever race, under 23 years of age, any safeguard can be applied by which it can be secured that an adequate number of the successful candidates shall be Europeans, passes my comprehension. The Resolution lays down that all who compete are to be finally classified in one list "according to merit." If this rule be adhered to, how, I would ask, can it be secured, either that a certain proportion of the persons appointed shall be Europeans, or that the greater number, if not the whole, of the appointments which fall to Natives of India shall not be absorbed by the physically weaker and less manly races. The problem, I submit, is, from its nature, insoluble.

The best method of ensuring that the Natives of India shall obtain a larger share of employment in the administration of their own country is, I am convinced, not to be found in any extension of the competitive examination system; that method is indicated in the statute which was passed in 1870 (33 Vict. cap. 3, sect. 6) and in the wise and statesmanlike language in which the Duke of Argyll announced the introduction of that Act to the Government of India. The object of the Act of 1870 was to provide additional facilities for the employment of natives of proved merit and ability in posts previously reserved by law to the members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The Act was the result of very careful consideration both in India and in England. It had the sanction of the experience and wisdom of the late Lord Lawrence. It was framed under the orders of Sir Stafford Northcote and was passed through Parliament by the Duke of Argyll. It was felt that the time had come for enlarging the sphere in which native officials, whose capacity and integrity had been established, might be employed both in the judicial and in the administrative branches of the Indian Service. It was recognised that the object in view was not to be accomplished by an extension of the system of competitive examinations, but by the adoption of a system of selection carefully and cautiously exercised by the various Governments in India. In the despatch to which I have alluded, the Duke of Argyll laid down that "our duty towards the "Natives of India in respect of giving them a larger share of employment in the ad-"ministration of their own country, is a duty which must mainly be discharged in India "on the principle of careful and cautious selection"; "that a more free employment of "them in the Uncovenanted Service and promotion according to tried ability from that "Service to the Covenanted Service would seem to be the method least beset with diffi-"culties and least open to objection"; that "this would be a competitive examination

" of the best kind " ; and lastly that " it should never be forgotten, and there should " never be any hesitation in laying down the principle that it is one of our first duties " towards the people of India to guard the safety of our own dominion," and that for this purpose " we must proceed gradually, employing only such Natives as we can trust, " and those only in such offices and in such places as, in the actual condition of things, " the Government of India may determine to be really suited to them." These are golden words, which should, I venture to think, be carefully considered by every man who is in any way concerned with the government of our great dependency. The first practical step taken to bring the Act of 1870 into operation, viz., the establishment of a Statutory Civil Service, was not successful, but that measure has been superseded by orders passed less than four years ago on the report of the Public Service Commission, under which full effect can be given to the provisions of the Act. In the meantime the number of English Civil Servants has been reduced to a minimum compatible with the efficiency of the administration. On the occasion of that inquiry the proposal to hold the open competitive examination in India, as well as in England, was fully considered, and was decided by the Secretary of State in Council in concurrence with the Public Service Commission and with the Government of India to be inadmissible as being " entirely foreign to the intentions of the framers of the com- " petitive system and open to grave practical objections."

I request that this opinion may be recorded in the proceedings of the Council.

A. J. ARBUTHNOT.

22nd June 1893.

No. 6.

Minute by Sir J. PEILE.

The question before us is not whether this despatch should be sent to India, but whether it should go forth with the assent and support of the Council.

From the point of view of the Council there is no reason for making a reference to the Government of India. The duty of making regulations for the examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service is placed by the Statute of 1858 upon the Secretary of State in Council, and not on the Government of India. This very question of holding simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India has recently been fully considered by the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission. The conclusions of that Commission (including Native members) against this proposal were approved by the Government of India, and the Secretary of State and his Council in 1889 entirely and unanimously concurred in them.

Still less do we find reason for asking the Government of India to consider by what method, and with what conditions and limitations, simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service could be held in India. We have rejected this proposal absolutely for very sufficient reasons. The Home Government supports our decision. To ask us to invite the Government of India to suggest how that could be done which we are convinced should not be done, is to call upon us to fatally compromise our position in the eyes of the Government of India, and eventually in the eyes of the people of India.

This being the extent and ground of our dissent from the Despatch which is to go to India, it is hardly necessary to enter at length into the reasons for opposing the Resolution of the House of Commons which we hold in common with the Secretary of State and the Government.

It is, however, pertinent to point out the misunderstanding of the case on which the Resolution is based.

It is natural that Members of the House who believe that the natives of India are deliberately subjected to disadvantages to obstruct them in obtaining the share in the Indian Civil Service understood to be claimable by them under the Statute of 1858, should vote for a Resolution which purports to remove those disadvantages and enable Natives to compete with Europeans on equal terms. It is perfectly true that the Statutes of 1853 and 1858 opened the admission to the Indian Civil Service by means of examinations to all natural-born subjects of the Crown. But the test of fitness was

ee Report f Lord Iacaulay's ommittee, 854.

from the first understood to be an English education and training, and it was contemplated that the natives of India who might gain an entrance to the Indian Civil Service through this door were those who should be capable of rising to the discipline of this education and training: in other words, exceptional Natives.

The Statute could be justified only in this sense. For while India is governed by England there must be a permanent administrative body of Englishmen (including, of course, Scots and Irishmen); they must be supplied to a certain definite amount by periodic recruitment; and the examinations under the Statute of 1858 were appointed as the sole means of such supply in place of the system of patronage which had prevailed before 1855.

The competitive examination has for its special object the supply of the English element essential for the Indian administration. But it is not the sole and exclusive door to the higher Indian offices. All privilege of Englishmen against Natives in that matter was swept away by the Statute of 1870, which entirely fulfils the engagement of the Statute of 1833, seeing that it enables the Government of India to appoint any native of India to any office without exception or reservation.

In giving effect to the Statute of 1870, the body of English administrators has been reduced by reducing the recruitment for it, to make more room for the Natives. But this reduction must stop somewhere, if the administration is not to pass out of our hands altogether. No one will deny (certainly Natives of sober judgment do not deny) that an ascertainable number of Englishmen is indispensable. They have to be recruited at the market price on certain terms as to pay and pension. To recruit Natives who are not of the same quality on the same terms is sheer waste of the Indian revenues. Common sense and business principles suggest that exactly the number of men of the quality required, and no more, should be recruited on these terms. The more reasonable course would therefore be to obtain only the necessary quota of Englishmen by means of the competitive examination in England.

The question here simply is as to the provision of public servants from the two races in the right proportion to meet the requirements of the administration.

As regards the offices they are to fill, there is, as between Englishmen and Natives, no reservation or privilege whatever in the eye of the law. They fill respectively the offices for which they are fit. Naturally the Natives hold the vast bulk of the offices; the Englishmen hold those necessary for the exercise of our supremacy, and those in which nerve and impartiality are most essential.

It is a mere confusion of thought to suppose that justice requires us to make the way of the Natives into the English recruited service easy. By entering it thus they will not become Englishmen or acquire the special qualities of Englishmen.

When a business man invites tenders for a limited quantity of an article of a certain quality, does he ever give notice that he will equally accept a different article of a quality which will not answer his purpose?

The conclusion is clear, and if natives of India are to be selected by competition *in India* for the higher offices, the instrument to use is the Statute of 1870, and not the Statute of 1858. If it can be shown that, while the Statute of 1870 has swept away all reservation, Natives are in fact excluded from offices for which they are fit, pressure should be brought to bear in that direction. The subject has very recently been exhaustively considered, and the largest concessions at present possible have been made.

Past events must be reviewed to enable a judgment to be formed whether we have been liberal or otherwise in meeting the very natural desire of the Natives of India to hold offices in the administration of their country.

In the days of the Honourable Company the civil offices were reserved by statute to their civil servants sent out from England. In time, as offices multiplied, the civil servants were insufficient to hold them all, and the reservation by statute was reduced in 1861 to a list of offices proportionate to their numbers and named in a schedule. In 1870 all reservation of offices as against Natives was completely swept away. The subordinate offices have always been held practically by Natives only. The offices of the next highest rank (salary Rs. 2,400 per annum and upwards) are jealously secured to Natives by executive rule, none but a Native being eligible, if a competent Native can be found. In regard to the right to offices, the privilege of the Indian subject is greater than the privilege of the British or Colonial subject.

No offices are reserved against Natives, but Englishmen are recruited and sent out to perform duties which the natives are not yet competent to undertake. Even from this official body, *ex hypothesi* English as it is, the broad spirit of the Statutes of 1853 and 1858 does not exclude Natives who are presumed to be equivalent to Englishmen in

virtue of an English training. In the last three years, 10 Natives have succeeded in the competitive examination in England, out of a total of 113 successful candidates.

The Resolution of the House of Commons seeks to infuse into this last reserve of English officials an element of home-staying Indian youths, who will (under the system of competitive examination in force) be drawn from races, the cleverest doubtless in preparing for that test, but not therefore the fittest of our Indian subjects, for places of grave responsibility. If the experiment should gain its object, as it probably would, it would gratify a certain class of Indians, but it would be very distasteful to the Indian aristocracy, and to the stronger races of India, who respect strength of character in those who are set in authority over them more than literary proficiency. And it would be the cause of infinite embarrassment to the Government, because it would reduce the supply of English administrators below the minimum essential for the efficient administration of the empire. Eventually it would raise the question whether a purely educational test is maintainable for the selection of the fittest for the purpose in view from among a mass of candidates of mixed Western and Asiatic races. For other qualities, which an educational test cannot gauge, are in this case even more essential, and an educational test, as the substitute for patronage, is tolerable only so long as it is able to presuppose an equality in strength and vigour of character in the candidates.

J. PEILE.

22nd June 1893.

No. 7.

Minute by Sir A. LYALL.

I am obliged to record my opinion against the expediency of sending to the Government of India the Despatch in regard to the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Services, which was laid before the Council on the 20th June. The point for discussion was whether the Council could assent to the issue of instructions that are framed in terms which would ordinarily be taken to mean that the Secretary of State in Council acquiesces in, or at any rate does not oppose, the policy of holding simultaneous examinations in the two countries. But I am bound to state that I dissent expressly from that policy, on the ground that it could not be adopted without reversing fundamentally the principles upon which appointments to the Indian Civil Service have hitherto been regulated, and throwing into confusion all the arrangements that have been made to that end.

The Duke of Argyll's despatch to the Government of India, dated April 8th, 1869, confirmed and declared the policy that has hitherto been followed in regard to the ways and means of admitting the natives of India to high civil employment in India. So long as admission to the Covenanted Civil Service could be obtained only by passing a competitive examination in England, there was good reason for the contention that the system imposed some hardship upon the natives of India. But the passing of the Act of 1870, which empowered the authorities in India to appoint any native of India to any employment or office in Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, removed that hardship; and the system of Provincial Services, just introduced into India, embodies carefully considered schemes for giving ample effect to the powers vested by that Act in the Indian Governments. A certain number of offices, hitherto reserved for Civil Servants appointed by competitive examinations, have now been transferred to these Provincial Services, for which natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, other than natives of India, are only eligible in very special cases. The result is that natives of India can now enter the higher Civil Service by two avenues, by competition in England, and by nomination, under prescribed rules and conditions, to the Provincial Services in India. This being the present state of the case, if the procedure of holding simultaneous competitive examinations in India and in England were admitted, the result would, in my opinion, be to open to the natives of India much greater facilities than to European British subjects, of entering the Indian Civil Services. This would dislocate all the arrangements hitherto made, would be tantamount to superseding and discarding the policy laid down in 1870, and would indeed operate as a virtual abandonment of the principle which the Duke of Argyll, in his published despatch of January 25th, 1870, said that there should never be any hesitation in laying down, "that it is one of the "first duties toward the people of India to guard the safety of our own dominion. For

"this purpose," he added, "we must proceed gradually, employing only such Natives as "we can trust, and these only in such offices and in such places as, in the actual condition "of things, the Government of India may determine to be really suited to them." It seems to me clear that we cannot recognise the proposal to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England without disregarding this principle, unless indeed the whole existing system of making appointments to the higher ranks of the Indian Civil Services be at the same time revised and altered.

A. C. LYALL.

23rd June 1893.